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The Indigenous Civilization of the Uaupés
[A Civilização Indígena do Uaupés

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[Title page]

/Pages 1-4 are title pages./

/5/ An Explanation

128 I am going to say that this is an anonymous book. Because it does not bear the name of its principal collaborators. The name that heads these studies is only an endorsement. There fell upon us personally little more than the responsibility of the editing, as we assumed the fatiguing labors of this. The true authors, or at least the principal collaborators, are the well-deserving Missionaries who for several decades have been toiling in the midst of the almost inhospitable forest of Amazonia, in the desire to incorporate the poor forest dwellers into the Brazilian and Christian civilization.

*101 The title demands an explanation. As will be seen in going through the pages, the basin of the Uaupés, including its two principal tributaries, the Tiquié and the Papuri /Papury/, is populated by numerous human groups, which are commonly known as Tribes, with different demographic density. Somatic and linguistic differences, sometimes quite noticeable, proclaim diverse ethnic origins. Nevertheless, proximity and trade, which, in a destructive action of centuries, did not succeed in grinding away those differences, did bring about a fusion in the customs. The same standard /given in English/ or pattern of life that is observed in a povoado /populated place/ on the lower Uaupés is found at the headwaters of the Papuri or the Tiquié and their small tributaries. As we travel along the rivers, the name of the tribe changes, one finds different physiognomic types, speaking very different idioms, although living in malocas /communal houses/ similarly constructed, eating the same foods, performing the same tasks, entertaining themselves the same way; one observes, finally, perfect identity in the way of laughing and gesticulating. We are, then, looking at
*101 one and the same cultural group. We can thus take in con-
junction those 20 or more tribes toward whose civilization and
797 Christianization the activities of the Filhos de S. João Bosco
/Sons of Saint John Bosco/ have been directed since 1916, led

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*101 in their anonymous heroism for 40 years by the intelligent
797 dynamism and the apostolic charity of Dom Pedro Massa.

114 In the beginning of this century the well-known German ethnologist Teodoro /Theodor/ Koch Grünberg visited part of the area presented in our studies here, and he condensed his observations into several works, especially the one that bears the title "Dos anos entre os índios do noroeste /6/ Brasileiro /Two Years among the Indians of Northwest Brazil/" (1).

> 1. Zwei Iahre /Jahre/ bei den Indianer nordwest-Brasiliens -- Stuttgart, 1921. His work Festschrift Eduard Seler, containing the classification and location of the several tribes that he visited or from which he obtained information, dates from Stuttgart, 1922.

We are now in a position to appreciate, not only the inconveniences of his journey, but also his difficulties as a "White" and a "Foreigner," having to deal with the Indians locked in their distrust, prejudices, and, let us say it, hostilities against civilized people; moreover, not knowing the idioms of the tribes of the Uaupés (2) -

> 2. At the mouth of the river Curicuriari, Koch's oarsman, the Tukano /Tucano/ João, gives him a lesson in "unintelligible Tukano": -- "Gibt mir Unterricht in Tucano seiner fürchterlichen Stammessprach, voll nasaler, gutturaler und ganz UNDEUTLICHER laute" /he gives me instruction in Tucano, his horrible original language, very nasal, gutteral, and quite confusedly loud/.

and, for this reason, having to resort to the always deficient services of emergency interpreters.

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114 128 Our task, of editing, in comparison with that of Koch G., was greatly facilitated. There fell to us the intellectual, patriotic, and religious pleasure of four excursions through the vast and laborious field of the Apostolado Salesiano no Amazonas /Salesian Apostolate in Amazonas/ and of admiring the work of patriotism and evangelical charity that the Filhos de Dom [191 797] Bosco are achieving there. And benefiting ourselves by means of their company, their knowledge of the native idioms (3),

> 3. Besides having already found numerous Indians with whom we could communicate perfectly in the language of our native country, because they had learned Portuguese in the schools of the Missions.

the prestige that they enjoy, not only among the natives who profit from their material and moral assistance, but even among the others who only know them by repute, we start collecting 114 123 124 the precious data of their observations and experience. The ethnographic material contained in these pages could be collected in a relatively short period, although triple that of Grünberg. Nevertheless they describe an existence in the closest possible contact with the forest dwellers: living in their maloca, attending their festivities, listening to them during their long chats among themselves, and entertaining themselves in amiable conversation with them, participating in their joys and their sorrows, observing them in their work, admiring their abilities, using their services, curing their illnesses, probing their spirit, illustrating their intelligence in long years of education, illuminating their soul with religious truths, now and then seeing those minds unexpectedly open in flashes that reveal, through a charming ingenuousness, an internal world never dreamed of. One understands an environment by living in it; and the environment can explain to us a mentality.

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115 It should not seem exaggerated to speak of an existence of intimate contact with the natives. Because not only our /7/ personal observations are recorded here. We tried to know and to listen to all the Salesian Missionaries who work along the rivers Negro, Uaupés, Tiquié, Papuri, Içana, and Caburi; as well as the Montfort Missionaries who attended to the natives of the region bordering Colombia, since some of the tribes in the study have members living in the zone that today is part of Colombian territory. And, through the mercy of God, we had the happy opportunity to talk with Missionaries who have been living with the children of the forests and for them since 1916.

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Therefore, this work, in the strict sense, is a contribution by the Salesian Missionaries to ethnographic studies that, if they are of interest in a general way to the students of the whole world, also speak to us, Brazilians, of political and patriotic interests.

121 These pages are a documentary on how the life of the forest people of the Uaupés or Caiarí runs its course in the middle of the twentieth century. By dint of an unyieldingly traditionalist mentality which characterizes these human groups, we may also think that they are, on general lines, a description of how they have lived for centuries, or perhaps even of how these tribes have lived since they acclimated themselves in their present habitat. Scarce data from the first explorers and information from the old natives justify this opinion.

Even though we enjoyed privileged conditions which other ethnologists have not had, or at least will not be able to have, the intractable depths of the native psyche takes from us the illusion of having unveiled their soul. We are also convinced that we do not yet know customs and practices of interest from the ethnological point of view, and the true meaning of many others escapes us. The primitive fantasy, all the more active the freer it is from the curb of reason and the inhibiting control of positive experience in that mysterious and suggestive environment of the millenary forest, will have built a legendary world with fascinating beauties for their souls, as if they were the

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121 dazzling riches of enchanted castles, but forbidden for us, and of which we can contemplate, from the outside, only blackened walls, in the almost inexpressive fragments of their legends.

These notes are only a path in the wilderness. Other students will come to rebuild the road; they will straighten out detours, join with viaducts points previously without connection, solidify with the firmness of their observations those passages that now face the threat of mires, and the final result will be the wide and straight-avenue, open and safe, planted with trees and made beautiful by the truth, along which multitudes will pass in the future.

They aspire to much more, however. They wish to be a cry of gratitude and patriotism. Gratitude to those dedicated /8/ Missionaries (and all of them, without distinction as to nationality or institutions, from Anchieta up to the most modest Lay Brother or Nun) who, inspired by the purest love of God, renounce the affection of the family, the comfort of civilization, and many times the charm of their homelands as well, making the life of the Indian theirs, in order to make him a son of Brazil and of Our Lord Jesus Christ, expecting only God's reward, but not infrequently receiving beforehand the ingratitude of the forest dwellers and the slander of malevolent and irresponsible people.

It is a cry of unrestrained patriotism, calling the attention of Brazil, -- the Government, the wealthy, the men of letters, -- to those races who take shelter under the majestic crown of the Amazon forest. It urges the interest of all Brazilians to awaken in order to provide for an investigation of aids that will facilitate the rapid integration of those many thousands of countrymen into Brazilian and Christian civilization. Therefore, to be concerned about the incorporation of the natives into Brazilian civilization is not only a humanitarian and religious work, but also of the most legitimate patriotism. Thus it urges that the support of the Government be intensified for those who have dedicated their lives and their energies to the well-being of the forest dweller of the Uaupés.

Padre Alcionilio Brüzzi Alves da Silva, S. D. B.

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Chapter I

The Habitat

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The area whose ethnographic elements are collected in these notes is the basin of the Uaupés or Caiari River (1).

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

1. Caiari, or formerly Ucaiari, would be the original name, according to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, who, in No. 184 of his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/" (see below, II, 2 /see p. 25/), says: -- "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manaos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attribute to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé."

It is to be noted that, although its waters are not as dark as those of the Rio Negro, the Uaupés is one of a number of rivers of "black waters."

"All these tribes," reports Wallace ("Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro" -- London, 1849, p. 335), "present some peculiarities in their idioms and customs, but all of them come under the general name of Uaupés and distinguish themselves, as a whole, from the inhabitants of the other rivers. This is the reason that the river is called Rio dos Uaupés (the River of the Uaupés), although actually its name is Ucaiari and it is called this by the Indians."

We read recently (May of 1956) in Luiz da Câmara Cascudo ("Em memória de Stradelli /In memory of Stradelli/," Livr. Clássica-Manaus, 1936, p. 7) that Stradelli mentions a powerful Tuxáua /chief/ Buapé, of the Taryana /Tariana/ tribe (whose ninth-generation grandson, Maximiliano José Roberto, accompanied Stradelli on his journeys), who would have lived around the end of the sixteenth century and lent the name to

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103 /footnote 1 cont./ the river (cf. below, Note 5, Ch. II
133 /see note 8, Ch. II, p. 40/).

101 This belief has also been adopted today on the Rio Negro. We do not know, however, if it is based on the opinion of Stradelli, or if he gave rise to it. At the end of the nineteenth century, with Stradelli, the name Uaupés is presented to us as a corruption of the original word Buapé. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Uaupé would be the original form from which, through corruption, the term Goaupé originated, and no mention is made of the Tuxáua by the name of Buapé, the memory of whom, if he existed, should have been more vivid at that time. Who is right? /The footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

Which language would the name Uaupés belong to? And what does it mean? The present-day natives do not know how to answer that, nor did those of half a century ago. As a matter of fact, Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 131) says only that the name is depreciative; this, however, because under the name of Uaupés are included tribes that are ignorant, wild (Wildstaemme), and scorned, such as the Tukano /Tucano/ and the Kubewãna, who fought against the more advanced Arwake /Arawak/.

In Stradelli's Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, we find the remark: "Iasaná" -- Breed of the Afflicted /Port. Casta das Rallidas/. Name that on the lower Amazon and on the Grão-Pará is given to Parra Iaçaná, which on the Solimões is called Piasóca -- and on the Rio Negro, Uaupé and Uapé.

The river in turn lent the name to a plant characteristic of the stones of its cachoeiras /rapids; see note 2, p. 9 /.
[824] As a matter of fact, it is called uaupé or uaupé-da-cachoeira
(and also carurú-das-pedras /carurú of the stones/ and
[263] murera-das-cachoeiras), an aquatic plant that grows on
the stones of the cachoeiras of this river and that furthermore
serves the Indians for the extraction of salt (cf. Note 51

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[824]
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/*9 cont*./

> /footnote 1 cont./ /see note 52, p. 320/, VI). (Cf. Gastão Cruls, *Hileia Amazônica* -- C. E. N., 1944 -- p. 35.)
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> The name *Ucaiari* (as is usual for the ones that end in *ri* or *li*) is of Arwake origin. In the language of the Arara-tapuya and the Kadáu-puritĩna, the Uaupés River is called *Ukayalí*; in the Huhúdeni /Huhuteni/ it is called *Ukávari* (all three are of the Arwake group). It might perhaps be derived from *U(ni)*, water river, and *Kawale* (in Kadáu-puritĩna) or *Kawáeri* (in Hihúdeni /*sic*/), wind. Nevertheless, none of the old people of the various Arwake tribes of the Içana and Aiarí rivers whom we could consult were able to indicate the meaning of the term *Caiarí* or *Ucaiari*. Just as the other tribes who inhabit the Uaupés did not know it either. All of them designate the Uaupés as "*Dya Poxsá*," river of the *Makú* (?). This designation might induce one to think that the Makú (*Puxsá* /*sic*/) were the first to inhabit its shores, and afterwards, under pressure from the *Arwake* and *Tukano* invaders, went to settle in the interior, in the adjacent forests, from the environs of S. Gabriel as far as the cachoeiras of Jandú and Carurú (on the Uaupés River). The truth is that, according to the spirit of the language, River of the Makú should be translated as "*Poxsá Dyá*" and not as "*Dyá Poxsá*."

as it was known up to a few years ago, a tributary that flows into the Rio Negro about 50 kilometers above the town of S. Gabriel-da-Cachoeira, now called *Uaupés*.

133 The Uaupés results, according to Dr. Hamilton Rice, from the union of the rivers *Unilla*, which is the more important, and *Itilla*, both with their origins in the plains that border the buttresses of the Colombian Andes. After a course of about 330 kilometers in Colombian territory, the Uaupés advances in the

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133 direction SE and S as a demarcator of /10/ frontiers between Brazil and Colombia, as far as Iauareté-cachoeira (2),

> 2. In Amazonia, places in which the course of the water exhibits some slope with eddies, rapids, and true cascades or waterfalls, the latter, by the way, being rare, are called cachoeiras. Since native denominations are involved, the names come in a construction similar to the Saxonic genitive or possessive, which is very much in the spirit of the Tukano language and of the native languages of the region in general. For this reason one says: Iauareté-cachoeira, Parí-cachoeira, Taracuá-ponta, etc., instead of cachoeira de Iauareté /cachoeira of Iauareté/ or de Parí, ponta /point/ de taracuá, etc., according to the character of the Portuguese language.

where, on the right bank, the tributary of the Papurí River occurs. Then, taking the direction east, it runs completely inside Brazil until it drains into the Rio Negro, after having received, again from the right, the Tiquié River, a little below the povoado /populated place/ of Taracuá-ponta. Inside Brazilian territory it advances 520 kilometers (thus having a total course of 850 kilometers) and exhibits a maximum width of 3 kilometers and a minimum of approximately 200 meters.

103 133 /11/ The Papurí (or Capurí, as it was also formerly called) results from the union of two tributaries in Colombian territory, a little above "Melo Franco," the Áua and the Paca. Nearly the totality of its course, however, about 280 kilometers, delimits the frontier between Brazil and Colombia. The natives call it "Oxkó ñyīsé dyá," that is, river of black water; indeed, its waters are darker than those of the Uaupés. It runs into the Uaupés at Iauretê-cachoeira, with a width of 250 meters.

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103 133 Although it presents an average declivity of 0.32 m. per kilometer, it possesses a subsoil of granite, with innumerable levelings and cachoeiras (3)

[114] 3. The Comissão Brasileira de Fronteiras /Brazilian Commission of Frontiers/, under the direction of Marechal /Marshal/ Boanerges Lopes de Souza, who did the surveying of this river, recorded 39 cachoeiras. Moreover, it has some islets and islands, and therefore its width reaches 500 meters.

[505] which endanger navigation. Or, rather, it is only passable with small canoes and montarias (4),

[501] 4. "Montarias" are the canoes that have been enlarged by one or more longitudinal planks fitted to their sides.

which sometimes advance through the rushing rapids by arm or pulled by tow ropes, or are even transported across the rocks or bordering forest by way of the "varadoiros" (5).

5. "Varadoiros" are the passages opened up in the forest, or along the rivers in the stretches that are not navigable; or as shortcuts between two points, in order to avoid the long windings of the rivers.

The Tiquié is the other tributary, and more important than the Papurí. It results from two igarapés, or streams: the Uaracú-pirera (in Nheengatú it means "skin of aracú /a fish/"), which takes the name of Tiquié, a name of unknown origin and meaning (also like Caiarí and Papurí), after it receives the Macucú. Those of Tukano language name the Tiquié "Kõsá," the meaning of which, however, they do not know. Extremely sinuous, it measures about 450 kilometers in course, almost all

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103 of it in Brazilian territory. It would be about half a kilometer
133 in width at the mouth, but it narrows sensibly to a few hundred
meters in a great part of its course. At Tucano-cachoeira its
width is about 50 meters, and this is maintained up to
Parí-cachoeira (up to where the launches of small draft reach)
and, narrowing even more, presents an average width of 15 to
20 meters up to the border.

It runs almost parallel to the Papurí, but its appearance is very different. The sandy and deep bed allows it a calm course, the waters therefore seeming darker than they are in reality (6).

6. Its major tributary, the river Castanho, of milky color, sensibly lightens the waters of the Tiquié.

shadowed besides by the dense forest bordering them. It has /12/ few cachoeiras, among them the one called "Carurú," above Parí-cachoeira, certainly one of the most beautiful cataracts of the State of Amazonas.

The Uaupés and its two tributaries receive the contribution of innumerable, though small, watercourses, which in the regional terminology are called igarapés.

The basin that we studied covers the lands watered by the rivers Uaupés and its two tributaries, the Papurí and the Tiquié. It is thus located in the equatorial zone (7).

7. In the 486 windings or sinuosities that the Tiquié presents in its course from the mouth up to Parí-cachoeira, it crosses the equatorial line 18 times.

132 Nevertheless the minimum daily temperature fluctuates between
19° and 22°, and the maximum 24° and 32°, rarely up to 36°,
thanks to frequent precipitation. It presents lands not subject
133 to floods, or "terra-firme," according to the regional nomen-
clature, and large areas inundated, at least during some months
000 of the year. The vegetation, therefore, is the high and dense

/12 cont./ The vegetation, therefore, is the high and dense
137 forest of the "*hydro-hygro-megathermic type*," similar to that of the Rio Negro. The palm trees merit special attention. There are many varieties, sometimes following the course of the water and at other times dispersed through the woodland, which the forest dwellers use for various purposes.

We noted among the palms of "*terra-firme*" the *tucum* (*astrocárium* /Astrocaryum/ *vulgare*, Mart. or *astr. tucumóides*), the *bacaba* (*oenocárpus bacaba*, Mart.), the *açaí* /assai/ (*eutérpe olerácea*, Mart.), the *inajá* (*Maximiliána régia*, Mart.), the *pupunha* (*Guilerma* /Guilielma/ *speciosa*), the *paxiúba* (*iriartea exorrhiza* or *settígera*, Mart.). Among those of the inundated places, the *javarí* (*astrocárium javarí*), the *mirití* or *burití* (*maurítia vinifera* and *m. flexuosa*), the *caraná* (*maurítia caraná*), the *jará* (*leopoldinia maior*), the *piaçaba* (*leopoldinia piassába*, Wal.), the *tucumã* (*astrocarium tucuman*, Mart.). The climbing palm, the *jacitára* or *Kamwarri*, of the genus *Desmoncus*, is of great use in the indigenous basketry.

134 In general there is only a small superficial humous layer,
from which emerges the imposing millenary forest, and after
137 that the sandy or clayey strata. A primary consequence of such
a small humous base is that the trees have very superficial roots,
and therefore the storms frequently knock them down, producing
true clearings in the forests. A second consequence is that the
[241] land becomes unproductive after three or four years of the
primitive native agriculture.

136 /13/ The rivers and igarapés are populated by many species of fish, which constitute one of the principal foods of the native.

The Amazonian fauna is not rich in varieties, and less so quantitatively. Besides the dangerous felines, the *onça* /jaguar/ (*felix* /Felis/ *onça*) and the *gato macarajá* /ocelot/ (*felix pardalis* and *felix mucura*, Neuw.), there are few animals that the native ordinarily can find and that offer him meat for food: the *veado* /deer/ (*gen. cervus*), the *paca* (*coelógenys paca*), the *cotia* /agouti/ (*dasyprocta aguti*, Lin.), *queixada* and *caetitu* /species of peccary/ (*dicotyles labiátus*, *tayassú albirostris*, and *tayassú tayassú*, Lin.), the *anta* /tapir/ (*tapírus americánus*,

/13 cont./

136 Briss.), the capivara /capybara/ (hidrochoerus /Hydrochoerus/ capybara, Erxl.) and macacos of various species.

The birds present the same scarcity in quantity, but a greater richness in variety and plumage. Among those appreciated as foods by the forest dwellers, we remember the tucanos /toucans/ (ramphastus /Ramphastos/), jacamim /trumpeter/ (psophídeos /Psophidae/), mutum /curassow/ (crax nigra, alector, etc.), jacú (penélopes), several pombos /doves/ (columba). Procured for their plumage are the garças /herons/ (heródias egretta) and other varieties of ardeídae, tucanos, and the extraordinary variety of araras and other psittacídeos /Psittacidae/.

The entomological contribution is more varied and richer, some varieties of insects also serving as food for the inhabitants of the region.

241 In this habitat in which the area to be cultivated is acquired by arduously hewing down the secular forest and which is only used regularly for three or four years, one can make only a small planting. We must remember that originally the Uaupés man had at his disposal only the stone ax, and that on the Uaupés the verões, that is, the periods of dry weather that permit "the burning of the clearing," are neither frequent nor extended.

361 [262] The agriculture, on one side, as well as the fishing and the hunting, do not permit large human assemblages. As a consequence, we are going to find the population always dispersed in small groups located on the banks of the rivers and streams (igarapés), which, besides furnishing, with the fish, a favorite food, also serve them as a means of communication.

The demands of the natives being minimal, the conditions that determine their habitat are reduced to three: 1st, water, to drink, to bathe, and to give them fish; 2nd, the forest, which furnishes fruit and the wood for the fire; 3rd, land sufficiently fertile for the cultivation of mandioca, their principal vegetable food. Not always, but rather very rarely in the present situation can /14/ the first condition be reconciled with the third, according
[241] ing to native criteria. For this reason, they ordinarily plant the clearing, "wexsé," some kilometers from their house. Compensating for the inconvenience of the distance, there is presented to

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361 the intelligence of the forest dweller the advantage of the safety of his property, which thus more easily escapes being seen and covetousness. The natural consequence is that the density of the population in each group is independent of the fertility of the adjacent lands.

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Chapter II

The Tribes of the Uaupés in the Historical Period

1 -- Data on the History of the Rio Negro and the Uaupés River

174 The important problem of the origin of the forest dwellers of Brazil, as of America, still awaits solution. Since anthropo-ethnological science does not recognize them as autochthons, where did they come from? From only one or from various origins? In what era? By which path? With what means? In one or several successive migrations? Under what direction? How did they spread?

[121] The present work does not aim at answering these or other connected questions. Nevertheless a rapid survey of this cultural group of the Uaupés within the historical period for it, that is, since the discovery of Brazil, is advisable.

175 The voyage of discovery of the "Rio das Amazonas," as it became known at the time, was made by Francisco Orellana in 1541, the friar of the Order of Saint Dominic, Gaspar de Carvajal, serving as chronicler. From his account there appears with respect to the Rio Negro only that on Saturday, the eve of the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 3, 1542, "We saw the mouth of another large river, on the left bank, which entered the one that we were navigating and of water black as ink and therefore we gave it the name of Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos do rio das Amazonas /Discoveries of the Amazon River/," 50).

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175 In the brief "Relação do descobrimento do Rio Amazonas, hoje S. Francisco de Quito /Account of the discovery of the Amazon River, today S. Francisco de Quito/," by Padre Alonso de Rojas, one only reads, in § 6: "At the north side there is a very large river with a league and a half at the mouth and waters so black that they are distinguished from the others, an effect that gave the name to the river, it being called 'Negro.' "

"The first steersman, of whom we shall speak later, having navigated two or three days along this Rio Negro, said that, according to the information that he could obtain from some Indians, this river rises in some mountain ranges neighboring the Novo Reino de Granada and in its origin it is divided into two branches: one of them, with the name of Rio Negro, empties, after a long course, into the Amazon; the other comes to empty into the sea of the North, in view of the island Trindade, and they think that this river might be the famous Orinoco" ("Descobrimentos," 95).

[103] /16/ Padre Cristobal de Acuña, who accompanied Pedro de Teixeira on his return from Quito to Belém, gives in his "Novo descobrimento do grande Rio das Amazonas /New discovery of the great Amazon River/" more abundant information concerning the Rio Negro, or Curiguacurú, as "the natives who inhabit it" called it, or Uruna, "which means black water," by the "Tupinambás" in their language. "Caniçuaris, Aguayras, Yacuncarais, Cahuayapitis, Manacarús, Yanmas, Guanamás, Carapanaris, Guarianacaguas, Acerabarís, Carupatabas and Guaranaquazama /the quotation marks that perhaps belong here are missing in the original source/ are the nations "who live along the waters of the Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos," 251).

175 648 After the travels of Pedro de Teixeira, the scouting for the capture of the Indian started. These enslaving bands were called "tropas de resgate" /ransom troops/. One of the first ones was that headed by Pedro da Costa Favela, of ominous memory (1).

1. "The history of the province abounds in facts of the harshest cruelty. On the river Urubú, to cite one of them, in 1665, an expedition commanded by

/*16 cont.*/

175 648 /footnote 1 cont./ Pedro da Costa Favella completely annihilated a tribe, killing 700 persons, imprisoning 400, and burning 300 villages." Baena -- Compêndio das eras da Província do Pará, 1838 /Compendium of the eras of the Province of Pará, 1838/ -- *ap*. José Veríssimo, *o*. *c*., 304.

The Jesuit Padre Manuel Pires (according to Padre Serafim Leite, in his História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil /History of the Company of Jesus in Brazil/) traveled on the Rio Negro four times, accompanying "tropas de resgate." They were swift penetrations, however, without the goal of colonization.

In 1668 Pedro da Costa Favella returned, accompanied by the Mercedarian Frei /Brother/ Teodósio da Veiga, and, in the place called *Aruim*, founded a povoado /populated place/ of *Tarumã* Indians, which was later transferred to the mouth of the river Jaú, with "*Manao*, *Aruaqui* and *Tacú*" Indians, under the name of Santo Elias do Jaú, and now called *Airão*.

In 1669 Francisco da Mota Falcão laid the foundations of a fort two leagues above the mouth of the Rio Negro, where there would be formed, little by little, the "*Lugar* /place, village, town/ *da* *Barra*," or the "*Povoado* *de* *S*. *José* *da* *Barra*," today the modern and picturesque city of Manaus.

175 797 By royal letter of 1694 the catechizing of the Rio Negro was entrusted to the Carmelite Religious. Through their work eight aldeaments emerged: S. Elias do Jaú, S. Alberto de Aracary, S. Angelo do Cumarú, N. Senhora da Conceição de Maruiá, S. Rita de Cassia de Itarendaua, N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo de Cabuquena, N. Senhora do Rosário de Bararoá (later called Thomar), and N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo do rio Dari, and later the missions of the Uaupés, in S. Joaquim da Foz and S. Jerônimo da Cachoeira or Ipanoré.

175 648 Then the government of the metropolis, struck by fear of the Dutch and Spanish incursions, and eager to obtain the "drogas" /literally "drugs," here natural products/, proposed the systematic founding of settlements along the whole Rio Negro.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 19]

/Map facing p. 16 in the original source/

*101
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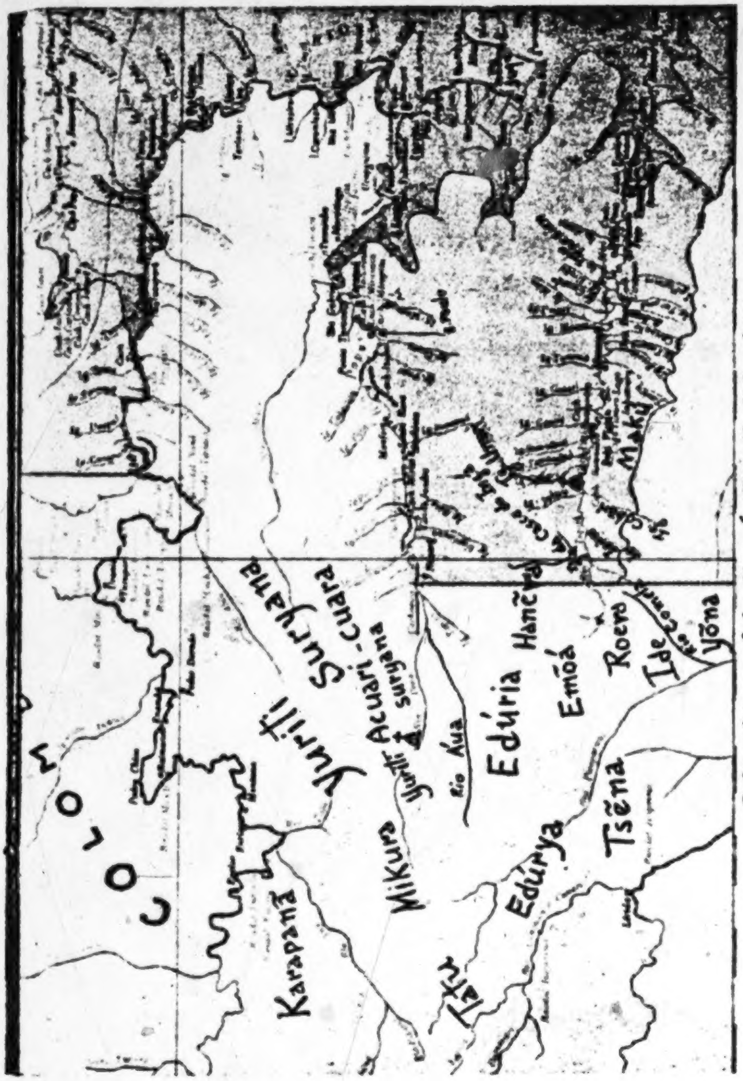
133


COLOM
Karapanã
Yuriti
Suryana
Acuari-cuara
Yuriti
suryana
Mikura
Tatu
Rio Aua
Edúria
Edúrya
Hanẽra
Emõá
Tsẽna
Roero
Ide
Yõna
Maku

Cultural area of the Uaupés (Brazil-Colombia)

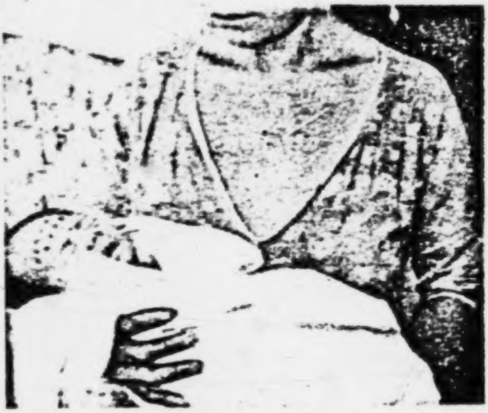
/Illustrations facing p. 17 in the original source/

142
291
302

Wanana girls (the younger one has a *Taryana* mother; the older one, a *Kubêwana*)

Pirá-tapuya types (from the settlement Patu, Papuri River)

142
304
854



Newborn Pirá-tapuya child (with the prophylactic painting of carajura)

/17/

175 648 The scouting, official or not, in search of the "drogas" (the natural products) and the "peças" /pieces/ (the Indians for public service or even as slaves) was going on. Soon the Rio Negro and its principal tributaries were quite well known by the Portuguese, even the connections with the Orinoco by way of the Cassiquiare and with the Guianas by way of the Rio Branco.

175 648 797 By royal letter of March 3, 1755, the "Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro" was created. In that very year, by decision of the Marquês /Marquis/ de Pombal, by decree of June 7, the Religious Missionaries were excluded from the secular direction of the native povoados (the direction being transferred to the judges and aldermen) and, in the spiritual one, were subject to the Bishops (no longer to their Religious Superiors). In April of that year Padre Joseph Monteiro de Noronha was chosen as Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania, under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Pará, who at that time was D. Frei Miguel de Bulhões, of the order of S. Bento.

On July 16, 1757, the first Governador, Joaquim de Melo Póvoas, was appointed, and in 1758 several aldeias were elevated to Vila /town/ or Lugares: that of Maruiá to Vila de Barcelos, as Capital; Itarendaua to Vila de Moura; Bararoá to Vila de Thomar; Jaú to Lugar de Ayrão; Cumarú to Lugar de Poiares; Aracarí to Lugar de Carvoeiro.

175 648 The territorial preoccupations of the metropolis dictated orders for the garrisoning of the upper Rio Negro against the Spanish expansionist tendencies. Capitão José da Silva Delgado was appointed for this in 1761, and he founded the localities of S. Pedro de Simapé, S. José dos Marabitanas, N. Senhora da Guia, S. Bárbara, S. João Batista do Mabé, S. Isabel, Senhor da Pedra, N. Senhora de Nazaré da Curiana, S. Gabriel da Cachoeira, S. Sebastião, and S. Antonio do Castanheiro Velho. This last one was later abandoned due to the impossibility of agriculture, always damaged by the leaf-cutting ant, and the population was transferred above the mouth of the Abunã, founding the povoado of S. Antonio do Castanheiro Novo. The Franciscan Frei José de S. Úrsula was appointed as the first vicar of S. Gabriel.

/17 cont./

175 648 In 1772 the povoado of N. Senhora de Loreto de Maçaraby was founded, and in 1781 that of N. Senhora das Caldas on the bank of the Cauaburí River.

By order of General João Pereira Caldas, commissioned by Portugal for the demarcation of the boundaries (with D. Francisco de Requena representing the interests of Spain), Coronel Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada went up the Rio Negro in 1784, founded the town of S. Marcelino at the mouth of the Xiê, and traveled on the waters of the Uaupés.

[797] Nevertheless, with the Missionaries reduced in number and powers, the unfitness of the "Diretores dos Índios" /Directors of the Indians/ was prejudicial to their /18/ Christianization and settlement in povoados. The "Diários" /Diaries/ of Sampaio and Ferreira document that and protest against it (2).

2. Alexandre R. Ferreira in the Participação segunda /second Communication/, dated January 30, 1786, affirmed: -- "I say what I have always said, that the Indians, after being freed, will remain in this respect in a worse condition than the one they had when slaves. The master in the life of the slave carefully looked after his money; the Director in the life of the Indian does not look after any interest." And he notes that the Indians died from much work and little food. "They give them only beijú or ticoara and caribé /dishes made with manioc/" (*o.c.*, 87).

On p. 43 he talks about the bad treatment that the Directors inflicted on the Indians, while they enriched themselves and became so many petty noblemen: -- "From one pair of absolute hands to another, and so absolute that in the vilas and lugares, or rather, *free dukedoms, marquisates*, and *earldoms* of the Directors, the Indians suffer, tied to the tenacious pillar of their suffering."

/18 cont./

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648

/Footnote 2 cont./ On p. 70 he reports of Coronel Teodósio Constantino Chermont, upon inviting the Mucunas Indians to settle in Tabocas, Apapóris River, that he heard from their principal /chief/, Maimanaca, that they would do it, "Provided, however, that he would have sent to them a vicar to baptize and indoctrinate them, as they greatly wished, and had requested in vain not a few times; but by no means the Director, because they were very well informed about the conduct of all of them with regard to the Indians in our towns, managing only to destroy them and not to edify them."

The Presidente of the Província, Conselheiro /Counselor/ Herculano Ferreira Pena, in the "Falla dirigida à Assembleia Legislativa Provincial do Amazonas /Speech directed to the Provincial Legislative Assembly of Amazonas/," on October 1, 1853, after recognizing that the noble plans of catechizing and educating the Indians had failed, affirmed: -- "For a /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ very simple and generally well-known reason, that is, because of the lack of faithful executors when the old Missionaries have disappeared, the ones who put their hearts into this enterprise, worthy certainly of Vieira, Nobregas, and Anchieta.

"By eliminating the Jesuits, the Portuguese government did not foresee that it was thus also ordering the destruction of the Indians, who, during the period of two centuries, had lived happily and contentedly under the paternal tutelage of those Religious; on the contrary, the famous Ministro del Rei D. José understood that this tutelage could advantageously be replaced by the command of the Directors then created; but the new system unfortunately did not have any effects other than the decline of the aldeias already formed, and

/18 cont./

175
648

/footnote 2 cont./ the impossibility of founding others that would resemble them, as is observed throughout Brazil.

"What the facts attest to is that if any good result was achieved, it was due to the zeal and the charity of the Missionaries.

"Therefore, to hand over the direction of the aldeias to religious who will be able to renounce completely the goods and the pleasures of the world, who will have the patience needed to forgive the Indians the mistakes and the faults stemming from the incontestable inferiority of their intelligence, who will inspire in them a love of work, who will instruct them in the principles of the Catholic religion and of the Christian doctrine, who, in sum, will educate them to the point of finding themselves able to fulfill the duties and to enjoy the advantages of civil society, is, in my view, the only system that we can follow with every probability of happy success." ("Relatorios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas," Vol. 1, pp. 218-9.)

[797] In spite of the lack of Missionaries, the process of Christianization was being accomplished, although more slowly, since Indians from the Uaupés went down to S. Gabriel or its environs when they heard of the presence of some priest there.

With the independence of Brazil proclaimed in 1822, complete autonomy was not granted to the province of S. José do Rio Negro, as it was to the others, and, as "Comarca do Alto Amazonas," it came to be integrated, up to 1850, with the Province of Pará.

/18 cont./

175 648 797 With the apostolic works of the Carmelite Frei José dos Santos Inocentes on the upper Rio Negro and tributaries for more than 20 years, counting from 1832, the evangelization of the natives acquired new vigor.

The Province of Amazonas having been created on September 5, 1850, its first Governador, João Batista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, in the same year that he came into office, 1852, appointed the Capuchin Frei Gregorio José Maria de Bene "Vigário encomendado das freguezias e povoações do alto Rio Negro e Missionário dos rios Uaupés e Içana" /Removable vicar of the parishes and towns of the upper Rio Negro and Missionary of the rivers Uaupés and Içana/, since Frei José dos Santos Inocentes was forced by illness to go down to Manaus. The activity of Frei Gregorio was great, and in little more than two years he managed to establish relations with 25 tribes (who appear in his list), trying to put them in aldeias, /19/ re-establishing many povoados, and bringing many individuals among them to Christianity. [103] The following towns are mentioned as those for which, in 1854, he asked for a change of name, to wit: on the Uaupés: Querari, Macaquinha, Micura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Coração de Jesus), Carurú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Fidelis martir), Mutum (aldeia of S. Cruz), Aracapuri (aldeia of S. João Batista), Jutica, Pacú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Sebastião), aldeia of Cubeo (aldeia of N. Senhora das Dores), Umarí, Iauareté (aldeia of S. Ana), Jabutí-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Paulo Apóstolo), Juquira (aldeia of S. Domingos), Naná-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Antônio de Lisboa), S. Jerônimo (aldeia of Conceição de N. Senhora), S. Joaquim, Trovão, Pitúna-rapecuma, Inuitera, Cunurí, Coró-Coró, Iura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Francisco das Chagas), Taracuá (S. Francisco das Chagas), Ambaíua, Ivitera-rapecuma. On the Tiquié: Tucano (or S. Isabel), Uíra-poço (or Nazaré), Maracajá (or S. José), Turí-igarapé (or S. Pedro). On the Papurí: S. Luzia dos Tucanos, S. Gregório Magno dos Pirá-tapuya. (Archivo do Amazonas, Year I, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 34, and Year II, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 7.)

/19 cont./

175 797 With alternating periods of assistance, the Capuchins proceeded to attend to the inhabitants of the upper Rio Negro and Uaupés until 1888, when they withdrew and the Mission vanished. Since that time the civilized and the natives of the Rio Negro have had periodic visits from /20/ ecclesiastics, few of whom went beyond S. Gabriel, and some did not reach there.

In 1914 the Mission of the Rio Negro and Uaupés was entrusted by the Holy See to the Salesiana Congregação de S. João Bosco, and a new and more promising phase for those tribes began. Fourteen of them located along the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié and Papurí are assisted materially, sanitarily, and spiritually. The Indians are attracted to the banks of these rivers and settled in small povoados.

For better civilizing assimilation, in accordance with Christian principles, besides the hospitals, maternity clinics, ambulatories, and churches, there are 13 schools (six male and seven female) operating (1958), which, in the regime of a boarding school, educate and instruct about 1500 children of both sexes in the language of the homeland, sciences, and arts. The contrast between the life of the former students of the Mission in their povoados and that of those who live in the malocas where the action of the Missionary has not reached is the best proof of the civilizing attainments of the Salesian Missions.

2. The First Relatórios

175 In the eighteenth century three Relatórios /Accounts/ with references to tribes of the Rio Negro and Uaupés appeared:

1st. "Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará até as últimas colonias dos dominios portuguezes em os Rios Amazonas e Negro. Ilustrado com algumas notícias que podem interessar a curiosidade dos navegantes e dar mais claro conhecimento das duas capitanias do Pará e de S. José do Rio Negro /Logbook of the voyage from the city of Pará up to the last colonies of the

/20 cont./

175 Portuguese dominions on the Amazon and Negro Rivers. Illustrated with some notes that might interest the curiosity of the navigators and give clearer knowledge of the two capitanias of Pará and S. José do Rio Negro/," by the Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ Dr. José Monteiro de Noronha ("Collecção de notícias para a História e Geographia das nações ultramarinas que vivem nos Dominios Portuguezes ou lhe são visinhas /Collection of notes for the History and Geography of the ultramarine nations that live in the Portuguese Dominions or are their neighbors/"; published by the Academia Real das Sciencias -- Vol. VI. Lisbon, 1856).

2nd. "Diário da viagem que em visita e correição das povoações da Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro fez o Ouvidor e Intendente Geral da mesma Francisco Xavier Ribeiro da Sampaio, no anno 1774 e 1775 /Diary of the voyage that, for a visit and the administration of justice in the town of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro, the Auditor and Intendant-general of the same, Francisco Xavier Ribeiro da Sampaio, made in the years 1774 and 1775/" ("Lisbon -- in the printing office of the Academia, 1825 -- With permission of H. Majesty").

3rd. "Diário da Viagem Philosophica pela Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro com a informação do Estado, presente pelo Dr. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, naturalista empregada na expedição philosophica do Estado /Dairy of the Philosophical Voyage through the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro with the information of the State, presented by Dr. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, naturalist employed on the philosophical expedition of the State/," in 1775-6 (Revista do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 48, Rio de Janeiro, 1885, pp. 147 ff.).

/21/ Ouvidor /Auditor/ Sampaio, like the preceding Ouvidores, only reached as far as the town of Thomar; he gives data on the Rio Negro and Uaupés, however, through information received from the author of the "Roteiro," whom he cites.

/21 cont./

175 Alexandre R. Ferreira went up the entire Rio Negro and on the Uaupés penetrated as far as Ipanoré. Thus, besides the pieces of information obtained from the "Diario" of Ouvidor Sampaio, he could add the ones that he obtained personally. Few, let it be said for the sake of the truth, that would be of interest to ethnography.

The "Descripção Chorographica do Estado do Gram-Pará que, por ordem alphabetica, descreveu João Vasco Manuel de Braum, Governador da Praça de Macapá no anno de 1789 /Chorographic Description of the State of Gram-Pará, which, in alphabetical order, João Vasco Manuel de Braum, Governor of the Praça de Macapá, described in the year of 1789/" dates from 1789. But, besides only repeating the data of Pe. Noronha, and even in the same order, concerning the Uaupés River, there appears only the "town of S. Joaquim do Coané, with 200 persons of the Uaupés and Coeuana nations" (Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Brasileiro, Vol. 36, 1873, p. 289).

Some more interesting information, although already known, is given by the "Noticias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/" of Cônego /Canon/ Fernandes de Souza. They date from the nineteenth century, but in 1793 he was already Vigário /Vicar/ in São Gabriel. (Cf. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Brasileiro, Vol. 10, Rio de Janeiro, 1876.)

Since the middle of the last century we have had more abundant notes that deal especially with the Uaupés, starting with the work Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro, by Alfred Russel Wallace, from the ethnographic point of view; and for the localization of the tribes, the Relatórios of the Capuchin Frei Gregorio de Bene, appointed Missionary of the Uaupés River from 1852 to 1854.

/21 cont./

3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

/22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank
133 the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days
of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more
[135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In
the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that,
after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver.
By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari
(Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá,
as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá
or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the
Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral
to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuána, Quereruri,
Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others.
304 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between
171 the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another
on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of
301 the same lip. On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well
polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed
[554] at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/22 cont./
301 hole that is made artificially across the middle from one
554 extremity to the other: the principals wear them about half a span long; the nobles, a little less, and the common people much shorter."

301 135 171 187. "Some Indians of the Tariarana nation, inhabitants of the Capuri River, were seen at another time with little plates of gold /Port. *folhetas de ouro*/ in the ears, which, in exchange for feathers, they bought from Indians of other nations, whom they did not know. Now it is known that the Indians of the Panenuá nation, who inhabited the upper part of the Ucayari, wear the same little plates and that from them they are passed on to the Tarianos. There is doubt, however, as to where the above-mentioned fragments of gold come from" (3).

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3. Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of João Pereira Caldas, Governador of the Rio Negro, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador (Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- *Lobo D'Almada*, p. 82) as follows: "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn by certain Indians of the Uaupés River as earrings; this is one thing about which I could not discover the slightest bit of information, although I have questioned many and different Nations, inhabitants of the same River, with whom I have talked. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing but a chimeric illusion that originated from having seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, whose wings, after being dried, resemble some metallic kind because of their thickness and shine. /This footnote is continued on the next page of the original source./

135 "Finally I believe that this Notice of such little Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is to that degree Fabulous, as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of

/22 cont./

135 /footnote 3 cont./ Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, extracted or brought from the Tiquié River in the year of 1749, if melted, appear to be of silver, when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already carrying them as such."

*101 189. "The Issana is inhabited by Indians of the nations
Baniva, Tumayari, Tuniari, Deçana, Puetana, Uerequena
171 and others. Those of the nation commonly called Uerequena,
[304] through corruption of the word /23/ Ariquena, have as a
mark of distinction a very large hole between the cartilage
and the lower extremity of the ears, in which they put
bunches of straw. Among them are found many who, prior
[551] to communication and knowledge of Whites, had Hebrew
names, some pure and others with slight corruption, such
as: Joab, Jacob, Yacobí, Thomé, Thomequí, Davidú,
Ivanan and Marianan."

b. Xavier Sampaio, in his "Diario," writes: -- No.
133 380. "Farther down the famous Ucayari, by another name
*[101] the Uaupés, derived from the nation called this, who
principally inhabit it, creates a bar. It empties with two
mouths and a triangular island of 20 leagues around and
innumerable rocks and cachoeiras, very dangerous because
of the frightening whirlpools they form... Toward the south
the Tiquié and Capuri, which are the principal ones. Toward

/23 cont./
133 the north there runs a channel of communication with the
river Guabiari, which descends from the environs of Santa
171 Fé de Bogotá. The Daçanas, Tarianas and Uaupés Indians
301 who might communicate with the Indians of the same
Guabiari have been seen with earrings of very fine gold,
which is supposedly extracted from the mines of New
Granada."

*101 381. "The Uaupés is inhabited by many nations, the
301 principal ones of which are Cocuana, Macu, Macucoena,
Uananá, Tariana, Deçaca (sic), Urinaná, Timanará,
554 Boanari, Mamengá, Panenuá; the most famous one,
however, is the Uaupés because of the difference of various
degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what
serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very
smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in
order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it at
the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span
in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of
[304] the common people much smaller. The Uaupés wear the
ears and lips pierced."

127 c. Numerous and interesting pieces of information
are found in the nineteenth century, especially in the
works of Wallace and Koch Grünberg. We shall cite them
whenever an opportunity presents itself to us, as confirmation of what is found at present, or to verify a modification
of indigenous customs, or, finally, to rectify those
authors' observations that seem incorrect to us.

*101
361

4. Places on the Rio Negro in the Eighteenth Century

with indication of the tribes

(According to the data of Pe. Noronha, Xavier Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira and Braum) /In the table below, margem esquerda (M.E.) = left bank, margem direita (M.D.) = right bank, leguas da foz = leagues from the mouth, almas = souls, antigo = anciently./

Tribes

A — Aruaque
Ar — Arunié, Ayrini, Ariini
B — Baré
Ba — Baiana
Bv — Baniva
C — Cubeuana
Ca — Carajai
Cc — Cocuana
Ce — Coeuana
D — Duanáis

J — Juri (pixuna)
Jp — Japiuna
Jr — Jaruna
M — Manáo
Ju — Juma
Ma — Macú
Mq — Maquiritare
Mr — Marapitena
Md — Mendó
Mp — Mepuri

P — Passé
Pv — Paviana
Px — Pexuma
T — Tacú
Pt — Puiteno
Te — Termairari
Tu — Turimarí
U — Uaupé
Ua — Uaranacuacena
Ue — Uerequena
Uy — Uauuana, Yayauana
X — Xamá
Xp — Xapuena

Manaus - margem esquerda (M.E.)	2 leguas da foz	B, Bv, P	
Ayrão - margem direita (M.D.)	30 " " "	A. M. T	(860 almas)
Moura - M.D.	42 " " "	M. Ca, Ce, Ju, B, Jp, Jr,	
Carvoeiro - M.D.	50 " " "	M. Pr. Ua (ext.)	(1786 ")
Poiares - M.D.	67 " " "	M. B. P.	
Barcelos - M.D.	74 " " "	M. B. Ba, Ue, P.	
Moreira - M.D.	90 " " "	M. B.	(164 almas)
Thomar - M.D.	107 " " "	M. B. Uy, P	(524 ")
Lamalonga - M.D.	111 " " "	M. B. Bv	(196 ")
S. Isabel - M.E.	127 " " "	U. J. P. Ue, Bv, Ma, Mq	(99 almas)
S. Ant. do Castanheiro Novo - M.E.	140 " " "	B. J, Px P, X.	(108 ")
Maçarabi - M.E.	154 " "	J. P	(175 ")
S. José - M.E.	162 " " "	B	(99 ")
S. Pedro (antigo Simapé) - M.D.	168 " " "	J. P	(95 ")
S. João Nepom. do Camundé - M.E.	171 " " "	P, Px, J	(94 ")
S. Bernardo de Camanaus - M.E.	175 " " "	J, P, X,	(109 ")
N. S. de Nazaré de Curiana - M.E.	178 " " "	P, Mp, Ar, Br Ma	(108 ")
S. Gabriel da Cachoeira - M.E.	180 " " "	B, Mp, J	(180 ")
S. Joaquim do Coané - M.D.	185 " " "	U, Cc	(257 ")
Santa Ana - M.E.	198 " " "	Bv	(198 ")
S. Felipe - M.D.	202 " " "	Bv	(23 ")
S. Miguel (foz do Içana) - M.E.	205 " " "	Bv	
N. Senhora da Guia - M.D.	206 " " "	B, Bv,	(87 ")
S. Marcelino (foz do Xié) - M.D.	222 " " "	Bv, Ue, Md	(65 ")
S. José dos Marabitanas - M.D.	231 " " "	Mr, Ar, B, Bv	(165 ")

/25/ 5. Difficulties of Identification

*101 127 128 The deciphering of the nomenclature of the indigenous tribes presents great difficulties, even limiting them to the human groups of the Uaupés and tributaries.

Such difficulty has various causes:

1st. -- We must first indicate, not only the possibility, but the real existence of typographical errors. For example, the important tribe Taryana, of the Arwake branch, which is located in various povoados of the Brazilian middle Uaupés, from Ararí-pirá to Periquito, is called Tariarana in the "Roteiro" of Padre Noronha; in the "Diarios" of the ouvidor /auditor/ Sampaio and of Rodrigues Ferreira, respectively, Taryana and Caryana; and on the apostolic maps of Frei Gregório, Itariana and Itatiana.

2nd. -- The ancient sources that can be of help to us carry secondhand or more remote information, the exactitude of which sometimes perplexes us, we who know how arduous it is to obtain full clarifications from the side of the natives. And many of the informants for those first explorers were necessarily Indians.

3rd. -- The above difficulty, understandably, will be increased even more because of the bad pronunciation of the natives; or perhaps because of phonetic differences or even because of deficiency of sound in their languages. The tribe called Hanẽrã in its own idiom, and which inhabits the headwaters of the Tiquié, is called Panẽrõá by the Tukanos, and Panẽnõá by the Tuyuka. This divergence becomes very understandable when we reveal that its language is of the Tukano family, but the words that start with the phoneme p in Tukano begin with the aspirated sound h in Hanẽrã. For example, father in Tukano is paxkõ, and in Hanẽrã, hakõ; mother in Tukano, paxkó, and in Hanẽrã, hakó. *[192]

/25 cont./

*101 4th. -- The expression "região do Uaupés" /region of the Uaupés/ is still vague today, and it was much more so in the past, also including the basins of the Içana and the Apapóris-Japurá. For this reason the first lists (of the eighteenth century) locate on the Uaupés tribes that actually live on those other rivers.

5th. -- The informants would almost never have been able to know how some tribe denominated itself. Not infrequently one and the same tribe is denominated differently by others. Questioning individuals of the Taryana tribe (among them two quite elderly ones, Paulino and Casimiro, of Iauareté) as to what they called themselves, they answered: -- Talyáseri (someone pronounced it Talyéseri). -- What does the word Taryana mean? -- We do not know, they answered. -- Who gave you the /26/ name of Taryana? They answered: -- "the whites" (4).

> 4. Stradelli, in his "Vocabulário Portuguez-Nheengatú e Nheengatú-Portuguez," points out that ana is a Nheengatú suffix that indicates abundance or people; hence its use in names of tribes: Taryana, Wanana, Desana, Kubẽwána, Barasana, etc. The term Taryana, therefore, results from Tarya (or Talya, with the transformation of the l for r by the phenomenon of rotacismo /sound shifting/) and the suffix ana. One also hears Talyãna.

In the forests watered by the Komé-ya (in Tukano) or Komé-ryaka (in the language of the region), tributary of the river Pirá-paraná, there are several malocas of a tribe that in its own idiom is called "Íde-masã" -- that is, water-tapúya or water-people. Since they frequently use the exclamation "aõ" (equivalent to the affirmative sim /yes/), the neighboring tribes nicknamed them "the ones who say 'ao.' " And thus the Tukanos called them "Aõ-nĩrã," the Tuyuka, "Aõ-nĩhá." The Colombians,

/26 cont./

*101 evidently through the information of some other tribe, designated these same "Íde-masã" by the name "Makuna," a term also recorded by Koch Grünberg, the meaning of which, however, is unknown to the present-day "Íde-masã."

6th. -- Just as ordinarily the tribes denominate themselves by the name of some animal or plant, it is likewise certain that at times their name is translated, not only into the Portuguese language or into the língua geral (5), but also into the idiom of other tribes. By way of examples: on the lower Tiquié there is a small tribe that in Portuguese is called Miritĺ-tapúya. This name is thus only the translation of the native name Nẽẽrõã, which indicates the palm tree miritĺ or buritĺ (mauritia flexuósa). Another tribe calls itself "Mõxtã," which is the name of a mosquito (of the genera stegoniya, culex, etc.) that bites during the night. In the Portuguese language it is known as Carapanã, which is a regional term of Amazonia to indicate such mosquitoes. The various languages try to imitate the sound "Mõxtã" or to translate the name of the insect, hence the names: "Mõxtẽá" in Tukano; Muxtã in Pirá-tapúya; Mõxteá in Tuyuka; Mõneá in Desana; in Kubẽwa Morẽ-Wa, in Taryana Ainĺ-wone; in Makú Kyira. The tribe known as Desãna is called Winá in

5. The Tupi of Amazonia is called the "Língua geral" /general language/ or "Nheengatú" (the good, beautiful language), a language sonorous and rich in terms and expressions, spoken even today by whites and caboclos of the Rio Negro and understood by many Indians of the Içana River. The Tupi, as it was spoken from S. Vicente (S. Paulo) to Maranhão, with its dialectal variations, was named "Abanheenga" (the language of the people, the language of the Indian).

/26 cont./

*101 its own idiom; the Tukano say *Wirã*; the Pirá-Tapúya, *Knã*; the Wanãna, *Kná*; the Kumãdene, *Desá*; the Maku, *Miná-dé*. A small tribe on the road to extinction, and which has already even lost its own idiom, speaking exclusively that of the /27/ Tukano, is known as *Arapasu*, a term from the língua geral, which indicates a small woodpecker. Other tribes translate this name into their own language, and thus the Tukano call this tribe *Kõ'rẽá*; the Kubẽwãna, *Kõré-wa*; the Taryãna, *Ku-hẽne*; the Makú, *Hom'de*.

7th. -- We also think that in some cases the difficulty is increased because some subdivision of a tribe is presented as a tribe. For example: on the river Içana there is a tribe known by the common name of *Cutia* or *Cutia-tapúya* (of the *Arwáke* group), and in the local language called *Awadzurunai*. On the river Uaupés, precisely at Taracuá-ponta, there are still living today some families of the tribe *Pirá-tapúya*, belonging to the subtribe *Bwá-põné*, as is said in its own idiom, which, translated into Portuguese, means: "*filhos da cutia*" /children of the cutia (agouti)/. Above Jandiá, on the river Papurí, there is likewise a subdivision of the Tukano tribe, named "*Boxsó-põrá*," children of the cutiváia (small cutia).

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167 8th. -- Complicating the problem even more, there are the "descimentos" /descents/, as the voluntary migrations of the Indians were called, when they took shelter under the protection of the white, in order to escape the persecutions of other tribes. In a given period these migrations resulted in the displacement of a tribe far from its previous *habitat*. Thus, in the first half of the last century, Indians of various tribes descended from the upper Rio Negro and Içana and came to establish themselves on the Lower Uaupés, as one can see on the maps of Frei Gregorio de Bene (see below, p. 25 /the author refers to this page number in the original source, but see pp. 40 ff. in the original source, pp. 59 ff. in the translation/). Or perhaps they went deep into the forest, without anything further being known of them. Koch Grünberg tells us about several *Káwa-yari* groups, who, from the

*101 /27 cont./
167 headwaters of the Içana and Querari, went on to the Apapóris by way of the headwaters of the Uaupés. Moreover there might be migrations by one and the same tribe to different places, and it will be designated in one locality preferably in one way, and in another, in another way.

*101 9th. -- It is also certain that, because the tribes are not distinguished very well, various tribes can come to be included under one and the same name. An easy mistake, particularly when they have identical customs, similar languages, and, who knows, using the same idiom. This is precisely what happens on the Uaupés. Ordinarily the first Relatórios /Accounts/ use the expression "Nações Uaupés" /Uaupés Nations/, including all the tribes that inhabit that river and tributaries.

These difficulties having been indicated, we shall try, comparing the sources, to identify the present-day tribes with the ancient ones, and thus to inquire into their habitat two centuries ago and the migratory movements that perhaps have taken place in this period.

/28/ 6. The Tribes of the Uaupés and Their Location

a. Lists of the eighteenth century.

1st. -- Padre Noronha in his "Roteiro" of 1759 mentions nine tribes, one of them on the Capurí or Papurí River, the Tariarana (Taryana), and eight on the Uaupés River.

2nd. -- Sampaio, 1775, lists 12 tribes on the Uaupés and its tributaries.

3rd. -- Ferreira, 1785, enumerates 21 tribes, one being on the Papurí River, the Cariana (Taryana), and 20 on the Uaupés.

Observations -- 1st. None of these lists is complete, their own authors declare. One will serve, then, to fill out the other, if it presents names that the others do not mention.

2nd. If a tribe from an earlier list does not appear on a later one, it might indicate extinction or migration of the tribe. Although forgetfulness of the reporter seems more probable to

/28 cont./

*101 us; or his silence would mean that he did not have any information about the tribe passed over in silence.

3rd. These lists, moreover, include tribes that reside outside Brazilian territory, at least according to the present-day demarcations of the frontiers (6).

6. According to the delimiting marks of the frontier, the Querari River empties into the Uaupés in Colombian territory. Inhabitants of the region, however, assure us that in Juruparí-cachoeira (Colombian stretch of the Uaupés) a stone with the name Brasil engraved in it can be seen at low water. The Relatorios of Jesuino Cordeiro, Tenente /Lieutenant/ of the 6th Companhia do Corpo Policial, and who was "Diretor dos Indios" on the rivers Uaupés and Içana, show him to us settling Indians in posts that now belong to Colombia, such as Cachoeira-do-Mutum (today Mitú, capital of the Território Nacional Colombiano do W[illegible]nd, much farther up, in the Lago-do-Espelho or [illegible]ua-lago, etc.

Arranged on a chart, we have:

	Pe. Noronha, 1759	**Sampaio, 1775**	**Ferreira, 1785**
1	....	....	Aguará
2	....	....	Arapaxi
3	....	....	Arará
4	....	....	Banibá
5	Burenari	Boanari	Burenari
6	....	....	Cequeno

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7.	Cueuana	Cueuana	Goianá
8.	Cubeuana	....	Cubeuana
9.	....	....	Cudujari
10.	....	....	Cuenacá
11.	....	Deçaca	....
12.	....	Macú	Macú
13.	....	Macucoena	....
14.	Mamangá	....	Mueinó
15.	....	Mamengá	Mamangá
16.	....	....	Paicueno
17.	Panenuá	Panenuá	Pananoá
18.	....	....	Pumenicá
19.	Quereruri	....	Quereruri
20.	Tariá(ra)na	Tariana	Cariana
21.	....	Timanará	....
22.	....	....	Uacari
23.	Uananá	Uanana	Uanana
24.	Uaupé	Uaupé	Uaupé
24.	....	Urinaná	....

a. -- List of Padre Noronha

1) UAUPÉS. -- Uaupés is a generic denomination applied (as follows from the most ancient documents) to the various tribes of the homonymous river (7).

7. Here is the whole of the "Carta Patente" /letters patent/: "Manoel Joaquim do Paço, Cavalleiro /Knight/ of the Order of Christ, Sargento Mor /First Sergeant/ attached to the General Staff of the Brazilian Army and Governador of the Capitania of the Rio Negro by His Most Faithful Majesty & I Make known to the ones who will see my Carta-Patente that, the Excellent Indian Raymundo José of the Uaupés Nation, located in the Lugar S. Jeronimo, on the Rio Negro, having requested

/29 cont./

*101 /footnote 7 cont./ it of me, authentic Documents having shown him to be quick and capable of it, and having found his Request to be just: I shall willingly establish the Excellent Indian referred to, Raymundo José of the Uaupés Nation, as I do by this, in the named Office of Principal /chief/ of the Indians of the Uaupés Nation, with which he will enjoy all the honors, freedoms, privileges, and exemptions that will fall to him by reason of the same Office.

"Therefore I command all the Officials, his subalterns and other Indians subordinate to him to recognize him as Principal and, as such, to honor, esteem and obey him, and to respect his orders as they must and are required to do.

"And for soundness of all, I ordered the present to be passed, signed by me and sealed with the Signet of the Royal Arms, that it will be accomplished entirely as is contained and stated in this, being Registered at the place it concerns. Given in these quarters of the Government of the Rio Negro on the seventeenth day of the month of November of the Year of the Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ of one thousand eight hundred and twenty. And I, Claudio José Carmo, Sargento Miliciano /Sergeant of the Militia/, who Serves as Secretary of the Government, have Subscribed it L.S.) /The parenthesis here perhaps should be final quotation marks; the footnote is continued on the following page in the original source./

Manoel Joaquim do Paço. Carta Patente for the purpose that Your Lordship will willingly establish the Excellent Indian Raymundo José in the Office of Principal of the Indians of the Uaupés Nation at the Lugar de S. Jeronimo.

For Your Lordship to see. No. 510 a. fl. 118 v.

He paid for the seal of this 1,600 reis. Barra, November 18, 1820.

Carvalho Costa

1820

/29 cont./

*101 Will there perhaps come under the denomination of "Uaupés" one tribe in /30/ particular? Yes. In fact, with the date of November 18, 1820, there is a "Carta Patente" from the Governador of the Capitania, Manoel Joaquim do Paço, establishing the Excellent Indian Raymundo José in the office of "Principal" of the Indians of the "Nação Uaupés" /Uaupés Nation/ of the locality of S. Jerônimo (8).

8. Around the end of the sixteenth century, according to what Stradelli thinks (cf. Note 1, I),lived a great Taryana Tuxauã by name of Buopé, who established his tribe on the river Ucaiarí. With successful military exploits he faced the other tribes, especially the Wanana, and became famous. Supposing the existence of the Tuxáua Buopé, one might grant that his name could have been linked to the river and to his own tribe, which is the Taryana. It is difficult, however, to explain /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ how Uaupé came to be the specific denomination of the Tukano tribe, rival of the Taryana tribe to which Buopé belonged.

[103] Unless the same name for the Taryana Tuxáua and for the river is a mere coincidence. Or perhaps the latter was already named Uaupés long before the warlike deeds of the Taryana chief Buopé, and the closeness of the names is due to confusion or distortion. The river, yes, is the one that lent the name to the nations along its banks, and in particular to a more numerous and dominant tribe, that of the Daxseá or Tukano. It is proper to note that it is only in these last years that the name Uaupés is becoming general for the river. Up to about 20 years ago the river was popularly known as Caiarí.

/30 cont./

*101 One is dealing evidently with one tribe in particular. This follows: 1st. from the singular redaction: "Nação" Uaupés; 2nd. one cannot think of a general chief for a confederation of tribes, a fact that did not happen in that era; 3rd. the Tuxauas, or "Principais" /principals/, are not even chiefs of the whole tribe, but of small groups of their tribe. The appointment indicates that he will be "Principal" of the Uaupés Indians of the place S. Jerônimo.

Today this denomination Uaupé is not applied to any of the tribes of the homonymous river. 8th. /sic/ Which tribe would be the one known until the middle of the last century as Uaupés? On March 17, 1848, the Brigadeiro /Brigadier/ João Henrique de Mattos, Director-general of the Indians, issued the title of appointment as Tuxaua of S. Joaquim to the Indian João de Matos, of the "Nação Tucano," son of the late Tuxaua Excellent Raymundo José (cf. Archivos do Amazonas, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 30, of October 23, 1906). Now it is known that the children belong to the tribe of the father, from which it is easily inferred that his father was also "Tucano," of the "Nação Uaupés" mentioned in the Carta-Patente of 1820.

"Nação Uaupés" in the old lists designates, then, the Tukano tribe, the most numerous and important one of the Uaupés River, and which will be discussed in detail in the present study.

We find the name Tucano for the first time and the denomination Uaupé for the last time in "Noticias Geographicas da Capitania do Rio Negro, no grande Rio Amazonas /Geographical Notes from the Capitania of the Rio Negro, on the great Amazon River/," by Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania, who practiced his ministry there for 37 years, already being Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel (today the town of Uaupés) in 1793 (Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras., Vol. 10, p. 465 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1870).

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*101 2) BURENARI or BOANARI. The author of Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar [Sea River] / (9)

> 9. "Pelo Rio Mar" is the name of a splendid Relatório drawn up in 1933 by the Salesian Prelate of the Rio Negro, Dom Pedro Massa, Titular Bishop of Hebrão, containing a historical, geographical, and ethnographical sketch of the Prelacy and the activities of the Salesian Missionaries and fully documented with photographs and statistics of the scholastic, sanitary, and religious assistance given to the forest dwellers.

identifies Burenarí with Boanara and Boytana, and adds: "homens-cobra, índios de origem caraíba que moram no rio Uaupés /snake-men, Indians of Carib origin who live on the Uaupés River/." In the Brazilian stretch of the Uaupés and also in the Colombian stretch that we visited, or from where we could obtain information, no tribe exists under the name of Burenari, Boanari, Boianara, or Boytana. The etymology actually suggests a derivation from the Nheengatú name buia, boia, snake. The Boanari tribe on the river Uapés /sic/ likewise appears in the "Relatórios" (see Catalogues of the 19th cen., p. 34 /the author refers to this page number in the original source, but see "Lists of the Nineteenth Century," p. 39 in the original source, p. 56 in the translation/). Meanwhile, no such tribe appears in the list of Frei Gregório de Bene, Missionary on the Uaupés in those same years. The "Relatórios" might have been drawn up on information from several sources, such as the old "Diários" and the "Roteiro" itself. The accounts of Frei Gregório, who lived more than two years among the natives of the Uaupés, bear the credentials of value (see below, II, 6, b). Frei Gregório mentions the Giboia tribe on the Aracapurí (upper Uaupés). By this location one could be dealing with some group coming from the Aiarí or Içana. The "Relatórios" do not mention any Giboia tribe. We do, however, find a Giboia tribe on the Içana River. If the Burenarí tribe is

/*31 cont.*/

*101 the same *Giboia*, we conclude that it is the one that in its own idiom is called *Dzurémẽ*, belonging to the group of Arwake tribes, as is seen by the vocabulary that we gathered and recorded (cf. the work of the Author, *Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical* /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/).

Artur Ramos, meanwhile, indicates that the *Boanarí* are of the *Caraíba* group, "almost extinct, who inhabit the Uatamá, tributary of the Amazon, and who today live on the river Uaupés" (Introdução à Antropologia Brasileira, I, p. 198). Perhaps this information should be corrected, at least with regard to the *habitat*, or perhaps even totally, according to what we have just presented.

/*32*/ 3) *CUBEUANA*. -- It is the great tribe also known by the name of *Kubeu* or *Kubewa*, with many representatives still today on the upper Uaupés and its tributary, the Querarí (see IV, 2p /p. 151/).

4) *CUEUANA*. The *Cueuana* tribe figures in the "lista das Nações indígenas /list of the native nations/" of the "Relatórios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas" (Vol. I, pp. 259 ff.) corresponding to the years of 1852-7. Nevertheless no such tribe appears in the reports of Frei Gregório. "*Cocuane*" is what appears in the list of Frei Gregório. Curt Nimuendajú identifies it also with *Cocuana*, and reports that in 1927 there were remnants of the "Cocuana or Cueuana" tribe in three sites at the mouth of the Uaupés, having already lost their own idiom and speaking only the *língua geral* (or Nheengatú). Already in 1759, according to information from Padre Noronha, the *Cocuana* resided at the mouth of the Uaupés in S. Joaquim do Coané. And in the report of July 28, 1853, of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Coreiro /Cordeiro/, 108 Indians of the "*Chuéuana*" nation, as he erroneously writes, appear there.

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*101 [103] We think that the name of the locality Coané (S. Joaquim do Coané) derives precisely from the tribe that resided there at the time of the discovery. Coané would only be a different pronunciation of the name Coianá, as we have heard it pronounced, or Cueuana.

5) MAMANGÁ. This tribe does not appear in the report of Frei Gregório, although it is mentioned in Vol. I of the Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas as existing on the river Tiquié. We have not heard any tribe of the rivers Uaupés, Papuri, and Tiquié mentioned under the name of Mamangá. Accepting the information of these sources of the eighteenth century as correct, however, it might very well be that one is dealing with a group that later emigrated or even became extinct.

Nevertheless, we are not inclined to accept the hypotheses of extinction or migration; we judge it more plausible that it is only a matter of a division of some Uaupés tribe. Mamengaba, mamangá, or mangangá is the name of the bees of the genus Bombas. Koch Grünberg points out (Z.I. 283) at the mouth of the Dyí-igarapé, tributary of the Uaupés, a Kubewãna horde with the name of Utí-waíwa or "Wasp-Indians." It is possible that one is dealing with the Utsí-áwekõ, the tenth subdivision of the Kubewãna, according to the list of Josefa (cf. IV; 2p /p. 153/).

We also know a Tukano subdivision named Yaí-uxtyá (cf. IV -- 2a /p. 127/), which is the name of a large wasp, and residing precisely on the Tiquié, in the povoados of Caruru and S. Tomé (10).

10. Perhaps Utí-waíwa is a simple morphological alteration of Yaí-uxtyá, by an inversion of the terms (Uxtyá-yaí), with loss of the aspiration would give Utí-yai, and from that later Utí-uaíua or Utí-waíwa in the representation of International Phonetics.

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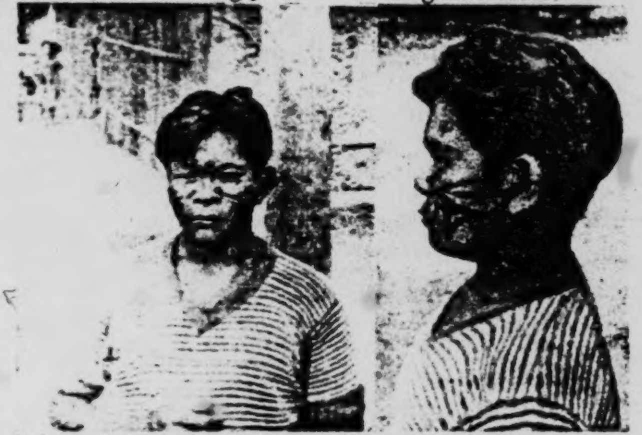
/Illustrations facing p. 32 in the original source/



Tukano type (painted for the dances) (settlement of Iua-pixuna, Papuri River)

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Woman of the Aõnira or Íde-masã tribe

Girls of the Makú tribe (the younger one had her hair cut in the initiation rite)

/Illustrations facing p. 33 in the original source/

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Maloca under construction (Kubewana tribe)

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At Ambaína (Querari River, tributary of the Uaupés)

Maloca under construction (Iawareté-tapuya tribe, Siari River, tributary of the Içana)

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*101 It is advisable here to note that on the Aiarí River (tributary of the Içana) there still survive at the present time two small groups of the Arwake tribe named *Kawa-tapuya* (11)

> 11. A *Káwa-tapuya* Indian by the name of Miguel Joaquim, from the locality of S. Joaquim, Aiarí River, introduced himself as "*Cacau-tapuya.*" We think it is only a mistake. These are the few words of the original *Káwa-tapuya* language that an old Indian woman could tell us (since nowadays all of them speak Siwsí): *[192]
>
> Cuia /calabash, Crescentia/, *tíya* or *tí:a*
> basket, *ápa*
> fishhook, *épwui*
> dog, jaguar, *dzáwi*
> pot, *darápi*
> head, *xnúida*
> he has, *hí-katsa*

or *Ainidákenai* in the native idiom. *Caua* is a Língua Geral term that means *wasp*. *Curt Nimuendajú* identified the *Kawa-tapuya* with the *Maulyene* and calls them the most numerous tribe of the Aiari River. It is possible that this is a mistake by Curt (cf. our work *Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia*).

6) *PANENOÁ*. -- This tribe appears in the lists of Padre Noronha, Sampaio, and Ferreira. It would be the tribe that traded to the Taryana those plates of gold that the latter used as adornment, according to what the first explorers narrate. This tribe does not appear in the Relações /Reports/ of Frei Gregório, although we find it in the list of the Relatórios.

There is a tribe denominated *Panẽnõá* or *Panẽrõá* by the Tukano and in the native idiom called *Hẽnera* (cf. IV -- 2, g /p. 136/), of the Tukano family of languages, as can be verified by the vocabulary we obtained (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical"). Their *habitat* is the headwaters

/33 cont./

*101 of the Tiquié or, more accurately, the environs of the igarapé Comé-ia.

Koch Grünberg, among the Tuyuka of the upper Tiquié, obtained information on the Buchpu-machsa, the Palãnoá, the Erúlia, the Pamõ-machsa, and other tribes that lived on the Pirá-paraná, a river called Uaíya by the Tukano, and more toward the headwaters resided the Yahuana, enemies of the Buchpu-machsa (Z.I. 198). Palãnoá would only be a different spelling, explicable by the rotacismo /sound shifting/ of so many Indians, especially on the Papuri and the Uaupés, due to Taryana influences.

7) QUERERURÍ or QUERERUÍ. -- From the custom of designating the rivers after the tribes that inhabit them and vice versa, we might think that this is a matter of some tribe of the river Querarí, tributary of the Uaupés. At the present time Kubewana groups live on the Querarí, and probably the said Quererurí is from this group. Or, like the Tukano, /34/ who were designated as Uaupés, would not a Kuberwãna group be known as Quererurí because they held sway over the river Querarí?

We did not succeed in obtaining any information about the existence of a tribe named Quererurí or Quereruí in the basin of the Uaupés.

8) TARIANA. -- Padre Noronha mentions as a tribe of the Papurí. "Some Indians of the Tariarana (sic) nation, inhabitants of the river Capurí, were seen at another time with little plates of gold in the ears" ("Roteiro," No. 187). Sampaio reckons the Tariana among the tribes of the Uaupés (including the two principal tributaries). Alexandre Ferreira writes Cariana, calling on the "Roteiro" of Padre Noronha: "the Cariana Indians of the Papurí were formerly seen with plates of gold in the ears, obtained by trading feathers with those of another nation, the Pananuá" ("Diário," Participação).

/34 cont./

*101 Taryana is the Arwake tribe that at present occupies various localities of the Uaupés and Papurí, and in its own idiom is called Talyáseri (in Tukano Páana) (cf. IV -- 2, y /see 2, z, p. 172/).

9) UANANA. -- In Pelo Rio Mar we find it identified with Uaíana or Yurití-tapuya, etc. Wanana is a tribe with several malocas and povoados on the Uaupés, above Japu-ponta, which calls itself Kótirya and in the Tukano language is called Oxkó-ti-khĩra, and in Pirá-tapuya, Oxkó-tíria. Uaiana, instead, is the name that the Tukano give the tribe also known as Jurití-tapuya. Nowadays, as it appears to us, they only live in Colombian territory in the area watered by the river Paca and other small tributaries (Acuaricuara, etc.; cf. IV -- 2, u /p. 163/). Both the idiom of the Wanana and that of the Waíana, or Jurití, belong to the Tukano linguistic family, as can be seen by the respective vocabularies (see Discoteca Etno-Linguistico-Musical /Ethno-Linguistic-Musical Record Collection/ by the Author).

b -- Of Ribeiro Sampaio.

In contrast with the preceding, on Sampaio's list of tribes
there are missing: Cubeuana and Quereruí
there are added: Dessana (or Deçaca), Macú, Mucucoena, Timanará, Urinaná.

1) DESSANA. -- It is listed in the reports of Frei Gregório and in the "Relatórios." Several groups of this tribe still exist on the Uaupés, Tiquié and Papurí, as will be seen later (IV -- 2, w /p. 167/).

2) MACÚ. -- It appears in several lists to come. Different human groups are indicated under this denomination, as will be seen later on (IV-1, a (4) /p. 111/ and IV-2 /p. 113/).

3) MACUCOENA -- At present along the rivers Uaupés, Papurí, or Tiquié and their tributaries no tribe exists under the name /35/ of Macucoena. Pelo Rio Mar informs us:

/35 cont./

*101 "derived from the bird macú: found on the river Uaupés." Although it appears in the list of the "Relatórios," we do not find it in the report of Frei Gregório and we are inclined to think that it is only another name under which some tribe of the Uaupés was known, perhaps even the Macú or Makuná (see further IV-2, h /p. 137/). Unless it is a question of a simple error in printing or of pronunciation.

4) TIMANARÁ. -- We find in Pelo Rio Mar: "Timanará, Timanarú, mentioned on the river Uaupés." -- It likewise appears in the "Relatórios," not on Frei Gregório's maps, and at present in the Uaupés area no tribe with this name is known.

5) URINANÁ. -- We read in Pelo Rio Mar: Urunaná, urinaná -- índios escudo /Shield Indians/. On the river Uaupés. This tribe appears in the Relatórios; not, however, in the reports of Frei Gregório. Perhaps this is a matter of the Uriná tribe? According to Koch Grünberg, it belongs to the Arwake group of the river Maratí, east of the Caciquiare, near the Yabarana Indians (Koch G. -- Festschrift Eduard Seler -- Stuttgart, 1922, pp. 205-6). Chestmir, in his classification of the languages, indicates as having disappeared the Wiriná idiom, which he affiliates with the Arwake family of languages (cf. the work of the Author, Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia).

c) -- Of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira.

On Ferreira's list we notice:
missing: Cueuana.
added: Aguará, Arará, Banibá, Cecueno, Goianá, Cudujarí, Cuenaca, Macú, Mueinó, Paicueno, Pumenicá.

1) AGUARÁ. -- It does not appear in the different lists, unless we identify it with the Agaram tribe (or else Agarani), which is indicated in the "Relatórios" as existing on the Rio Branco. Pelo Rio Mar informs us only: "noted on the Uaupés River," and suggests its identification with another tribe also unknown, Agauíra: "a tribe mentioned on the Rio Negro, perhaps the same Aguará."

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/35 cont./

*101 Could one perhaps identify Aguará with Guará? Guará, as Stradelli points out, is the Nheengatú name of the ibis rubra, which is white at birth and turns red only in the second year. Would not this similarity of the still young guará with the garça /heron/ to whose family -- the ardeídae -- it also belongs, which is such that the Tupí dictionaries translate guará as garça, perhaps justify giving to the guará or aguará Indians the name of garça Indians? The Tukano legends refer to the yehé or garça Indians. In the last century Wallace (cf. II-6, b /p. 56 /) mentions, on the river Papurí, the garça or uacará Indians (cf. below what is said about the Coró-Coró /see p. 62 /).

/36/ 2) ARAPIXÍ. -- It too is not read in the several lists that we possess. Nor does any tribe with this name now exist in the basin of the Uaupés. Pelo Rio Mar presents the following suggestion: "Arapixí -- mentioned on the river Uaupés; perhaps the same Arapaços" (cf. IV-2, j /p. 140/).

3) ARARÁ. -- In the "Relatórios" there appears an Arará tribe, which, however, is localized on the Madeira River. Among the Arwake of the Içana there exists a tribe called Arara-Tapuya, which, in the Siwsí language, is called Ådaru-dákenei. (Cf. below what is said about the Baniva.)

4) BANIBÁ. -- Baniva (Baníua, Banibá, Vaniva, Maniva) will appear in various subsequent lists.

More than a tribe, it is a conjunction of Arwake tribes. Although members of these tribes are found dispersed in one or another locality of the Uaupés, their habitat is the river Içana. Curt Nimuendajú, in his study "Idiomas indígenas del Brasil," presents the following division:

/*36 cont.*/

Western Baniwas:

101 *Karútana* (Baniwa of the Içana, in Santa Ana), including four classes: *Mapátse-dákenei* or Yurupari tapuya, *Wádzoli-dákenei* or Urubú-tapuya, *Dzawí-mínanei* or Yauareté-tapuya, and *Adarú-mínanei* or Arara-tapuya.

Kadaupuritana (with two forms: Baniwa of Tunuí and of the Mariuá)

Moríwene or *Sukuružú-tapuya* (Baniwa of Seringa-Rupitá)

Walíperi-dakenei or Siwsí-tapuya (or Star-tapuya) (Baniwa of Carurú-poço, river Aiarí)

Hohódene (Baniwa of the Yandú-cachoeira, river Içana)

Máulieni (12)

[115] 12. One of the excellent Siwsí informants gave us *Máuri-weni* as the translation, in his language, of Káwa-tapúya. It is possible that he was mistaken. Among the few words of the native tongue still remembered by the Káwa-tapuyas of the locality of S. Joaquim, near Uapuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, is the name of the tribe itself, *Aini*, the name by which it is also indicated by other sister languages. (Cf. our work *Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia*.)

or Kawa-tapuya (Baniwa of the Uirá-uaçú, river Aiarí)

Payuliene or Pakú-tapuya (Baniwa of the Acutí-igarapé, river Içana)

Adyáneme, Adyána or Tatú-tapuya (Baniwa of Santa Rosa, river Guainía)

/37/

*101 Kumadá-minánei or Ipeka-tapuya (Baniwa of S. Pedro, river Içana)

Kapité-minánei or Coati-tapuya (Baniwa of Camuti-poço, river Içana)

Eastern Baniwas in Moyo, on the river Orinoco.

5) CECUENO. -- The various lists omit it, and we could not obtain any information from the natives of the Uaupés and Içana, or in the books, about the Cecueno.

6) CUDUIARI. -- Pelo Rio Mar informs us only: "tribe mentioned on the Rio Negro and Uaupés, at the end of the eighteenth century." Perhaps it was being identified with the Carajarí, which the documents of the eighteenth century certify as located in Moura, on the lower Rio Negro? (Cf. II-6.)

Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 392) gives information on the Káwayari Indians, who went from the river Içana to the Uaupés, Pirá-paraná, Apapóris, and other rivers where they are still found today. They wear, he says, a large plug in the ears, in such a way that their lobes reach the shoulders. They would be of the Arwáke group, however, and their idiom very similar to those of other Arwake tribes of the Içana. Nevertheless Curt N., who studied the Arwáke of the Içana, gives no information about the Kuduyarí, or about the Kawayarí; just as the natives whom we were able to consult on the rivers Içana and Aiarí could not tell us anything about these tribes.

Concerning the Káwa-yari of the headwaters of the river Cananarí and Tiquié, a Colombian trader, Napoleão Estrada, who visited them, informs us that they belong to the family of Tukano languages. It is probable, then, that the Káwa-yari or Kavírya of the forests of the Cananarí are a tribe of the Tukano group, or perhaps they are the Káwa-yari whom the Bará present as a subdivision of their tribe (cf. IV-2, b /p. 128/).

/37 cont./

*101 We are of the opinion that the Cuduiarí mentioned by Ferreira are the Kubêwâna of the river Cuduiarí, since there does not appear to have been in the historical period, at least from two centuries ago up to now, a displacement of Indians, the said Cuduiarí, to other rivers.

7) CUENACÁ. -- We do not see it appear in any of the other above-mentioned lists, unless it is to be identified with the Queuanacá tribe, which the "Relatórios," however, locate on the river Japurá (cf. II-6, b).

Properly speaking, it is not a matter of a tribe, but a subdivision, Kwénaka, of the Taryana tribe (cf. below, IV, 2, y /see IV, 2, z,pp. 175 and 176 f./), with representatives residing at present in Iauareté and Ira-uaçú-ponta. It coincides, therefore, with the location that the maps drawn by Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada (Governador of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro from February 9, 1787, until the date of his death, October 27, 1796, and who from 1784 up to 1787 explored the region of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco by order of the Portuguese Crown) assign to the Queuanacan Indians.

/38/ 8) GOIANÁ. -- In Pelo Rio Mar we see it identified with Coeuana, Cubeuana, Cubeo, etc. It does not appear in the list of the "Relatórios" nor in that of Frei Gregório. Probably it is the one that Wallace writes Queianá and locates in S. Joaquim do Coané, at the mouth of the Uaupés, and consequently is identified with the Cocuana, whom we have also heard called Coianá (cf. above).

9) MUEINÓ. -- The various lists are silent on it. Pelo Rio Mar gives only: "Mueinó, mentioned on the river Uaupés." On a map of the Colombian Territory of the Uaupés, prepared with much care and detail by the Missionaries of the Congregação de Montfort, and which we can consult in Mitú (Capital of the Territory), some "Moeinon" Indians are mentioned, although located on the headwaters of the Caquetá, a river that, joining the Apapóris, gives origin to the Japurá.

/*38 cont.*/

#101 The "*Relatórios*," according to the documents of the eighteenth century, enumerate the *Mendó* and have them located in the povoado of *S.* *Marcelino*, at the mouth of the *Xié* River. The maps worked up by Lobo D'Almada place *Moeinan* Indians on the river Uaupés, in the vicinity of the Ipanoré cachoeira. Now at present several *Taryãna* or *Arwáke* groups live in this area of the Uaupés. It is probable, on account of this location, that one is actually dealing with *Mendó* Indians who emigrated from the river Xié (or with some Taryana subdivision).

10) -- *PAICUENO*, *PUMENICÁ*. -- Omitted in the various lists. In *Pelo Rio Mar* there is found only, about the first one: "indicated on the Uaupés"; and about the second: "indicated on the Rio Negro." It was not possible for us to find any other references.

11) -- *UACARÍ*. -- It does not appear in the other lists that we know. In *Pelo Rio Mar* one reads: "Uacarú, Uacaraú, Uacarauá. Mentioned on the Rio Negro and on the Juruá." *Uacarí* or *acarí* is a word taken from the Língua Geral and indicates the short-tailed monkey *cacajao*, of the *cebídeos* /Cebidae/ family (genus *cacajao*, the *brachyurus* *rubicundus* or *macaco* *inglês* /English monkey/, which is called *Wax-tĩ-suru* in the Tukano idiom). And it is also the designation for several *locariídas* /Loricariidae/ fish (in Tukano *wĩ'rĩ*). On the Brazilian Uaupés, on the Papurí, and on the Tiquié, not only does no tribe exist under the denomination of *Acarí*, but the natives of these rivers and of the Pirá-paraná whom we could question were also unable to give any information about such a tribe. Might the *Uacarí* be only a subdivision of some tribe? We know of several subtribes designated under the name of some monkey; for example, in the Tukano tribe, the *Waúro*, in the Yebá-masã, the *Emõá* and the *Sêi*; among the Kubêwãna, the *Tóreakõ*. From the location on the Uaupés, one might /*39*/ think of a Tukano or Kubewãna subdivision. It seems, however, that the *Uacarí*

/39 cont./

can not be identified with either the Waũ (Uáia-pisá, sagui) or the Tóreakõ (woolly monkey).

b. Lists of the nineteenth century.

1st. -- Alfred Russell /sic/ Wallace, to finish his book of travels, presents a list of tribes, adding sometimes the meaning of the name in Portuguese and the location of the tribe. It should be noted, however, that Wallace was only on the Rio Negro and on the Uaupés up to Micura, above Uaracapurí. Therefore he obtained the locations of the tribes on other rivers through information, and his notes do not all possess the same value.

2nd. -- The reports or maps of Frei Gregório de Bene are valuable because of the localization and are very detailed.

3rd. -- We have the official list, presented by the Presidente Conselheiro Herculano Ferreira Pena on October 1, 1853, in the "Falla dirigida à Assembléia Legislativa Provincial do Amazonas /Speech directed to the Provincial Legislative Assembly of Amazonas/" (pp. 259 ff. of Vol. I of the "Relatorios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas /Reports from the Presidency of the Province of Amazonas/"). This list, although official, has only the value of a compilation; it does not give any new observations and is only a transcription of the "Dicionario Topographico, Historico e Descriptivo da Comarca do Alto Amazonas /Topographical, Historical and Descriptive Dictionary of the District of Upper Amazonas/" by Lourenço da Silva Araujo e Amazonas (1852), although supplemented with the data furnished by Frei Gregório. On the Uaupés River are listed 26 tribes and on the Papurí only the Mamangá (cf. above what we said about the Mamangá,

/39 cont./

*101 II -- 6, a /see p. 44 /). In the "Falla dirigida à Assembléia Legislativa Provincial do Amazonas" the Presidente Angelo Thomaz do Amaral, on October 1, 1857, presents a chart of the natives in which appear four tribes that do not figure in the list of Presidente Pena, to wit: Cariarana, Peixe, Caenatarí, and Beijú, the first two being only different spellings of Tariana and Pirá-tapuya, and the last two appear in the catalogue of Frei Gregório. For this reason we do not transcribe the list of Pres. Amaral.

a -- Of Wallace.

On the Uaupés River: 1. Queianá (= Coeuana or Cocuana) in S. Joaquim; 2. Tariana, in S. Joaquim; 3. Ananá (Abacaxí), below Iauareté; 4. Cubeo, near Carurú-cachoeira; 5. Piraiurú (mouths of fish); 6. Puçá (hammock /Port. rede, hammock, net/); 7. Carapanã (mosquitoes), in Juruparí-cachoeira; 8. Tapira (anta); 9. Uaracú (a fish), above Juquiraparaná; 10. Cóidia; 11. Tocandira (some ants); /40/ 12. Jacamin (cavadeira bird /Galbulidae/); 13. Mirití (Mauritia, a palm tree) on the Bacate-paraná; 14. Omaúas (Hianacoto).

On the Tiquié River: 15. Macuná; 16. Taiassú (wild pig). 17. Tijucó (clay).

On the Japú-paraná: 18. Arapasso.

/40 cont./

On the Apapóris (13)

*101 [131] 13. It must be a mistake by Wallace; one is not dealing with the Apapóris (tributary of the Japurá), but with the Papurí River (tributary of the Uaupés), where the Tukano, Pirá-tapúya, and Desãna tribes actually have their main nuclei.

River: 19. Tucano; 20. Uacará (garça); 21. Pirá (fish); 22. Deçana.

On the Querirí (Cuiarí or Iquiarí) (14)

[103] 14. Bento Aranha (in the Archivo do Amazonas, Year II, No. 5, p. 2), in answer to a letter from Koch Grünberg, records Iquiarí as another name of the river Içana: "in the same manner as they call Iquiarí the river Içana or Issana. /The final quotation marks are missing./

At present the river Içana is not known under any other denomination. And no river in the region is known under the name of Iquiarí. Under that of Quiarí, yes, there exists a tributary of the left bank of the Aiarí, which, in turn, is a tributary of the right bank of the Içana. Likewise there is no river under the denomination of Querirí in the region. Perhaps the spelling was Querarí, which is a tributary of the left bank of the Uaupés, on the Colombian border, Caduiari is one of the tributaries of the Querarí; and Cuiarí, one of the tributaries of the left of the Içana (cf. above II-3, "Ethnographic Information," on Yaquiri and Quiquiari /see p. 27 /).

/40 cont./

*101 River: 23. Ipeca (duck): 24. Gí (ax): 25. Cáua (wasp).

On the Cuduiarí River: 26. Coró-coró (colheireiro--green ibis): 27. Bauúna; 28. Tatú. On the Canicí-paraná (15):

15. It was not possible for us to obtain information on the existence of the Canicí-Paraná. It is probably a matter of a printing error.

29. Tanimbuca (ashes).

In Juquira-paraná: 30. Macuras (gambá /opossum/).

6 /sic/ -- Of the Relatórios.

Uaupés River (pp. 259 ff.): Boanarí, Carapanã, Coeuana, Cubeo, Deçana, Itariana, Juruá, Juruparí, Macú, Macucoena, Mamengá, Panenoá, Picassú-tapuia, Pirá-tapuia, Tapiira, Tariana, Timanara, Tocandira, Tucano, Uananá, Uaupés, Urinaná. Page 616: Catariana, Peixe, Cainatarí, Beijú.

Tiquié River: Mamengá.

c -- List of Frei Gregório

Dated 1853 (Archivo do Amazonas, October 23, 1906, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 32-39), the Mapas /Maps/ of the apostolic labor of Frei Gregório de Bene among the Indians of the Uaupés and Içana distinguish the localities, name, age, and tribe of the individuals. Summarizing the data, we have, on the river Uaupés, the nations:

*101 Mutum-cachoeira: Cubeo, Tocandira, Tapiira, Picassú, Bauna, Macú

Mucura-rapecuma: Itariana, Cubeo, Beijú

Aracapuri: Ananá, Deçana, Cubeo, Giboia

Pacú-cachoeira: Onça, Quaty, Tapiira, Cainatari

Carurú-cachoeira: Itariana, Ananá, Piratapuia, Cubeo, Baniua, Deçana

Jabutí-cachoeira: Cutia

Iauareté-cachoeira: Itariana, Tucano, Piratapuia, Baniua

Juquira: Juruá, Tucano, Piratapuia, Deçana, Itariana

S. Jerônimo: Itariana, Tucano, Piratapuia, Deçana, Arapaço, Ananá, Cubeo

Naná-rapecuma: Tucano, Deçano, Arapaço, Macú, Itariano, Carapanã, Iravassú

S. Joaquim: Cainatari, Macú, Piratapuia, Cubeo, Tucano, Irauassú, Baniua, Itatiana, Arapaço, Jurupari, Carapanã, Tabaiana, Itariana, Deçana, Macú, Cocuane.

Arranged on the table we have:

Tribes of the Uaupés in the nineteenth century

	Wallace, 1848	*Frei Gregório*, 1852-3	*Relatórios*, 1853-7
1.	....	....	Agarani
2.	Arapaço	Arapaço	....
3.	....	Baniua	....
4.	Bauúna	Baúna	Beijú
5.	....	Beijú	Boanari
6.	....	....	....
7.	....	Cainatari	Cainatari
8.	Carapanã	Carapanã	Carapanã
9.	Caua	....	....
10.	Cóidia (Ananá)	Ananá	Uananá
11.	Coró-coró	....	....
12.	Cubeo	Cubeo	Cubeo
13.	....	Cutia	....
14.	Deçana	Deçano	Deçana
15.	Gi	....	....
16.	....	Giboia	....
17.	Ipeca	Ipeca	Opeca
18.	....	Iraussu, Iravassú	....
19.	Jacamí	....	....
20.	....	Juruá	Juruá
21.	....	Jurupari	Juruparí
22.	....	Macú	Macú
23.	....	....	Macucoena

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*101

24.	Macuná	....	....
25.	Macura	....	....
26.	....	Mamengá	....
27.	Miriti	....	....
28.	Omaua	....	....
29.	....	Onça	....
30.	....	....	Panenoá
31.	Pirá	Piratapuia	Piratapuia
32.	Piraiurú	....	....
33.	Puçá	....	....
34.	....	Quaty	....
35.	Queianá	Cocuane	Coeuana
36.	....	....	Queuanacá
37.	....	Tabaiana	....
38.	Taiassú	Quatitú	....
39.	Tanimbuca	....	....
40.	Tapira	Tapiira	Tapiira
41.	Tariana	Itariana	(I) tariana
42.	Tatú	Tatutapuia, tatupiá	....
43.	Tijucó	....	....
44.	....	....	Timanará
45.	Tocandira	Tocandira	Tocandira
46.	Tucano	Tucano	Tucano
47.	Uacará (garça)	....	....
48.	Uaracú	....	....
49.	Urinaná	....	Urinaná

For an easier comparison, we have arranged them in a table, together with the three lists of the previous century:

a. The list of Wallace.

It is very unusual. It agrees with the lists of the previous century only in three names: Tariana, Anana (Wanana), and Cubeo.

It differs from the long list by Frei Gregório: Caua, Cóidia, Coró-coró, Gí, Ipeca, Jacamí, Macuná, Micura, Mirití, Omáua, Piraiurú, Puçá, Queianá, Taiaçú, Tanimbuca, Tatú, Tijucó, and Uaracú.

(1) -- CAUA. -- (cf. Mamangá, II 6, a 5 /see p. 44 /).

(2) -- CÓIDIA. -- In all probability, one is dealing with the tribe Cótidia or Wanana (IV -- 2, k /p. 143/).

/42 cont./

*101 (3) -- CORÓ-CORÓ. -- It is the name of an aquatic bird (ibis melanocéphala), which is included in the group of the garças /herons/ (ardeídae). Pelo Rio Mar adds: "Green ibis Indians. On the rivers Cuerarí and Codoiarí, tributaries of the Uapés." Koch G. (Festschrift Eduard Seler, 205-6) indicates that they are the Koroá of the Kubewana group, live on the Cuduiarí, but came down from the upper Querarí.

/43/ Because of the coincidence of the location, we are of the opinion that the Coró-coró mentioned by Wallace are a subdivision of the Kubewana tribe, which is called Koxtóa (see below, IV -- 2, p /p. 151/), precisely the name of the bird Coró-coró.

[136] It should be noted that the Coró-coró is an aquatic bird of the group of the ardeídae, like the garça /heron/, hence perhaps the calling of the Coró-coró tribe "Índios garças." It is true that Wallace locates the Coró-coró on the river Cuduiarí, and the Garça on the Papurí. It must be pointed out, however, that the locations obtained by Wallace are vague, and that, from the headwaters of the river Paca, one of the sources of the Papurí, the passage to the Uaupés and the Cuduiarí is relatively easy (cf. what was said above about the Aguará, II -- 6, a - c, 1 /p. 50 /).

(4) -- GI -- It is a word of the língua geral and means machado /ax/. We find in Pelo Rio Mar: "Gí-tapuias, Machado Indians. On the river Querarí, tributary of the river Uaupés." It disagrees, therefore, with Wallace's location, which places them on the river Cuiari, tributary of the Içana. Unless it is a matter of some confusion, since Wallace records, besides Cuiarí, the spelling Querirí for the same river. One must be dealing, then, with an Arwake tribe, like all those of these rivers.

Hamilton Rice, on his map, locates the Gí-tapuia on the igarapé of the Cigarro (below Uaupés). The existence there of that tribe, however, was not confirmed by any native of the vicinity consulted by us.

/43 cont./

*101 A pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of the stream Japú (Japu igarapé, Uaupés River), Henrique by name, when asked by us whether he knew the tribe Gí-tapuya (1955), answered us that they are the "Pirá-tapuya of the tail" (that is, the last subdivision of the Pirá-tapuya), called in Tukano Komé-pá-põrá, formerly living above the stream Japú, and who today live in S. Francisco (river Uaupês). This location coincides with the one that can be seen on the map drawn up by Hamilton Rice (cf. Mapas do Rio Uaupés N. A. 19 e Rio Putamayo S. A. 19 -- Provisional Edition Published under the Patronage of Hamilton Rice -- Geographical Society of New York).

(5) -- IPECA -- They are the Kumãdene, one group of which resides today in Urubucuara, as we shall see later (cf. IV -- 2, x /p. 171/).

(6) -- JACAMIM -- Passed over in silence on the other lists. We read in Pelo Rio Mar: "Jacami-tapuia, trombeteiros /trumpeter/ Indians. Indicated on the river Uaupés. Perhaps the same Buchpu-machsa."

From the natives of Pari-cachoeira Koch Grünberg obtained information about the Buchpu-machsa (which means "People of the sarabatana /blowgun/," because they are specialists in the making of this weapon), or Buhágana, /44/ as they call themselves, inhabitants of the Dyi-Igarapé, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, which, in turn, empties into the Japurá. He found out that they lived in round huts, pierced the ear lobes and wore an apron of bark around the thighs, and had never seen a civilized person. Their language, of which Koch could later gather a vocabulary of 60 words, is almost identical to that of the Õmõá, and both, in some words, deviate from the Tukano (Z.I. 180). They made large (3.5 meters) and heavy sarabatanas, because they used them as supports /Port. apoiadas/ (Z.I. 207). It must be pointed out, however, that the Buhágana about whom Koch informs us are not located on the Uaupés. For this reason we think that they cannot be identified with the Jacamim. A comparison of the vocabularies that we collected from the Ide and from the Emõá and that of the Buhágana of

[342] [304] [291] [287]

/44 cont./

*101 Koch makes the similarity of this idiom with the first two stand out immediately. In August of 1956 a tuxáua /chief/ of the Ide-masā or Makuna informed us that the Buhágana formerly resided in the forests of the river Taraira (trib. of the Japurá), but they had already died out as a consequence of the avengements within the tribe and the fights with other tribes.

It is not improbable that the Jacamim, located by Wallace on the Uaupés, are only a tribal subdivision, perhaps the Taitō-paramēra, that is "Grandchildren of the Jacamim" (cf. below the subdivisions of the Korēterabōa, IV -- 2, p /p. 106 f./).

(7) -- MACUNÁ -- It likewise does not appear in the other lists. Pelo Rio Mar gives a brief report: "Macú of black color" and ends by saying "they are mentioned among the tributaries of the Rio Negro, on the Araganatuba, Apapóris and Jupurá." On the contrary, according to Koch G., they belong to the Tukano group and have their present habitat on the banks of the Apapóris, below the Pirá-paraná, in two malocas. They are types of good configuration, Koch continues, and they speak a language quite close to the Buhágana (Zwei Iahre, 379; and Festschrift Eduard Seler, 205-6).

We can state that Makúna is a denomination that the Colombians give to them. In their own idiom they call themselves Idemasā (water people) and we were with a group of them that resides on the Komé-ya (see below Ide-masā, IV -- 2, h /p. 137/).

[114 126] Koch does not give in his Zwei Iahre the Vocabulary of the Makúna, but that of the Kueretu. Now, the Vocabulary that we gathered from the Íde-masā deviates considerably from the one that Koch obtained from the Kueretu, in spite of the fact that this group is indicated as a subdivision of the Íde-masā.

/44 cont./

*101 (8) -- *MACURA* -- *Macura* or *Micura* is a Língua Geral word that means *gambá* /opossum/. According to the information obtained from the Karapanã and Tatú Indians, of the headwaters of the Áua and the Tim-igarapé, a tribe by the name of *Oá-maxsã* (gambá people) resides between the /45/ streams *Jaré* and the *Tuim* (tributaries of the Uaupés), and belongs to the Tukano family of languages. Some individual *Oá-mahã*, as they say in their own idiom, prior to our passage, resided among the Tukano of S. Miguel and Melo Franco (river Papurí).

We found *Oá-mahã* women married to Tuyuka, on the headwaters of the Tiquié; the vocabulary that we were able to gather, and the pronunciation of which we also recorded, authorizes including the *Micura* or *Gambá* natives in the Tukano family of languages. (Cf. IV -- 2, n /p. 149/.)

We obtained from the *Tatú* tribe (cf. IV 2, o /p. 150/), among the divisions of their nation, *Oá-maxsã*. Although very close in language to the Tatú, it seems to us that they cannot be identified with the *Oá-mahã*, the homonymous division of the Tatú tribe.

(9) -- *MIRITÍ* -- In three localities of the lower Tiquié there are residing at present some groups of the tribe *Mirití-tapúya*, about which we shall talk later (IV --2, m /p. 148/). By the location that Wallace gives for the *Mirití*, that is, in *Bacate-paraná*, river Uaupés, we are of the opinion that one is dealing, not with a tribe, but with a subdivision of the Kubêwãna, which in the native idiom is called *Neábokõ* (cf. IV -- 2, p /p. 152/).

(10) -- *OMANAUA* -- Also do not appear in the other lists. In the Tukano linguistic family, Chestmir, following Koch Grünberg, includes the *Õmõá*, locating them on the headwaters of the river Tiquié. These are the *Emõá-masã* (cf. below, IV -- 2, f /p. 135/ and our work *Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia*), who can not be identified with the *Omáua*.

/45 cont./

*101 Koch also points out that one must not confuse the present-day Omáwa with the ancient Omágwa, much more advanced than the former, and who soon established relations with the first Spanish explorers (cf. Padre Cristobal de Acuña, "Novo Descobrimento do Grande Rio das Amazonas /New Discovery of the Great Amazon River/" -- Coleção Brasiliana /Brazilian Collection/, v. 203, ed. 194, pp. 226-8).

From the report of Jesuino Cordeiro, dated 1853, we see that he managed to settle the Omáwa beside the Lago-do-espelho or Uauruá-lago (upper Uaupés). The Omáwa are pure Karibe /Carib/, as Koch verified by some words obtained from José, the Bahuna tuxáua of the Subiróaka maloca (Z.I. 219); they are related to the ones from the Guianas, with many subtribes and their dialectic differences, for example: the Ipurukoto, Pianakoto, Parikoto, Purigoto, Arimagoto, Kumanagoto, etc. The Omáwa or Umáwa called themselves Hyanakoto, that is, Vulture-people, Urubú-tapuya. The ending koto or goto is Karibe /Carib/ and means people, population, Indian. To the Hyanakoto conjunction the Wanana give the name of Maxsa-tixtoá, the Taryana, Ehetoá, and the Kubewãna, Aíwõkáwõ.

/46/ In the beginning of this century the Hyanakoto lived in 8 malocas on the rivers Macáya and Cuniari or rio dos Enganos /river of tricks/, tributary from the left of the Caquetá-Japurá, Koch reports. Their language would be very similar to that of the Tsahá-tsahá or Mergulhão-Indians /Diver-bird Indians/, who possessed 3 malocas on the savannas of the rivers Cuniarí and Mesaí, and that of the Tsahá-tsahá, in turn, deviates from the idiom called Carijona by Crévaux, of the upper Japurá River. Karihona, or, better, Karlihona, means human being, people. It is not, properly speaking, a tribal name, but a general expression used by the Colombians to designate a conjunction of Karibe tribes of the region included between the upper Uaupés and the upper Japurá.

/46 cont./

101 (11) -- PIRAIURÚ. -- One does not find this tribe mentioned in other lists. Pelo Rio Mar gives: "Piráyauara-tapuya, Piraiurú, mouth of fish Indians. On the river Uaupés." It was not possible to obtain any other information among the tribes of the region. It should be noted that piraiurú, in Nheengatú, means fish mouth, and piráyauára means dog-fish and is the name commonly given to the legendary red dolphin.

(12) -- PUÇÁ -- We do not see it appear either in other lists. Koch Grünberg found two small houses of Uasõna or Puçá-tapuya (due to a printing error written Pisá-tapuya, Fischnetz-Indianer /Fishing-net Indians/) on the igarapé Manapialia, tributary from the right of the Uaupés (Z.I. 284) (16).

> 16. Zwei kleinere Hãuser sind hier (ins Quellgebiet des Caiari-Uaupés) von Uásona (Fischnetz indianern -- Puça Indians) bewohnt, deren Hauptsitz wiederum am oberen Papury ist. /Two small houses are here (in the headwater region of the Caiari-Uaupés), occupied by Uásona (Fishing-net Indians -- Puça Indians), whose principal seat, on the other hand, is on the upper Papury./

They have a handsome body, Koch reports, elongated face, similar to the Tuyuka and Yuriti, and all with dermatosis. The language, too, is close to the Yuriti. Their principal center, however, is the headwaters of the Papuri.

In four excursions along the river Papuri up to its sources, the rivers Paca and Aua, and navigating the latter to the headwaters, we did not obtain any information about any tribe known as Wásõna or Puçá-tapuya. The Kubewãna do indicate a subdivision of their tribe as Puçá (cf. below IV -- 2, p /p. 155/) and living on the igarapé Pacú (above Mitú, Uaupés), therefore not very far from the Wásõna visited by

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*101 Koch, whose idiom, however, deviates considerably from that of the Kubewãna.

A Tuyuka Indian, Lino by name, from the headwaters of the Tiquié, but with prolonged residence on the upper Uaupés, informed us of having known there Indians named "Kwásõna," with an idiom close to that of the Bará. It is possible that these are the Puçá Indians visited by Koch and mentioned by Wallace.

/47/ (13) -- QUEIANÁ. -- Wallace places it in S. Joaquim do Coané. Queianá or Coianá (hence the name Coané) is the tribe that others name Cocuana (cf. above II -- 6 a).

(14) -- TAIAÇÚ. -- Likewise omitted in other lists. Koch locates on the banks of the river Oocá some Indians of the Tukano group (Betoya, as Koch says) called Yupuá or Taiasú-tapuya, close to the Desãna in language, and from whom he collected his small vocabulary. Taiaçú is the name of the wild pig. The Desãna point out a subdivision of their tribe that is called, in their own idiom, Yexsé-põná, "the children of the taiaçú," and coinciding precisely with the location indicated by Wallace, that is, at the headwaters of the Castanho River, tributary of the Tiquié.

(15) -- TANIMBUCA. -- In the Língua Geral it means cinza /ashes/. They are the Opaína, according to Koch Grünberg, of the Tukano linguistic family, subdivision of the Yahuna tribe, which is composed of many hordes, among them the Opaína and the Dãtwana, living in eight malocas on the river Apapóris, two days of travel above the mouth of the Pirá-paraná. Koch reports that the Opaína are called Hwaína by the Tuyuka (Z.I. 379) or Hoá-iñará, as we have also heard it pronounced.

(16) -- TAPIRA. -- Tapira, or Hẽma-dákenai, as is said in the language of the Ira-tapuya, is an Arwáke tribe dispersed in various localities of the river Içana, according to the location provided by Frei Gregório.

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*101 (17) -- TATÚ. -- The Tatú-tapuya Indians whom Wallace mentions on the river Cuduiari must be the Adyá-mene of the Arwáke group, about which Curt Nimuendajú tells us, or the Ádza-nene, whose vocabulary we gathered and recorded (cf. our works, "Discoteca Etnolinguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"). It must be noticed, however, that Curt found groups of them in S. Rosa, on the river Guainía; and Frei Gregório, on his maps, records the presence of Tatupiá Indians in several places along the river Içana, where, as a matter of fact, the Adzanénei still live today.

One must not confuse with these the Tatú or Páboamahã Indians, as they call themselves (or Pamõá-maxsã, armadillo-people, as the Tukano call them), who belong to the Tukano group of languages, as can be seen by the vocabulary collected by us (cf. the two works mentioned above, "Discoteca" and "Idiomas"). Their principal nucleus is located between the Jaré and the Cananarí (tributaries of the Pirá-paraná). [142] They are of average stature, more delicate features, complexion and eyes lighter than on the Tukano (cf. below, IV -- 2, o /p. 150/).

/48/ (18) -- TIJUCÓ. -- It is the Tuyuka tribe of the headwaters of the Tiquié (cf. below IV -- 2, d /p. 132/).

(19) -- UACARÁ. -- Wallace also mentions on the Papurí, besides the Tukano, Pirá-tapúya, and the Desana, who in fact are found there, the Uacará tribe, or Índios garças /Heron Indians/. At present, neither on the Papurí, on its tributaries, nor in the surrounding forest, on one or the other bank, does any tribe exist under the denomination of Uacará. On the fluvial trunk known as Papurí there are at present only natives of the Tukano, Desãna, and Pirá-tapúya tribes. In the interior of the forest on the right bank there is a Karapanã group, located on the headwaters of the stream Umarí, and some groups of Makú on both banks. As to the sources of the Papuri, on the river

/48 cont./
*101 Paca and its tributaries, there are still Tukano, Desãna, Jurití, and Suryãna natives. On the banks of another source, the Aua, are located Tukano and Karapanã groups.

The other lists do not mention Uacará or garça Indians. Nevertheless, we obtained a legend that speaks of "índios garça" (in the Tukano idiom, Yeheá) from the headwaters of the Papurí, or perhaps even farther, from the Pirá-paraná (source of the Apapóris). The name Uacarás appears on one of the maps drawn up by Lobo D'Almada, located between the headwaters of the Tiquié and the river Pirá-paraná.

Would the Uacará be a tribe now extinct? Or perhaps one is not dealing with a tribe, but with some tribal subdivision designated under the name of some aquatic bird, of the family of the ardeídae, such as the garça /heron/, and because of this translated by the general term garça? On the Papurí, coinciding approximately with the location of the said índios garça of Wallace, there is a subgroup of the Suryãna, which, in the native idiom, is called "eõna," the name of an aquatic bird (cf. IV -- 2, r /p. 160/ and II -- 6 a, aguará /p. 50 f./). Among the Bará (cf. IV -- 2, b /p. 130/) there is a subdivision Wáya-poná, also the name of an aquatic bird, located, however, on the headwaters of the Tiquié, thus coinciding with the location recorded by Lobo D'Almada for the Uacarás Indians.

(20) -- UARACÚ. -- The Uaraícú are mentioned in the "Relatórios"; they are said, however, to be located on the rivers Jutaó and Javarí. In the area of the Uaupés at present no tribe is known under the name of Uaracú.

Uaracú is the name of a fish that in Tukano is called Boté. Perhaps when Uaracú is mentioned it is a matter of a subdivision of another tribe. For example, there is a subdivision of the Karapanã, "Botéa-maxsã," on the river Cananarí. The principal division of the Desãna tribe, which in its own idiom is called "Boré-ká pama," also bears the name of the uaracú fish; but its place of residence does not coincide with the one given by Wallace, since they are located on the Papurí and not on the Uaupés. With more /49/ probability, by the location, they

/49 cont./

*101 would be the "Botéa wahyára," subdivision of the Yurití, who live between the headwaters of the river Paca and the Uaupés. These, according to what the natives of the river Paca assured us, are now already extinct.

b. Official List.

As for the official list of the "Relatórios," we have already indicated the omissions of some tribes that appear in the previous lists. As for the rest, it coincides perfectly with those of Frei Gregório, which it made use of. Nevertheless, there are missing the tribes Iraussú and Cocuana, and there are added: Coeuana (which, as we have seen, are the same Cocuana, Goianá, or Coané) and Queuanacá.

Queuanacan is what we read on the map drawn by Lobo D'Almada, who locates them on the Uaupés, not very far above the mouth of the Papurí. Probably it is the Cuenacá tribe, which appears in the list by Rodrigues Ferreira. Or better, it is the subdivision "Kwẽnaka" of the Taryana tribe (cf. above II -- 6, a /p. 54 / and below -- IV, 2, y /see z, pp. 174 and 176 f./).

We observe only that, for the Pirá-tapuya tribe, the expression Peixe /fish/ is a translation into Portuguese of the name in the Língua Geral.

c. List of Frei Gregório.

We noted, besides the names that the preceding ones gave, the following: Ananá (Wanana), Arapaço, Baúna, Beijú, Cainatarí, Cocuana, Cutia, Giboia, Iraussú, Itatiana, Juruá, Juruparí, Onça, Picassú, Pirá-tapuia, Quati, Tabaiana, Tocandira.

(1) ANANÁ -- It is a different spelling of the name Wanana (see IV -- 2, k /p. 143/) or Wananá. The simplification of the pronounciation of the Língua Geral names that start with ua into a is common (cf. uacará and acará, uaracú and aracú, etc.).

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The maps drawn up by the explorer (and later Governador) Lobo d'Almada also write Ananás and locate them on the Uaupés, precisely where the Wanana are found.

(2) ARAPÁÇO. -- It is still found along the Uaupés, from S. José as far as Paraná-Jucá, and it will be discussed later (IV -- 2, j /p. 140 f./).

(3) BAÚNA -- According to the author of Pelo Rio Mar, one is dealing with a tribe scattered from the Rio Branco and tributaries, to the Negro, Içana, Uaupés, Japurá, Juruá, etc., and known under many denominations, the principal ones being: Baiana, Povoana, Paxiana, Pauixana, Puelava. Now the Pauixana tribe belongs to the Arwake group of the Rio Branco (cf. Arthur Ramos -- 172).

/50/ The Kumãdene of Urubucuara (river Uaupés), in their own idiom, call the Baniva Bayaná-semá. Perhaps the Bayana that Pelo Rio Mar mentions are the same Baniva or Arwake that actually inhabit the Içana and tributaries.

Frei Gregório, instead, locates the Baúna on the Cachoeira do Mutum (today Mitú, Colombia). By this location, the identification with the Kubewana group (Tukano linguistic family), whose language was mentioned by Curt Nimuendajú and who have as a name Bahuna or Bahukiwa, as the Kubewana call them, seems more probable to us. Koch Grünberg also reports that the Bahuna reside on the central portion of the river Cuduiarí, tributary of the Uaupés (17).

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17. The Kubewãna informed Koch that both the Bahuna and their neighbors the Mapalõwa (both conglomerated under the denomination of Bahokõa) are Boloa (Makú), and that formerly they spoke a "very ugly" language. In the beginning of this century they considered themselves true Kubewãna, whose idiom was the one that they spoke exclusively (Zwei Iahre, 278).

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*101 [115] [563] The informants of the Kubewana tribe, Heloisa and Josefa (cf. IV -- 2, p /p. 151/), both married to Wanana and living in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés, 1955), indicated, as the fifth division of their tribe, the "Bahúkakõ." In April of 1957, two other Kubewana or Korẽterabõa women (cf. IV -- 2, p), Nazaria and Byatrina, married to Yawareté-tapuya, and living in Arapaço-poço, locality on the river Içana close to the mouth of the river Aiarí, also gave us the Bahukõwa as the fifth division of their tribe.

Koch Grünberg, who visited them (Z.I. 278), confirms that the Bahuna are called Bahókõoa by the Kubewãna and live on the central portion of the river Cuduiarí.

(4) BEIJÚ -- Not mentioned in the other tribes. Pelo Rio Mar says only that it was missionized by Frei Gregório in 1852-3. The report by Jesuino Cordeiro gives the number of 187 persons of the Beijú tribe, who in 1853 lived in the povoado of Cubio-paraná.

[115] An old Wanana septuagenarian from Tipiaca (in 1954), José by name, informed us that a Beijú tribe that speaks only Kubewãna and calls itself Baxtoá lives in Cubio-igarape.

Other informants of the upper Uaupés assure us that only one subdivision of the Kubewãna (therefore of the Tukano family of languages), which is called "Awekõ" in its own idiom, is known under the name of Beijú.

(5) CAINATARI -- According to the author of Pelo Rio Mar they are the Acanyatara-tapuia, who are found on the river Castanho, tributary of the Tiquié.

/51/ The report by Jesuino Cordeiro, of 1853, locates 168 individuals of the Cainatarí nation in Pacú-cachoeira, recently settled there. By this location (region of the Wanana) one could be dealing with a Wanana subdivision, which, in its own idiom, is called "Witõ monõ," which means acangatara branca /white crest/.

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*101 (6) COCUANE. -- According to Curt Nimuendajú (in a letter dated from Belem on Sept. 1, 1945, to Padre Antônio Giacone), it is the tribe also known as Coeuana, which, in 1927, still had representatives in Jandiá and another two sites by the mouth of the Uaupés. They had, however, lost their own idiom and spoke only the Língua Geral (see above, II -- 6, a /p. 43 /). They were the Indians who more easily became adapted to civilization, and from whom many caboclos of the Rio Negro are descended.

In August of 1957, according to Atayde Inácio Cardoso of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção ao Indio), there were still survivors of the Cocuana or Coianá in the town of S. Joaquim at the mouth of the Uaupés. João, the Tukano pajé /curer-sorcerer/ from Umarí (river Uaupés, a little above Iauareté-cachoeira), narrating the legends of the origins, says that the human beings started to ascend in the Cobra-grande /large snake/, and that "the Kuewãna, who in Tukano are called Pe'tãna, remained at the mouth of the Uaupés. But one of the Kwewãna ascended as far as Taracuá-ponta and up to there was the limit of his lands." [115 773]

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(7) CUTIA. -- On the Içana there is a tribe known under the name of Cutia-tapuya, of the Arwake branch, whose name in the Baniva language would be Awadzurunái.

8) GIBOIA. -- Since during half of the last century many natives went from the Içana to the upper and lower Uaupés, we are inclined to think that the ones settled by Frei Gregório in Aracapurí are individuals of the žiboya-tapuya or Dzurẽnẽ tribe of the Içana, from whom we collected a vocabulary (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical" by the Author and Boanari (II -- 6, a /p. 42 /).

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*101 9) IRAUSSÚ or IRAVASSÚ -- Koch Grünberg informs us (Z.I. 286) that in the Língua Geral the Hyanakoto, that is, a group of Karibe tribes including the Omáwa (cf. this name above), of the rivers Macáya and Cuniari, were called Uiráuaçú. The Hyanakoto were found, then, located at the longitude of the lake Uauruá. Now the Iraussú or Iravassú mentioned by Frei Gregório live on the lower Uaupés in Naná-rapecuma and S. Joaquim da foz.

/52/ They would, then, be individuals who had come down from the upper Uaupés. Unless it is a matter of incorrect spelling, and they were members of the Arwake tribe of the Içana, called Ira-tapuya or Mápanai in the native idiom.

10) ITATIANA. -- This name is not found for tribes of the Uaupés. Unless it is a matter, as is probable, of a printing error and should be read Itariana, which is what Frei Gregório regularly calls the Taryana.

11) JURUÁ. -- It is not, properly speaking, a tribe, but a branch of the Tukano tribe that still lives today in the vicinity of Juquira (river Uaupés, cf. IV -- 2, a /p. 127/).

12) JURUPARÍ. -- They will be the Juruparí-tapuya of the river Içana, of the Karutana group, of the Arwake linguistic family, named in their own idiom "Mapátse-dákene," and from whom we collected a vocabulary (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico musical" and "Idioma Indígenas da Amazônia").

13) ONÇA. -- We suppose, by the location indicated by Frei Gregório, that they, like the preceding ones, came from the Içana, where the tribe Yawareté-tapuya, or, in their own idiom and in Siwsí, Dzawí-minánei, lives. The term Onça /jaguar/ would be the translation of Iawareté in the língua geral. They are Arwake in language, as is shown by the Vocabulary that we collected (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical" of the Author), and the Karutana group, according to the classification of Curt Nimuendajú.

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*101 [115] The old Wañana, José of Tipiaca, informed us of the existence of an Onça tribe, or *Yaí-maxsã* (as he expressed himself in Tukano), living at the headwaters of the Cuduiarí, adding that they speak Kubewãna.

Another old man, a Tùkano octogenarian from Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa by name, also affirmed the existence of a cannibal tribe that the Tukano call *Yaí-maxsã* (onça people) or *Yai-peri maxsã* (onça-teeth people) and that lives on the headwaters of the Tiquié.

14) *PICASSÚ*. -- It is a Nheengatú word that means *pomba* /dove/. Frei Gregório mentions the tribe *Picassú* in Mitú, on the Uaupés. We think it might be the tribe also called *Yurití*, located precisely on several igarapés between the rivers Paca and Uaupés in the vicinity of Mitú.

15) *PIRÁ-TAPUIA*. -- It is the great tribe that is found today in many places on the Uaupés and Papurí, and about which we give fuller information in this work (see below, IV -- 2, v /p. 164/).

/*53*/ 16) *QUATÍ*. -- They are the Coatí-tapuya who went up the Içana, on whose headwaters they still reside today. They belong to the *Arwake* linguistic family, and the name of the tribe in its own idiom is "*Kapité-minánei*."

17) *TABAIANA*. -- It is likewise not mentioned in the various lists. It is possible, however, that this is also a matter of a spelling mistake, and the tribe in question is the *Yabaana* (as Arthur Ramos writes, 170), or *Yabarana* (of Koch G. -- *Festschrift Eduard Seler*, 205), of the Arwake group, almost extinct and whom Chestmir locates on the river Maruiá. In fact, on the map of Frei Gregório (April 1, 1853) only the name of a *Yabarana* woman residing in S. Joaquim

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*101 at the mouth of the Uaupés appears there. It is reported to us that at present (August of 1957) there is only one survivor of the Yabahana /sic/ tribe, Aniceto by name, residing in the locality called S. Paulo, near Tapurucuara (former S. Isabel) on the Rio Negro.

Koch (Zwei Iahre, 379) tells of having seen individuals with handsome bodies, representatives of the Yabahana tribe, who live among the Makuna of the Pirá-paraná, and whose language (of the Tukano group) they spoke.

Nevertheless, Koch Grünberg thinks that these Yabahana of the Pirá-paraná have nothing to do with the Arwake tribe Yabaána of the upper Rio Negro.

18) TOCANDIRA. -- At present no tribe is known under the name of Tocandira in Mitú and on all the Uaupés down from the cachoeira of Juruparí.

José, the old Wanana from Tipiaca, affirmed the existence of a Tocandira tribe on the igarapés Cubio and Mirití (tributaries of the Uaupés), which nowadays speaks only Kubewana.

It could also be a matter of the Kubewana subdivision that in its own idiom is called Pyarákõ (which means Tocandira /an ant species/) or it still might be some of the Kubewana groups known as Tocandira because they live on the homonymous igarapé.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 81

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TRIBES OF THE UAUPÉS BASIN

T = Tukano /Tucano/ family; A = Arwake /Arawak/ family; K = Karaíba /Carib/ family; gr. = group; s = subdivision /do = of the; rio = river; ou = or/

	Pe. Noronha	Sampaio	Ferreira	Wallace	Fr. Gregório	Relatórios	Author
1.	....	....	Aguará	Uacará	....	Agaraní	Garça (Yexseá?) (gr. Tukano)
2.	....	....	Arapixí	Arapaço	Arapaço	....	Arapasu (Koneá) (T. rio Uaupés)
3.	....	....	Arara	....	....	....	Adaru-dákenai (Arara) (A. rio Içana)
4.	....	....	Banibá	....	Baníua	....	Baniva (A. Içana, Xié)
5.	....	....	....	Bauúna	Baúna	....	Bahúna (gr. Kubewana)
6.	....	....	....	....	Beijú	Beiju	Beijú (Awekö) (s. Kũbewana)
7.	Burenarí	Boanarí	Burenarí	....	Giboia	Boanarí	(Dzuré-mene, Buya) (A. Içana)
8.	....	....	....	....	Cainatarí	Cainatarí	Akãgatara (Witõ monõ; s. Wanana)
9.	....	....	....	Carapanã	Carapanã	Carapanã	Karapanã (Mõxtẽá) (T. Papuri)
10.	....	....	Cequeno	....	....	....	....
11.	....	....	....	Coró-coró	....	....	Koró-Koró (Koxtó) (s. kubewana)
12.	Cubeuana	....	Cubeuana	Cubeo	Cubeo	Cubeo	Kubewana (Pamiwa) (T. Uauapés
13.	Cueuana	Cueuana	Goianá	Queianá	Cocuana	Cueuana	Kukwana (T. Uaupés)
14.	....	....	Cudujarí	....	....	....	(Kubewana do rio Cuduiari?)
15.	....	....	Cuenacá	....	....	Queuenacá	Kuénaka (s. Taryana)
16.	....	Deçaca	....	Deçana	Deçano	Deçana	Desana (Winá) (T. Papurí, (Tiquié, Uaupés)
17.	....	....	....	Gi	....	....	Komé-pá-pona (s. Pirá-tapuya)
18.	....	....	....	Ipeca	Ipeca	Opeca	Kumãdene (Ipeka) (A. Uaupés, Içana)
19.	....	....	....	....	Iraussú	....	Wirá-wasú (Hyanakoto) (K. Uaupés)
20.	....	....	....	Jacamim	....	....	Taitö-paramera? (s. Kubewana)
21.	....	....	....	....	Juruá	Juruá	Ihurwá (s. Tukano, Uaupé)
22.	....	....	....	....	Juruparí	Juruparí	(A. Içana)
23.	....	Macú	Macú	....	Macú	Macú	Makú (Uaupés, Papuri, Tiquié)
24.	....	....	....	Macuná	....	Macucoena	Ide-masã (T. do Komé-ya)

	Pe. Noronha	Sampaio	Ferreira	Wallace	Fr. Gregório	Relatórios	Author
25.	....	....	....	Macura	....	....	Oá-mahã (Mikura) (T. Tiquié)
26.	Mamangá	Mamengá	Mamangá	Caua	Mamengá	....	Uti-waiwa (S. Kubewana) Aini-dakenai? (Kawa) (A Içana)
27.	....	....	....	Miriti	....	....	Neenõá (Miriti) (T. Tiquié)
28.	....	....	Mueinó	....	....	Mendó	(Moeinã?) (s. Taryana?)
29.	....	....	....	Omaua	....	....	Hyanakoto (K. Uaupés)
30.	....	....	....	....	Onça	....	Dzawí-minánei (Yawareté, A. Içana)
31.	....	....	Paicueno	....	....	....	....
32.	Panenuá	Panenuá	Pananoá	....	....	Panenoá	Hanẽra T. Tiquié
33.	....	....	....	Pirá	Piratapuia	Paratapuia	Wai-khana (Pirá-tapuya) (T. Uaupés, Papuri, Tiquié)
34.	....	....	....	Piráiurú	....	....	....
35.	....	....	....	Puçá	....	....	Kwásöna? Wai-wehekö, s. Kubewana)
36.	....	....	Pumenicá	....	....	....	....
37.	....	....	....	....	Quaty	....	Kápite-minánei (Koati) (A. Içana)
38.	Quererurí	....	Quererurí	....	....	....	(Kubewana do rio Querarí?)
39.	....	....	....	....	Tabaiana	....	(Yabahansa?) (A. Rio Negro)
40.	....	....	....	Taiassú	Quatitú	....	(Yupuá ou Yexsé-poná?) (s. Desana, rio Castanho)
41.	....	....	....	Tanimbuca	....	....	Opaina (T. rio Apapóris)
42.	....	....	....	Tapira	Tapiira	Tapiira	Hema-dákenai (A. rio Guainia)
43.	Tariarana	Tariana	Cariana	Tariana	(I) tariana	(I) tariana	Talyásari (Taryana) (A. Uaupés)
44.	....	....	....	Tatú	Tatuta (pu) ia	....	Adza-neeni (Tatú) (A. Içana)
45.	....	....	....	Tijucó	....	....	Doxká-poará (Tuyuka) (T. Tiquié)
46.	....	Timanará	....		....	....	....
47.	....	....	....	Tocandira	Tocandira	Tocandira	(Pyárakö?) s. Kubewana)
48.	....	....	Uacarí	....	....	....	....
49.	Uananá	Uanana	Uananá	Cóidia	Ananá	Uananá	Kótirya (Wanana) (T. Uaupés)
50.	Uaupé	Uaupé	Uaupé	Tucano	Tucano	Tucano	Daxseá (Tukano) (T. Uaupés, Papuri, Tiquié)
51.	....	....	....	Uaracú	....	....	(Boteá?) (s. Yuriti)
52.	....	Urinaná	....	....	....	Urinaná	(Wiriná?) (A. rio Mararí)

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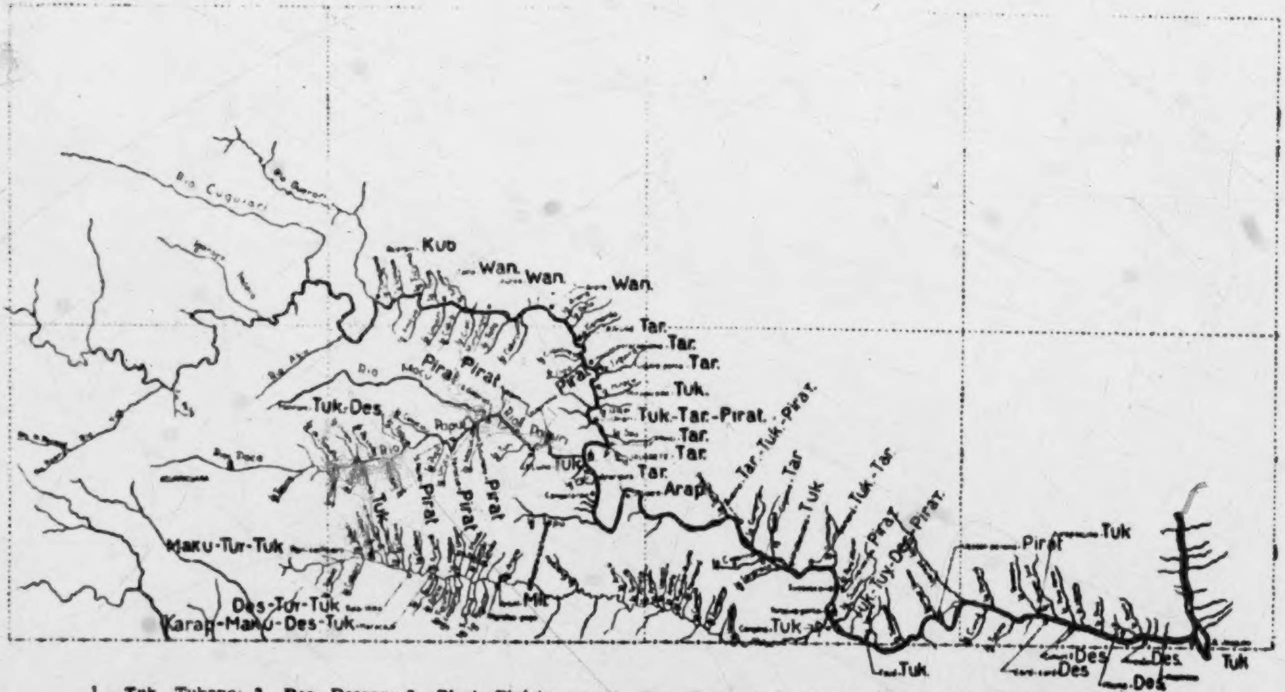
4: Silva--80 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/56/ Tribes located in Brazilian territory along the rivers Uaupés and its two tributaries, the Papuri and the Tiquié



Rio Cuguari
Kub
Wan.
Wan.
Wan.
Tar.
Tar.
Tar.
Tuk.
Tuk-Tar.-Pirat.
Tar.
Tar.
Tar.
Arap.
Pirat.
Pirat.
Pirat.
Tuk-Des
Tuk
Tuk
Pirat.
Pirat.
Pirat
Tar.-Tuk.-Pirat.
Tar
Tuk
Tuk.-Tar
Pirat.
Tuk-Tuy-Des
Pirat.
Pirat
Tuk
Maku-Tur-Tuk
Des-Tur-Tuk
Karap-Maku-Des-Tuk
Mir
Tuk
Tuk.
Des
Des
Des
Des
Tuk

1. **Tuk.** Tukano; 2. **Des.** Desana; 3. **Pirat.** Pirá-tapuya; 4. **Tar.** Taryana; 5. **Ipeka** (Kumãdene); 6. **Arap.** Arapâsu; 7. **Wan.** Wanana; 8. **Kub.** Kubewana; 9. Makú; 10. **Mir.** Miriti; 11. **Tuy.** Tuyuka; 12. **Kar.** Karapanã; 13. Bará

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Chapter III

Malocas (Baxsasé-wi'seri) and Povoados (Maxka)

133 The Uaupés pours its waters into the Rio Negro by two mouths, separated by the "Ilha das Flores" /Island of Flowers/ (former Ilha do Umirí, wextí-nã̄xkã̄ro) and islets, dotted besides with innumerable stones and rocks: the southern mouth, with three bars formed by the reefs and the "Cachoeira do Tamanduá," its entrance being more difficult; the northern one, also with many rocks and the "Cachoeira do Carapanã̄."

361 Whoever goes up it will find at short intervals huts, or groups of huts, two or three here, eight or ten farther on, and even eighteen or twenty. They are the "Povoados" /populated [103] places/ (maxkã̄), as those of the region call them. They will have the name of a Saint as a Patron, or of some geographic accident, a native name, or any other one chosen, it seems, by chance, as happens in general with national toponymy. The names are ordinarily from the Nheengatú language or Língua geral and correspond to others in Tukano, almost always as mere translation. It is difficult to say whether the original name is the Tukano one, and the one from the língua geral, by which it is known, is only a translation, or vice versa.

178 361 Until 1924, from the Cachoeira de Ipanoré upwards, there were only malocas (1), reports Padre João Marchesi, the veteran Salesian Missionary of the Uaupés. The replacement of the malocas by family houses and the appearance of small povoados, due to the influence of the Salesian Missions, date from that year. At present (1958) malocas only exist either in the interior of the forests or on the banks of the Uaupés River above Iutica and on the Tiquié above Carurú-Cachoeira.

The native tradition preserves the name and the location of malocas and human assemblages that have now disappeared. As documentation we present the lists below. For some places, in this middle of the twentieth century, there is only underbrush to mark the place where the human hand felled the virgin forest and built a maloca.

592 [797] 1. Maloca is the name of the large collective dwelling (cf. VI, 1).

1. Malocas and Povoados of the Uaupés River (dyá Poxsá, river of the Makú?)

Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
S. Joaquim	?		Koená ou Kukwana /ousor/
Itapinimá	õxtã o'iaritirí-pa	Painted stone	Desana
Trovão	büxpó-pá	Thunder stone	Desana
Pituna	Naïkoro	Place where night falls	Desana
Cunurí	waxpö-ñõá	Point of the cunurí /fruit/ (2)	Desana
Coró-Coró	koxtó-duri ou koxtóa	Rocks of the coró-coró /bird/ (3)	Desana
Iú-rapecuma	Pöxtá-ñõá	Point of the thorn	Tukano
Pacú-capuamo	unú-nâxkârõ	Island of the pacú /fish/	Desana
Caruatana (4)	buxpú-sero	(Piece of) sarabatana	Tukano
Macú-capuamo	Poxsá-nãxkãrõ	Island of the Makú	Tukano
Jacaré-ponta	öxsó-ñõá	Point of the alligator	Pirá-tapuya
Açaí-paraná	mix'pï-yuxtí	Paraná /river branch/ of the assai	Pirá-tapuya
Arara-ponta	mahã-ñõá	Point of the arara	Tukano
Matapí	büxköá-wõ-kó	Water of the matapí /fish trap/	Tukano
Naná-rapecuma	sẽ'rá-ñõá	Point of the pineapple	Tukano
Tauá	ewö-yá	Stream of the ocher	Tukano
Tocandira	pextá-ñõá	Point of the tocandira /ant/	(sem moradores) (5)
Taracuá-ponta	me're-oã"rá-ñõá	Point of the taracuá (ant)	Tukano, Desana, Pirá-tapuya
Darí-darí	í'ã-büxkõrá-ñõá	Point of the darí-darí (insect)	Mirití-tapuya
Pirá-mirim	sẽ'ã-ya	Stream of the Piabinha /fish/	Pirá-tapuya

/See p. 89 for footnotes 2-5./

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Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
Ponta-fria	yöxsöári-ñöá	Cold point	Tukano (Pirá-tapuya) (6)
Cabeçudo-ponta	u-ñöá	Point of the cabeçudo /fish/	Pirá-tapuya
Sussuáka	ñamá-saaró	Deer horn	(sem moradores)
Paxiúba-igarapé	waxtá (paxka)-yá	Stream of the paxiuba (large)	Pirá-tapuya, Makú
Ipanoré	töpa-duri	"Sieve" "rocks"	Taryana
Urubucuara	yôxká-pũrĩ-pextá	Port of the tucum	Kumãdene
Pinú-pinú	dyá-utíkaro-ñöá	Point of the sucuruju	Taryana
Cigarro	uxtíka-pũrĩ	Cigarette leaf	Taryana
Mariuá	marĩwa-döxpörí	Branches of mariuá	Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Desana
Buzina	uxpítu-ñöá	Point of the trumpet	Taryana
S. José	wĩrö-ñöá	Point of the wind	Arapasu
Chibarú	yebári	Chibarú (wood)	Arapasu
Juruparí-ponta	wãx'tĩ-ñöá	Point of Wãx'tĩ	Arapasu
Baía	wi"í-turiró	Loft	Arapasu
Ponta do Mucuim	u'mũ-sũá-ñöá	Point of the mucuins	(sem moradores)
Loiro	kuma-kö-ñöá	Point of the blond /loiro/ (wood)	Arapasu
Paraná-jucá	Dyá-Poxsá-yöhörö	Strait of the river of the Makú	Arapasu, Tukano
Juquira	möá-ñöá	Point of the salt	Tukano
Ananaz	sẽ'ra-pá	Stone of the pineapple	Pirá-tapúya
Aracú-ponta	bo'téa-pextá	Port of the aracú /fish/	Pirá-tapuya
Cangatara	mahã-poarí-ñöá	Point of the arara feathers	(sem moradores)
Jacitara	waú-tu dixtara	Lake of the jacitara (palm)	Pirá-tapuya
Ararí-pirá	bixpári-pweá	Cachoeira of the ararí-pirá	Taryana
Cunurí	waxpö-ñöá	Point of the cunurí (fruit)	(sem moradores)
Juí	omã-ya-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the frog	Pirá-tapuya
Iauareté	Yaía-pweá	Cachoeira of the onça	Taryana
Castanho-capuámo	Castanho-nâxkârö	Island of the Castanho	Taryana
Micura	oá-pweá	Cachoeira of the gambá /opossum/	Taryana
Miritú	neé-ya-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the buriti	Taryana

/See p. 89 for footnote 6./

Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
Umarí	wamã-pweá	Cachoeira of the umarí (fruit)	Tukano
Piranha	böö-ñõá	Point of the piranha	Taryana
Mira-pirêra	kaxsẽri-ñõá	Point of the husks	Tukano
Jabutí	úhuri-pweá	Cachoeira of the jabutí /turtle/	Taryana
Iuquira-ponta	mõá-ñõá	Point of the salt	Taryana
Ira-capuamo	mu'mi-nÅxkÅrõ	Island of the honey	Taryana
Bacaba	yu'mũ-pweá	Cachoeira of the bacaba	Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Wanana
Arumã	wöhö-nÅxkÅrõ	Island of the arumã /plant/	Taryana
Cachoeira do machado	komé-pweá	Cachoeira of the ax	Taryana
——— (7)	Poxsá-boári-ma	River to make makú rotten	Taryana
Periquito	kai-pweá	Cachoeira of the parakeet	Taryana, Kumãdene
Japú-ponta	umũ-ñõá	Point of the japú /bird/	Wanana
Arara	mahã-pweá	Cachoeira of the arara	Wanana
Yandú	büxpö-Å'rÅ	Chain (mountain) of the spider	Wanana
Carurú	mõá-pweá	Cachoeira of the carurú (salty plant)	Wanana
Matapi	büxkõá-wö-pé	Orifice of the matapí	Wanana
Jacaré	öxsó-pweá	Cachoeira of the alligator	Wanana
Yutica	yaxpĩ-pweá	Cachoeira of the batata	Wanana
Tiririca	wĩ'sö-pá	Stone of the tiririca /plant/	Wanana
Taina (8)	nihi-pá	Stone of the child	Wanana
Taracuá	mẽ'rẽ-oã'rã-ñõá	Point of the taracuá	Wanana
Yawareté-ponta	yaía-buxpuró-ñõá	Point from where the onça jumps	Wanana
Pacú-cachoeira	uhú-pweá	Cachoeira of the pacú	Wanana
Camarinhô-igarapé	tupí-ya ou tupí-ma	Stream of the water lizard	Kubewana
Querari	soã-yá-pitó	Mouth of the red river	Kubewana

/See p. 89 for footnotes 7 and 8./

2. Malocas and Povoados of the Tiquié (Kõsá)

Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
Campina	waré-yuró	Open, field, plain	Tukano
Cururú-lago	táro-ã'rã	Mountain chain of the toad	Tukano
Coró-coró	koxtó-be'tó	bay of the coró-coró	Tukano
Matapí	kaxsá-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the matapí	Tukano, Desana
Barreira	mi'mí-töröá	Barrier of the hummingbird	Tukano
....	Oá-kó	Water of the gambá /opossum/	Mirití-tapuya
Ponta do veado	ñamá-ñõá	Point of the deer	Mirití, Tukano, Tuyuka
Serrinha	poári-ã'rã	Mountain chain of the hairs	Tukano, Desana
....	pirõ-rá	Lake of the snake	Desana, Tukano
Fátima	yai-wa'í	House of the onça	Tuyuka
Sant'Ana	bu'sá-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the paina /plant/	Tukano, Desana
Tucano-cachoeira	daxsé-pweá	Cachoeira of the toucan	Tukano
....	waxpõ-ñõá	Point of the cunurí	Tukano
....	ñyĩ-yá-pitó	Mouth of the black stream	Mirití-tapuya
Iraití	oxpé-durí	Rocks of the breu /resinous tree/	Mirití-tapuya
Nazaré	simeõ-pũri-rá	Lake of the leaves of the uacú	Mirití-tapuya
Piraíba-poço	mõõ-tuxkũrõ	Well of the piraîba /fish/	Mirití-tapuya
S. Pedro (bôca da estrada)	sẽ'ã paxkãrá dixtára	Lake of the piramirins	Tukano
Papagaio	wexkó-wi'í	House of the parrot	(sem moradores)
Uira-poço	daxsú-ra	Lake of the azulão /bird/	(sem moradores)
....	dixtiro-pá	Stone of the uíra-pajé (bird)	Tukano, Desana
Barreira alta	yuyú-thá	Place of the yúyú /bird/ (cf. VII, 3, a)	Tukano, Desana
Bôca do Castanho	pirõ-perí	Holes of the snake	Desana
S. Luiz	a'rã-ra	Lake of the cane	Desana
Floresta	tho'á-bwa	heaped up yúa-pixuna (fruit)	Desana
S. José	maxkã	"the town, the povoado"	Tukano
S. Miguel	mĩxpí-tha	grove of assai	Tukano, Desana
S. Luzia	waró-sererá	Swim of the old ones (9)	Tukano

/bôca da estrada, "beginning of the road"; see p. 89 for footnote 9./

Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
Estelo	boxtári-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the supports	(sem moradores)
S. Francisco	öxtã-tí-thá	Place that has stone	Tukano
Maracajá (povoado)	töó-ỹ'ã-ñõá	Point of the thought	Tukano
Maracajá (estirão)	yai-kaheró-kusá	Long way of the maracajá (feline)	Tukano
S. António	Bayá-pé	Cavern of the bayá (10)	Tukano, Desana
S. João	ñamá-ãhõãrí-bwá	Trail of the cobra-grande /great-snake/ (11)	Desana
Santa Cruz	kurúsa-nũ'kũrõ ou	Place where the cross is standing	Tukano
	õ'imõñri-bwa	High mountain	
Bela vista	nũxkũparo-tha	Beach	Tukano
....	suxpú-tõrõ	Ramp of the bubo	Tukano
....	péru-tõ	Pot of caxirí (drink)	(Tukano)
....	ñyirã-bwá	Mountain of the maruim /mosquito/	Tukano
....	nimá-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the poison	(sem moradores)
Parí-cachoeira	sirí-pá	Stone of the leap (of the fish)	Tukano
....	thũ-pá	Stone of ?	Tukano
S. Domingos (Cabari)	ã'rẽ-mi'ri-pá	Stone of the nightingale (ten-ten)	Tukano, Tuyuka
Caburi	kõ'rẽ-kaburí-ñõá	Point of the reverberation of the woodpecker	Tukano, Tuyuka
S. Paulo	ki-kaxsêri-ñõá	Point of the husk of the mandioca	Tukano
Carurú-cachoeira	mõ-pweá	Cachoeira of the carurú /plant/ (12)	Tukano, Tuyuka
....	ñamá-ãhõãri-bwá	Mountain to burn deer	Tuyuka
....	wái-maxsã-duhiró	Place where the fish-people sit	Tuyuka
S. Pedro	pixkõrõ-bwá	Mountain of the caterpillar (tapurú)	Tuyuka
....	doé-ra	Lake of the taraíra /fish/	Oá-maxsã (gambá-tapuya)
....	õxtã-dõxká	Piece of stone	(sem moradores)

/estirão, "long way, straight stretch of a river"; see p. 90 for footnotes 10-12./

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Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
....	pũrí-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the leaf	Tuyuka
....	nâxkârõ	Island	Tuyuka
....	kai-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the mass of the umarí	Tuyuka
Sarapó	ixkí-seri-yá	Stream of the husk of the inaja	Tuyuka

3. Malocas and Povoados of the Papurí (oxkó nyĩsé-dyá, river of black water).

Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
Foz do Papurí	oxkó-ñyĩsé-pitó	Mouth of the river of black water	Taryana
Uaracapá de baixo	wãrõ-phĩ	Pit iron	Taryana
....	waú-ñõá	Point of the monkey uaú	Taryana
Paraná do tatú	pamõ-yuxtí	Paraná of the armadillo	Taryana
Japurá	batí-bwi	Above the japurá	Taryana
Micura-ponta	oá-ñõá	Point of the gambá	Pirá-tapuya
....	bapá-ñõá	Point of the sabiá /bird/	Taryana
Uaracapá	toóka-pá	Stone of the enclosure (13)	Taryana
Ituim-ponta	bũxkõá-será-ñõá	Point of the ituim	Pirá-tapuya
Ucapinima	kikaxasêri-ñõá	Point of the husks of the mandioca	Pirá-tapuya
Serrinha	â'râ-ñõá	Point of the mountain chain	Tukano
Parí-ponta	imĩ-sa-pá	Stone of the parí /fish enclosure/	Tukano
S. Luzia	sẽ'pé-ñõá	Point of the Cobra-grande (14)	Tukano
Japim	yõx'sõ-ñõá	Point of the japim /bird/	Pirá-tapuya
Caitetú	dyá-burú-ñõá	Point of the stream of the burú (15)	Pirá-tapuya
Muiritinga	buxtí-o	Muiritingal	Pirá-tapuya
....	sã'ã-pwoá	Cachoeira of the electric eel	Pirá-tapuya
Teresita	dyá-yó-pweá	Cachoeira of the lontra /Mustelidae/	Pirá-tapuya, Desana

/baixo, "lower"; see p. 90 for footnotes 13-15./

Name	In Tukano	Translation	Tribes
Pirá-mirím	sõ'ã-pweá	Cachoeira of the piabinha	Pirá-tapuya
S. Gabriel	natã-pweá	Cachoeira of the natã (toad)	Pirá-tapuya
Macú-paraná	poxsá-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the Macú	Pirá-tapuya, **Desana**
Tucunaré (e Olinda)	bwú-pweá	Çachoeira of the tucunaré /fish/	Pirá-tapuya
Taracuá	mẽ'rẽ-oã'rã-ñõá	Point of the taracuá	Pirá-tapuya
S. Paulo	ahã-perí	Holes of the inambú /tinamou/	Pirá-tapuya
Andorinha	Sirípi-tuxkũrõ	Well of the swallow	(sem moradores)
Jandiá	Pawá-dõxká	Piece of jandiá	Pirá-tapuya
Beijú-cachoeira	ahũ-a-pweá	Cachoeira of the beijú	(sem moradores)
Pato	dyá-kaxtá-pá	Stone of the water duck	Tukano
Urucum	buxsíka-yá	Stream of the urucum (16)	Desana
Piracuara	wai-perí-pweá	Cachoeira of the orifices of the fish (17)	Tukano, Desana, Makú
Montfort	buxtwá-pweá	Cachoeira of the cupim /ant/	Tukano, Desana
Cuiú-cuiú	dyá-bũxkoá-yá	Stream of the cuiú-cuiú /fish/	Desana
Japú-capuamo	umũ-pweá	Cachoeira of the japú	Desana, Tukano
Bôca do abio	kã'rẽ-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream of the abio /plant/	Tukano
Iúa-pixuna	tho'á-pweá	Cachoeira of the yúa-pixuna	Tukano
Anchieta	muhi-pũ-pweá	Cachoeira of the moon	Tukano, Desana
....	ñaxkã-yá-pitó	Mouth of the stream ñaxkã (18)	Desana
Jandiá	Pawá-pweá	Cachoeira of the jandiá	Tukano, Desana, Makú
Nova vida	porerό-pextá	Port of the grasshopper	Tukano
S. Miguel	Boxsó-pextá	Port of the cavy	Tukano, Tuyuka
Melo Franco	wexkõ-soro	Hide of anta (?)	Tukano, Desaná, Karapanã

/e, "and"; see p. 90 for footnotes 16-18./

/Footnotes for pp. 82-85./

000 2. Point /Port. Ponta/ in the toponymy always indicates a geographic accident.

*[192] 3. The natives furnished us the two names above. Coró-coró is the name of riverine birds of various species: ibis melanocephala, gerónticus infuscata.

[797] 4. There was formerly a Mission of the Capuchin Friars, under the patronage of S. Pedro, reports Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 231). Buxpú-seró is an abbreviation of buxpú-kaxsero, piece of sarabatana /blowgun/. The name refers to the legends of the sarabatana and of Tupana-ruca.

5. Sem moradores /without inhabitants/, that is, the former povoado does not exist any more.

6. The name in parentheses indicates the original inhabitants.

7. The dashes indicate places known only by the denomination in Tukano.

*[192] 8. Taina, in Nheengatu, is a child of either sex up to when it starts to talk, walk, and do small services. From then on, those of the male sex are called kurumim, and those of the female sex, kuñatai.

9. The first Tukano who came from the Papurí to the Tiquié crossed there by swimming the river to the right bank, when they were fleeing from enemies.

/Footnotes for pp. 86-88./

*192 10. Stone with an orifice from which water comes out. According to the legend, if someone drinks three cups of this water, he will fall asleep and dream of songs, and he will be a good *bayá*, that is, a master of dances (cf. VII, 6, a 12).

11. The Tukano state that it is a name of Makú origin, although this does not seem probable to us. In Tukano the translation would be pĩrõ pahigõ waákaro.

12. Mõ would be the abbreviation of mõã-dari, carurú (and not of mõõ, piraíba).

13. Cf. the legend of the seizure of the sacred instruments ("*Lendas do Uaupés*" /Legends of the Uaupés/ by the ~~Author)~~.

14. *Sẽ-pé* is the name of one of the Cobras-grandes /Great-Snakes/ of the legends, cf. p. 21.

15. *Burú*, according to the explanation of the natives, is the name of a clay that gives a black ink.

16. *Buxsíka* is a word, it seems, from the Desana language.

17. In accordance with the native tradition, there would exist a subterranean canal which, from [illegible]iracuara, would connect the river Papurí to the Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

18. *Ñaxkã* is the name of a poisonous wood that gave the name to the stream.

563 /65/ 4. Observations -- 1st. As we have just seen, small groups of a nation are found close to or even in the midst of other nations. Natural sociability or the requirements of circumstances relate these human groups to one another. The consequences of these relations are several:

191 197 [177] [178] The first, one language becoming general, that of the Tukano nation, as an idiom common to several tribes, in such a way that on the lower Uaupés up to Iauareté almost all the adult persons (19)

19. This observation dates from 1947, soon after our first excursion to the Uaupés. We verified then, upon entering the area inhabited by the Wanana, that very rarely individuals of this tribe could understand one or another common Tukano phrase. In 1957 a certain number of persons who not only understood the Tukano idiom well, but also used it in conversations among themselves were already encountered in all the povoados from Carurú downward, among the former students of the Mission of Iauareté, or among the adults who had been employed there for some time. In our work on the Tukano language, we noticed the complacency of the young people, who had attended Mission schools, in speaking the Tukano idiom among themselves. We seemed to discover in this complacency only a touch of proudness, as if there were a superiority over their own parents and other elderly persons, and not because it could afford them a means of conversation among companions, exempt from the control of the "old ones."

speak, besides the language of their tribe (20),

20. It is to be noted that it did not lead to the formation of a language, with elements not connected with the others, as has happened in similar conditions, for example, the Sabir (miscellany of Italian, French, Spanish, Greek,

/65 cont./

191 /footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in
197 the Mediterranean ports.

It is natural that the purity of both the language
of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer.
[178] The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing.
[115] In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya
[126] knew some words of ~~their~~ own Kumădene idiom,
which we collected and recorded, to wit, the
septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

also the language of the Tukano tribe.

177 Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even
178 elimination of the ancestral customs, and adoption (not rarely
also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is
the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades
of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés.
One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity
[563] of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining
[582] and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that
all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

000 2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

/66 cont./

000 wrapped in dark shadows (21).

> 21. A summary of what is reasonably thought in our days can be found in the work by Paul Rivet: Les origines de l'Homme Américain /The origins of American Man/, Montreal, 1943.

177 648 It is certain, however, that, starting from the eighteenth century, the relations of the colonizers with these natives have become more and more frequent and long-lasting. From these relations, some probable, others proved, have resulted the modifications of the natives, and adoption, more or less altered, of the usages of the civilized. It is the other aspect of the phenomenon of acculturation, and well marked, which can be verified on the Uaupés in the half of this century.

829 3rd. Although biologically and culturally tending toward
a leveling, they consider themselves socially unequal. The
[567] group of Tukano tribes is the most noble. The Makú are
considered and called slaves (in Tukano poxsá, a term that,
[648] according to A. Giacone, means the one who works gratis),
and they themselves considered themselves such, serving
without remuneration the tribes of the Tukano and Taryana
[554] groups. Within the same group of tribes, such as in the
subdivisions (cf. VIII-3, c) of each tribe, they are also graded
according to a certain nobleness, which is recognized without
any discussion. The Prehistory of these tribes might bring some
light on this curious practice.

161 4th. Another palpitating question emerges among all: is this indigenous population perhaps on the road to disappearing? Or, who knows, is it maintaining itself numerically the same; or perhaps even tending to increase? We lack statistical data for comparison. We can, nevertheless, affirm:

/66 cont./

563 a) There does not appear to be any increase of a group by its joining another tribe. Nor is it possible, if we consider the exaggeratedly racist mentality of the human groups of the Uaupés (22).

*101
563 22. It does seem, though, that there were some cases of a more nearly perfect cultural assimilation, with even the loss of the local idiom, for example, what Koch Grünberg states about the Kawa-tapuya. But, although the Ethnologists may want to lump together different groups as Sibs of one and the same tribe, socially they are considered by the Indians as distinct tribes. Anyway, in the Uaupés there are no Tribes in the strict sense of the term, as we shall point out later (VIII-3, b), but several nations fragmented into more or less numerous groupings. One should remember what we say (IV-2, a) with reference to the Ihurwá, who, although taken as Tukano, present peculiar somatic features that differentiate them from the other Tukanos.

563 /67/ Nor do we consider, because they are rare nowadays, the cases of marriage or "ménage" of Indian women with civilized men (all prolific besides), because the child is not, nor is it considered, a native any longer (23).

23. We point out (note 105 /see note 113/, VII 5, c) that, when a child is born from a sporadic relation between a civilized man and an Indian woman, to whom naturally would fall the raising of the child, it is considered as belonging to the mother's tribe, if she is single, or to the husband's tribe (as if it were his child), if it is a matter of a married woman. In Iauareté (1956) we knew two brothers, students of the Mission, regarded as Taryana, although children of different fathers, two Colombian soldiers of fortune.

/67 cont./

842 b) An unquestionable fact is the fertility of the Indian woman. From the investigations made, there was reported to us only one instance of an individual's sending his wife back as sterile, the judgment, evidently, of the husband. In spite of the advantages or convenience of the Indian woman who does not want to have many children (and we have heard from their lips several times this declaration: "it is ugly to have many children"), and the practices that they use to space each delivery 2, 3, and even 4 or more years apart, the presence of numerous children in each povoado pleasantly surprises us. In our investigations we found a vigorous Indian man about 45 years of age, who had 11 children (24).

[171] 24. It is a matter of the Indian Agostinho Barbosa of the Taryana tribe, in Iauareté. It is true that in December of 1948 four of his 11 children had already died.

163 On one of our lists of individuals of various tribes, in the casual order in which the anthropometric measurements were made, 20 married people among men and women, of about 35 years of age or older, presented a total of 101 children. Therefore an average of 5 children per couple is shown. It is to be noted that only 18 dead children, without discrimination as to age, appear on this same list. If we imagine that all adults marry (ordinarily after 20 years of age) (25), 161

[587] 25. There was reported to us only the case of one man who did not find a wife; it is to be noted, however, that it was a matter of a widower.

and that the two sexes more or less correspond in number, it should be concluded that the population has

/67 cont./

161 increased (26).

> 26. With pleasure we found some of these opinions confirmed by the Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel, the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, from the end of the eighteenth century. In No. 208 of his "Noticias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/" he points out: "What indeed is worth noting is that there is not found among the central heathen the sickness that is called humores gallicos /French disease, syphilis/, according to what has been ascertained on the rivers Uaupé, Japurá, Juruá, Jutahí, and others, and because of that perhaps there is among them great propagation as daily experience shows; in any descimento /descent; see p. 35 / one sees double and triple the children of both sexes." [164]

c) It might happen that one finds partially or even totally uninhabited a place that, years before, was flourishing. This fact per se does not authorize one to conclude that one is dealing with a decrease /68/ in population. There might have been migration to another place, as a consequence of there having been some epidemic or fight in the original povoado. It is true that there have been epidemic attacks of colds ("catarro, ehõ," says the Indian), measles (27), 164

> 27. In August and September of 1956 successive attacks of whooping cough, measles, and malaria decimated approximately 200 natives on the rivers Uaupés, Papurí, and Tiquié.

[797] or malaria (uháke), which have decimated the population of one group or another. The sanitary assistance that the Salesian Missions are giving them has avoided such attacks or has reduced the danger of them.

/68 cont./

165 [797] d) Unfortunately, however, the index of child mortality is still very high. Prior to the establishment of hospitals and ambulatories by the Salesian Missions, about 50 per cent of the children from 2 to 10 years of age died because of the lack of hygiene.

164 More alarming still is the danger of tuberculosis. Sent by the Colombian government, in August of 1955 the phthisiologist Dr. Alvaro Arguillo Pinzon visited the populations of the Uaupés and Papurí. Soon after his visit to this latter river, at the povoados of the Colombian bank as well of the Brazilian one, he affirmed to us in Iauareté that 75 per cent of the indigenous population was already infected by the Koch bacillus. The affirmation is painfully true. Not only are the Indians ignorant of the simplest standards of hygiene suitable to the case (they live together in the same environment filled with carbonic anhydride from the always lighted fire, they sleep on the same hammock, put their dirty hands in the common food, drink from the same cuia /gourd container/, consume the remains of the food of the tuberculars, sip the drinks chewed perhaps by some infected person, etc.), but also to their mentality the observance of the precautions required by the sickness is excluded. [753] As a matter of fact, they do not believe in sicknesses; they consider themselves immortal. The sicknesses are evils caused by some enemy, and only the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ with his magic practices (practices that in reality often contribute only to making the ailment worse) is able to eliminate them. [797] For this reason, they do not subject themselves to long treatment in the Mission hospitals, to which, ordinarily, they retreat voluntarily and with the permission of the relatives only after having uselessly tried the treatments of various pajés, already in the last days of life. In recent years a considerable proportion of deaths, mainly of adults, has had as causa mortis laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis.

/68 cont./

165 The natives who are over 70 years of age are rare; at 50 years of age the Indian is already old (28), and he usually dies before 60.

28. The appearance makes one commonly use the word old in order to specify the individual better. Thus one frequently hears: "old Felipe of such-and-such a place," "old Cândido," etc.

/69/

Chapter IV

Distinction and Classification

1. Distinction

121 *101 These studies cover, we repeat, the tribes of Brazil and Colombia who populate the basin of the Uaupés. Under such denomination we mean the Uaupés River, from where it enters Brazil, soon after the afflux of the river Querarí, up to its mouth in the Rio Negro, with its two tributaries, the Papurí and the Tiquié, and numerous small tributaries. Our field research covers not only all the human groupings located on the banks of the three rivers above, but also many other groups from the headwaters of those rivers and in the interior of the forest. For this reason it seems to us that we can consider in a general way the large area of the "basin of the Uaupés." All the more since some of the groups that are found farther in the interior on the igarapés belong to the riverine tribes, or at least they have had relations with them for a long time, and in this way there has been cultural assimilation.

/69 cont./

*101 On our anthropometric file cards representatives of fourteen tribes appear, to wit: 1. Arapásu, 2. Bará, 3. Desana, 4. Karapanā, 5. Kubêwana, 6. Pirá-tapuya, 7. Suryana, 8. Tukano, 9. Tuyuka, 10. Yurití, 11. Wanana, 12. Kumādene (or Ipéka-tapuya, water-duck people), 13. Taryāna, 14. Makú.

We also had an opportunity for communication with the tribes: 1. Ba:remasā, 2. Edúrya, 3. Emõá-masā (guariba-tapuya), 4. Hanērā (panēnõa), 5. Íde-masā (water people, or Aõnītā), 6. Oá-mahā (mikura-tapúya), 7. Páboa-masā (tatú-tapúya), 8. Roéra-masā (tarayra-tapuya), 9. Yebá-masā, 10. Mirití-tapúya, 11. Ihwāna, 12. Tsēna, all of the Tukano /Tucano/ group, and with a dozen tribes of the Arwáke /Arawak/ group, of the rivers Içana and Aiarí.

We do not include in the present study the tribes of the Içana. Nowadays relations are free and easy and trade is frequent between these tribes and the ones who inhabit the upper Uaupés. Not infrequently individuals from that river are found settled in the basin of the Uaupés. Entire groups /70/ have abandoned the Içana and tributaries, judged as "blighted," that is, through the scarcity of fish, and many times attracted by the greater comfort that the Catholic Missions provide for the inhabitants of the rivers Uaupés and Negro.

829
171 An impressive fact in such a notable physiological and cultural melting-pot is that all the natives, even the children, proudly know how to distinguish and express precisely the group to which they belong. What would be the basis for this distinction? There being in effect the law that the children belong to the nation of their own father, it is easy for the
000 individual to indicate what his own tribe would be. What, however, would be the foundations for this distinction between tribes? The first foundation, in dealing with nationality, would evidently be of a bio-ethnological order.

/70 cont./

a. Distinction by the somatic element.

582 As was said, the law of exogamy is in effect among all
563 these tribes (except the Makú). The Taryana of Iauareté, for
example, obtain for wives the women of the Tukano tribe
residing in the neighboring povoado called Umarí, both
563 povoados on the Uaupés River. Vice versa, the Tukano of
144 Umarí take as wives the Taryana women of Iauareté. According to present knowledge about heredity, the paternal genídios /genes/ (1)

1. The new science, Genetics, verified and admits a granular conception of heredity. The germ cell of the human being contains in its nucleus 24 pairs of chromatic points, they are the chromosomes, each of them being made up of smaller parts called gene or genídio (from the Greek root gen, which indicates to generate).

are blended and balanced. One can expect, then, that the physical aspect of the Taryana (of Tukano mother) will not present notably characteristic physical features that would
144 distinguish them from the Tukano (of Taryana mother). This compulsory crossing, which dates from many generations, explains to us the similarity of physiognomic features, which we find today among individuals of different tribes (2).

2. We observed a typical case, among the many, in August of 1956, during an excursion to the stream Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié (near Parí-cachoeira). We found in Piracema, povoado of the Desana tribe on the Umarí, a boy with physiognomic features extraordinarily similar to those of a Desana youth who served us as an oarsman, and from this very povoado. We verified, however, that the boy belonged to the Tukano tribe, of the povoado called

/70 cont./

144 /footnote 2 cont./ Floresta on the left bank of the Tiquié. In reality the boy and the youth, between themselves, are baxsúkāra, that is, cousins designated for preferential marriage. Actually, the boy, son of a Tukano father, had as mother a Desana from the povoado of Piracema, and aunt of the youth, our oarsman.

142
144 Nevertheless, documenting diverse ethnic origins, with a surprising resistance to the leveling biological factors, one notices /71/ types quite distinct somatically (3).

3. We have found, within the same tribe, but belonging to different subtribes, quite distinct somatic types. For example, the Tukano of Iuquíra (Ihurwá subdivision) exhibit a noticeable difference from other Tukano subdivisions: they are fairer, with a higher and straighter forehead, more delicate features. Likewise the Pirá-tapuya of the povoado S. Paulo on the river Papurí, the Desana of Piracema on the Umarí exhibit characteristic physiognomic features that distinguish them from other groups of the same tribe.

It even seems to us that five or six somatic types or normo-types, with their peculiar features, can be distinguished on the Uaupés. We shall try to sketch the features of some of these somatic types, which, lacking other criteria, and because it is simpler, we shall name according to the tribe where we found the greatest number of individuals with such lineaments.

1) Tukano type.

142 Bronze-colored skin. The children are more reddish, approaching copper. After physical exercise (running, working) they become notably copper-colored.

/71 cont./

In all the cases of newborn children that we were able to observe, we found the characteristic Mongolian spot, purplish, oval, measuring approximately one centimeter in diameter or a little more and always in the gluteal region. The Tukano Antônio Barreto, Dorotéia Brito, and others informed us that this spot is called Wãx-tĩ-õtá and is absolutely general. Although it ordinarily disappears after two or three months, it may, however, last one year or longer. The denomination Wãx-tĩ-õtá, feces of Wãx-tĩ, results, according to the legend, from the fact that the first newborn child was supposed to have been laid on a place where there were feces of Wãx-tĩ (cf. VII-4, d (5)), which soiled him. [115] *[192]

142 Roundish face, at times widening toward the cheeks, as a gastronomic type; or even narrowing into a double triangle toward the forehead. This is receding and, in all cases, in the shape of a trapezium, with the smaller base upward, and frequently sloping laterally toward the temples. The zygoma is quite pronounced.

Eyebrows not very thick, small, straight, or light and elegantly arched, separated by a bare space of about three centimeters (the base of the nose). Short and not very thick eyelashes. Small eyes, Mongoloid, with slanted eyelids. Black or very dark iris and whitish, or with some frequency yellowish, conjunctiva.

Short nose, low, ordinarily concave, forming a regular arch. Wide base (between the eyebrows); sometimes it narrows, deepens, and becomes thinner in the nasion, like a small triangle, soon to widen up to the point, which is usually very /72/ flat. Large nostrils, round, very visible, because frequently the point is turned up. In almost all cases it ends in a roundish protuberance.

304 /72 cont./

[142] [144] Generally long ears, pyriform, protruding, and with the
lobes almost always held tightly. In all the cases that we could
verify (more than two hundred individuals of both sexes and
from various tribes, whose anthropometric measurements we
took), we could observe on the dorsal part of the auricular
pavilion (on both pavilions or only one, and generally in the
lower part) a scar of varying shape and size. In many cases
it looked like teeth marks, with the mark of two or three
teeth. No one knew or they all refused to give any explanation
for this scar, answering, as they frequently do, "I do not know,"
or "that is the way it is," or again "it is from birth." A young
woman affirmed that it was her uncle who executed it, and she
did not want to say anything else. A youth gave the information
that it had been done by his mother when he was still
small, for the purpose of his later being able to attach the
feather for the dances there. An explanation that obviously
was not satisfactory, because he did not have pierced ears.
[115] Dorotéia Brito, much later, told that such a scar is called
*[192] Wĩx-tĩ-bu'békaro (orifice of Wĩx-tĩ), but did not say anything
about the origin, affirming that it was from birth. It
seemed to us that we could establish, as in fact we did: 1st,
that it is artificial, from the appearance; 2nd, it is done
before the puberty rites, because we found it on prepubescent
children; 3rd, the name of Wĩx-tĩ-bu'békaro is an indication
that they judge it to be of magic or transcendental value.
Maybe even a rite of symbolic value, like the circumcision
[115] of the Jews. These provisional conclusions were confirmed
in September of 1956, when the Tukano Antônio Barreto, who
[553] exhibited these scars on both ears, not only confirmed the term
Wĩx-tĩ-bu'békaro, but added that it is done by the father, by
the mother, or any other person, after the child has received
a name (cf. Rite of the imposition of the name, VIII-1, b
(4)), that is, from 3 to 5 years of age. He maintained, however,
that he did not know its significance.

/72 cont./

142 144 [164] Wide mouth, thick lips, frequent prognathism, although slight, ugly dentition, with yellow teeth, many cavities and defects. Few individuals over 20 years old had all their teeth. Not rarely canines and incisors were malposed or maloccluded.

Rounded chin, small, at times almost imperceptible, and frequently ending in a small and elegant point.

Neither mustache nor beard (4).

4. Men with a discreet mustache and even with a small beard on the chin are found with considerable frequency among the *Ihwãna*, *Roéra*, and *Íde-masã* tribes, the *Arwáke* of the Içana, and the tribes of the Caburí.

*[192] A few individuals of the male sex exhibit some sparse mustache or beard hairs and /73/ try to eliminate them by depilation (*poá-ri kuré:*) with the fingers. It is the usual process for pulling out the hair of the arms, legs, and other parts of the body, on oneself or on others (5).

5. Wallace also reports: "The men have very little beard, and even this little they pull out, plucking out the hairs. Men and women, all pull out the eyebrows (which is not true today, it seems, or it would be more rare) and the hair of the armpits and of the genital parts" (*op. cit.*, 617).

*[192] We have seen, for the axillae, that they use the following depilatory process: a ball of breu /a kind of resin/ or of the resin called *sĩ-pé*, which is pressed together and rubbed on the axillae until it holds and pulls out the hairs. To appear smooth is a quality of elegance, according to their aesthetic tastes.

/73 cont./

142 144 Black hair, or more commonly dark brown, almost black, straight, shiny, coarse and thick; many times, though, burned by the sun (6).

> 6. Among the *Makú*, *Íde-masã̄*, *Roéra-masã̄*, *Yebá-masã̄*, *Hanẽ̄rã̄*, *Edúrya*, and *Ba:re-masã̄*, cymotrichous types are common. We could see and photograph some women who exhibited black hair that was fine and *cacheados* /curled in ringlets/.

178 302 The ones who have attended school wear it in a regular length, combed, and parted on the left side; the others have it cut with scissors with a short fringe on the forehead, behind the ears, and on the neck. Up to a century ago they used to let it grow in long braids (7),

> 7. A. Russell Wallace wrote in 1850: "The men do not cut the hair, they let it hang in front in a long braid, tying it around with cords, or they let it fall in the middle of the back, often as far as the thighs. The hair of the women falls loosely over the shoulders and is cut with a moderate length" (*Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro* /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 616).

which might reach as far as the thigh. The women, instead, trimmed it a little, perhaps in order not to be inconvenienced in their work. Today the women have it a little below the shoulders, more or less fastened with a ribbon or pin. One sees some children with the hair quite shorn, but growing in breadth, as if it were a lion's mane (8).

> 8. Hair cut this way, "like a lion's mane," although with a wider zone, that is, about 5 or 6 centimeters, has been seen, likewise, in caboclo children of the Rio Negro. Perhaps the natives have imitated these examples.

/73 cont./

142
144
In some few cases, hair becoming thin due to loss; not, however, complete baldness. Rare and late graying, thanks to the use of some dyeing lotions. No case of albinism or erythrism in the eight or ten thousand Indians whom we have visited.

The rest of the body is not very pilose; the hair is fine and brown, more or less the color of the skin, and thus it is barely distinguishable from it.

He is of short stature and short neck. They ridicule the whites for having so long a neck. Well-formed torso, slightly longer /74/ than the inferior members on those of the male sex, and with an even more noticeable difference on those of the female sex, without, however, coming to be inelegant. Broad-chested, with an ample thorax, and with hips considerably narrower than the shoulders. In the men, after 40 [145] [262] years of age, the belly often large and sagging, which gives the torso a chubby appearance. The disproportionate development of the stomach, as a result of an excess of nourishment preponderantly of mandioca flour, is already noticeable in all the children from three or four years of age.

[832] The young woman is always plump in body, which is considered a feature of elegance; she sometimes comes to exhibit a chubby appearance. Ordinarily the women have the bust elegantly inclined backwards, perhaps due to the way they carry the loads, in large baskets the length of their backs, but tied to the forehead with embira. Perhaps this is also the cause of an exaggerated development of the sternum.

[832] The individuals of the female sex have the gluteal region well developed, although not exaggeratedly, a quality, by the way, appreciated also as a factor of female elegance. * [192] For this reason, the ones with a slimmer body are objects of derision, as desnalgadas /thin ones/, duxkú. It seems, however, [481] that there is no artificial process for the development of that region, and that the very way of walking, with the torso well arched toward the rear, the abdomen forward, and the chest and head quite erect, or even inclined backward, is what sets off the gluteal proportions.

/74 cont./

142
144
Arms and legs well formed (9).

> 9. "The Tucano type presents quite a good appearance. Of regular stature, light bronze color, round head and eyes (?), hair generally black and short; he has a conjunction of such handsome proportions that, in perfect immobility, he could be taken as an artistic statue of bronze." Mons. Lourenço Giordano (Boletim Salesiano, February of 1918, p. 31).

The former notably developed through the exercise of rowing, which gives them a span of arms always greater than the height, up to 10 or even 15 centimeters.

[145]
[431]
Muscular chest in the men. Hemispherical and voluminous breasts in the maidens, also constituting an element of elegance for the young women. Sagging like the udder of a nanny goat in the women beyond a certain age. This due to the fact that they are always bending and swinging when they work (10).

*[192]

> 10. Slender and long breasts are likewise objects of derision. They nickname such women "mother of the Curupira, Boraró-paxkó." We have seen women with breasts so long that, passed under the arms, they are sucked by the children placed behind them on the back.

/75/ Small hands, regular fingers. Feet, on the contrary, large; the tip of the toes is wide, as in a fan, due to the way of walking. Digits with a narrow base and flattened top, with a wide space between them, especially between the great one /Port. polegar, thumb or great toe/ and the next one; a fact that allows them notable prehension (securing and raising objects with the feet, or even guiding the wheel of a launch and rowing).

/75 cont./

304 They do not practice any deformation of the body (11),

11. Nevertheless the Ouvidor /Auditor/ Francisco Xavier R. de Sampaio, in his "Diário" of the year 1774-5, notices, in No. 318, concerning the river Anauene, tributary of the Rio Negro: "This river is inhabited by the Arúaquí nation, very warlike and anthropophagous, but without any artificial deformity such as those customarily practiced by the nations of the Amazon." And about the Uaupés (No. 381) he says that they pierced the ears and the lower lip. This is confirmed at the end of the eighteenth century by Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, "Noticias Geographicas da Capitania do Rio Negro no grande Rio Amazonas /Geographical Notes on the Capitania of Rio Negro on the great Amazon River/," No. 208), and 50 years later Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, pp. 245 and 624) adds that the Kubeo /Cubeo/ enlarge it more, in such a way that a bottle cork could pass through the orifice of the ear. Perhaps this custom is already being lost. We did not find even one individual with such a large orifice in the ears, and we were able to observe several hundreds of Kubêwãna on the upper Uaupés and on the Querarí. The largest orifice we could observe would measure one centimeter in diameter, and we saw it on a man of the Roéra-masã tribe, residing on the Igarapé Comé-ia, tributary of the river Pirá-paraná.

except for the piercing of the ear lobes, from where they hang the earrings at the dances. Outside of this occasion, in order to keep the orifice open, they introduce a small stick from the ribs of palm trees. Among the men of the new generation, in the [178] povoados assisted by the Salesian Missions, many no longer pierce the lobes.

/75 cont./

14 They are certainly not types of beauty, and some, with old age and wrinkles, become frankly ugly. Among the eight
732 or ten thousand individuals we saw, however, none were deformed (12).

> 12. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 179) in Parí-cachoeira met a midget, about 15 or 18 years old and measuring 107 centimeters in height, playing with the children. His parents, already dead (1902), were of normal stature.

Among the youngest there are even attractive types, and on the
[847] older ones touches of a serene majesty. It is true that the crippled and the deformed are eliminated at birth (cases that are rare, according to what we found) (13).

> 13. We know of several cases of crippling. Because of the lack of statistics, we could not say what percentage they represent in the sparse population of these rivers. It seemed to us, however, that they are all consequences of falls while young, or of infantile paralysis.

14 We have thus sketched a Mongoloid type, brachycephalic, lissotrichous, platyrrhinian, slightly prognathic, morphologically mixed, pyknico-athletic, quite close to the norm.

732 /76/ There are somewhat frequent cases of evolutive retardation in early childhood, and even of true rachitis, accompanied at times by mental debility (14).

> 14. We also regret here the lack of statistical data that would present to us the percentage of pathological cases. We found in Parí-cachoeira in 1957 two female children with rachitis and mental debility, admitted to the hospital. One eight years old from the Desana tribe, and the other, Tukano, 14 years old. Both,

/76 cont./

> 732 /footnote 14 cont./ due to weakness of the organs, were not able to walk until five years of age, after long treatment. Among the cases of pronounced hebetude, we recall two adults of the male sex, one from the Huhúdẽne tribe in Uapuim-cachoeira (river Aiarí), and the other a Taryana of Iauareté, known as Marcelino, "Contented," because he laughs at anything.

481 Completing this profile, it should be noted that they are slow of movement, at times clumsy in their way of walking. They walk with a short step (15),

> 15. In the military formations of the children, at one of the schools of the Salesian Missions, we could verify the tendency to accelerate the march.

like small jumps; many drag slightly and set the tip of the toes apart laterally, and the heel barely touches the ground.

516 They do not remain on their feet very long, almost always leaning more on one foot (the left one) and just on the tip of the other one. The woman withstands being on her feet less than the man. The most common and lasting position, when still, is the squat; it is the normal position for eating, even when they could do it sitting down. When they sit, they prefer low seats or the ground, and then they never cross the legs.

Let us now note some features that vary in this profile that we have sketched.

2) Pirá-tapuya type.

142 144 Skin lighter than in the Tukano, and face slightly or markedly elongated. Zygoma less prominent. Lissotrichous hair, lighter brown.

/76 cont./

142 144 Brown eyes; sometimes quite light, mainly in the children. High nose, but somewhat flat at the tip and large. Regular mouth, better formed set of teeth, small chin, rounded in the natural curve of the face; thick lips. The physiognomic features, however, are less attractive than in the Tukano.

A taller type than the Tukano, and also less plump of body.

3) Taryana type.

Lighter in color than the Tukano, he likewise has a more elongated face, but with more prominent cheekbones.

/77/ The nose is high, straight, with nevertheless a very wide point and big nostrils. Square forehead, less curved laterally, straighter and wider than in the Tukano. Wide mouth, a chin quite large and sometimes quite pointed.

Less plump body and average stature like the Tukano.

4) Makú type.

Lighter skin, of an earth-colored paleness. There are almost always cymotrichous types, with dark, thick, and sometimes fine hair.

Small forehead, receding, zygoma less noticeable. High and thin nose. More open eyes, almost Caucasian. There are types with more delicate and attractive features than those of the other tribes, although one does find groups with an appearance that retraces greater degradation.

Body slenderer and shorter. He is more similar to the whites than those of the other nations.

5) General observations.

The Desana are smaller, lighter than the Tukano, and of more delicate features, and therefore in general more attractive in appearance. And among these various tribes, the Yurití,

/77 cont./

142 144 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.

171 b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

*192 [322] [531] The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their characteristic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] [531] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats; also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] [439] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] [411] [567] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the çacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3)) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3)), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/78 cont./

532 184 On the other hand, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the masks are manufactured and worn by the Kubêwana and Wanana, and, later, also by the Taryana. We likewise find masks among the Íde-masã of the stream Comé-ia (tributary of the left bank of the river Pirá-paraná).

2. Classification

121 The attempt to classify the tribes of Brazil in general, as well as those of the Amazon or of the Rio Negro in particular, is still open for discussion.

A classification, let us say, culturological, of the tribes of the Uaupés is impossible today. The relations among the various tribes, already dating back centuries, brought about a more or less perfect interculturation among them. We can, then, affirm that the nations of the Uaupés constitute at present a single cultural group, the origin of whose cultural elements is difficult to retrace at the present time. The peculiarities of each tribe are few and insignificant, as we have just seen, and do not, by themselves, permit a classification.

A classification fundamentally anthropological, be it serological, be it somatic, is likewise impossible. The blood
143 examination done a few years ago by Prof. Emílio Biocca of the University of Rome on 237 individuals of the Tukano, Taryana, and Maku tribes showed that all of them belonged to type O, and the relation between the genes m and n was constant. The regimen of absolute tribal exogamy, which has been practiced for centuries among them, necessarily brings about bio-anthropological assimilation.

197 Though it seems to us that at present the glottologic classification would be still easier and more persuasive, nevertheless in this plurisecular melting-pot some idioms were profoundly altered and some human groups have already adopted

/78 cont./

197 the idiom of others somatically quite different. Here we await the word of the experts (17).

17. In collaboration with the "Centro de Pesquisas da Prelazia do Rio Negro" /Research Center of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro/ for the classification of the Amerindian idioms, we have collected the "test" Vocabulary of 200 words (and also recorded the pronounciation of many) suggested by Prof. Morris Swadesh of Denver (United States). /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./ The following are the tribes whose Vocabulary we have and which appear in our work "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia":
1st. Of the Tukano linguistic Family: 1. Bará (or Barasana); 2. Desana (Winá); 3. Edúrya (Erúlya); 4. Ihwana (Yona); 5. Karapanã-tapuya (Mõxtã); 6. Kubewana (Pamĩwa); 7. Mikura-tapuya (Oá-mahã, gambá /opossum/ people); 8. Panenoá (Hanẽra); 9. Pirá-tapuya (Waíkhana, fish people); 10. Suryana (Surirá); 11. Taraíra-tapuya (Roéra-masã, food people); 12. Tatu-tapuya (Páboa-maxsã, tatu /armadillo/ people); 13. Temyú-tapuya (Ba:re-masã, food people); 14. Tsẽna; 15. Tukano (Daxseá); 16. Tuyuka-tapuya (Doxká-foará, clay people); 17. Yebá-masã; 18. Yí-tapuya (Íde-masã, water people); 19. Yuriti-tapuya (Wahyára, Uhaíia-na, dove people); 20. Wanana (Kórtirya); 21. Waríwa-tapuya (Emõá-masã, guariba /howling monkey/ people); 22. Korẽterabõa (Buya-tapuya, snake people). /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./
2nd. Of the Arwake linguistic Family: 1. Ĩnabu-tapuya (inambú /tinamou/ people, Huhúdene); 2. Ipeka-tapuya (water-duck people, Kumãdene); 3. Marakayá-tapuya (maracaja /a wild cat/ people, Werekena); 4. Pišuna-tapuya (black people, Kadaupuri-tana); 5. Siusi-tapuya (star people, Wariperž-dékene); 6. Sukuruyu-Tapuya (sucuri people, Mauri-weni); 7. Taryana (Talyáseri);

/78 cont./

/footnote 17 cont./ 8. Tatú-tapúya (tatu people, Ádza-nẽẽni); 9. Yawareté-tapuya (onça people, Dzawí-mináney); 10. Yurupari-tapuya (demon people, Mapatse-dákeney); 11. Yiboya-tapuya (gibóia people, Dzuré-mẽne).

3rd. Of the Makú linguistic Family: 1. Makú of the Serra dos Porcos (in the vicinity of Iauareté, Uaupés River). 2. Makú of the Japú-igarapé (tributary, from the right, of the middle Uaupés). 3. Makú of the Ira-igarapé (tributary, from the right, of the lower Tiquié). 4. Makú of the river Taraíra (tributary of the Apapóris).

/79/ In the classic division of the tribes of Brazil into the four groups Tupi-guarani, Gê, Arwáke /Arawak/, and Karaíba /Carib/, the area of these last two groups covers the basin of the Rio Negro. In the Karaíba group, however, there are only the Arekuna and Makiritare (or Deukwana of Curt Nimuendajú), with representatives on the river Içana, not in the Uaupés basin, although Chestmir has found vestiges of Karaíba (as we pointed out in the work "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") in many idioms.

At first the other nations were all included among the Arwake. In the writings of the first explorers the denomination "Aroaquís," covering distinct tribes of the Rio Negro, frequently appears.

Daniel G. Brinton, 1892, distinguished among the tribes that occupy the region between the Solimões and the Guianas the Betóya linguistic family, which also included the Tukano. Later Paul Rivet shows that the Betóya must be included among the Chibcha, and proposes the denomination of Tukano Family for the Uaupés group.

/79 cont./

121 171 433 241 Among the tribes of the region being studied, we noted the presence of small human groups of sylvicolists par excellence, that is hunters, more or less nomadic; they are the Maku. Whereas the other tribes are fluminicolists, that is, established on the banks of the important watercourses and given to fishing and agriculture. Although some Maku groups have assimilated many of the customs of the other tribes, we do not include them in these studies. We have already pointed out (I, Note 1) that the Maku are probably the most ancient inhabitants of the region.

The tribes that we studied are classified, then, in two large linguistic families:

* 101 121 1st. Tukano Family, covering the tribes: 1. Daxseá or Tukano; 2. Bará or Barasana; 3. Bá:re-masĩ or Temyú-tapuya (food people); 4. Doxká-foará or Tuyuka (clay people); 5. Edúrya or Erúlya; 6. Emõá-masĩ or Waríwa-tapuya (guariba people); 7. Hanẽra or Panẽnoá; 8. Íde-masĩ, Aõ-nĩra, Makuná or Yí-tapuya /80/ (water people); 9. Ihwana or Yona; 10. Koneá or Arapásu (woodpecker people); 11. Kótirya or Wanana; 12. Mõxtĩ or Karapanĩ-tapuya (daddy-longlegs people); 13. Neenõá or Miriti-tapuya (buriti people); 14. Oá-mahĩ or Mikura-tapuya (gambá people); 15. Pamĩwa or Kubewana; 16. Páboa-maxsĩ or Tatu-tapuya (tatu people); 17. Roéra-masĩ or Taraíra-tapuya (taraíra people); 18. Surirá or Suryana; 19. Tsẽna; 20. Yebá-masĩ; 21. Wahyara, Waíana or Yuriti-tapuya (dove people); 22. Waí-khĩna or Pirá-tapuya (fish people); 23. Winá or Desana.

2nd. Arwake Family, including the tribes: 1. Kumĩdene or Ipeka-tapuya (water-duck people); 2. Talyáseri or Taryana. We speak only of these two, because the other tribes of this numerous family do not inhabit the Uaupés basin, and, indeed, that of the rivers Içana, Xié, and Negro.

/80 cont./

*101 The Tukano Family, being made up of human groups located in the Colombian plains of the Amazon forest, entered Brazil by the Uaupés-Japurá valley, probably before the period of the Discoveries (18).

[115] 18. An old Tukano of Iuquira, Justino by name, of the Ihurwá or Juruá group, informed Pe. Antônio Giacone that his group took the name of the river Juruá, where they lived. From there, they moved little by little to the Japurá, Apapóris, and reached the upper Uaupés. They came down the Uaupés to the mouth of the Papuri, and later went up it again as far as Turí-igarapé, from where the Maku guided them to the Japú-igarapé on the mouth of which they established themselves, after the Arapásu had left there. Such information, by someone who had never seen a map of the region, presents strong indications of veracity.

Almost simultaneously the Arwake family came down the Orinoco-Negro valley, reaching the Japurá, as is proved, according to Koch Grünberg, by the names of the rivers with ri, a typically Arwake ending. Having come upon the Tukano, who are located like a wedge on the Uaupés, the Arwake remained divided to the north and south of them. The last migration, in Koch's opinion, was the one of the Karaíba, who came from the eastern part, in relation to the previous groups, that is, from the upper Guaviare.

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126 /81/ By way of confirming the affiliation of these idioms, we gathered a parallel Vocabulary of the most used words in the different indigenous languages (cf. our works "Idiomas Indigenas da Amazonia" and "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical."

/81 cont./

*101

a) DAXSEÁ OR TUKANO

1) People-Name-Language -- In the native idiom, they are called Daxseá (sing., masc. daxségõ; fem. daxségo), name of the bird that we call tucano /toucan/ in Portuguese. In the historical period they are already found under the name of Uaupés (cf. II -- 6, a (1)), in the basin of this river, so that the various tribes of this region are known and understood under the denomination of "Nações Uaupés" /Uaupés Nations/. Perhaps the broadening of the term is due, not to the fact of the Tukano customs having been imposed, those of the other nations being eliminated, but to the greater number and dispersion of groups of this tribe, as well as to the generalization of its idiom. [191] Even today many adult persons (and lately, because of living together in the boarding schools of the Missions, children as well) of the various tribes of the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí understand and speak the Tukano language, and perhaps have forgotten their own native idiom.

[115] [648] [567] According to Lucas, an old Tukano from S. Luzia, on the Papurí (in an account to Pe. Antônio Giacone, in July of 1947), the Tukano descended from the northwest (thus disagreeing with old Justino from Iuquira, as was seen in a previous Note) to the Uaupés basin, already finding there small groups of Makú who were either enslaved or went into the forest in the interior. They call the Makú Poxsá, that is, one who serves without pay. "They are servants in peace and soldiers in war," as the old people expressed themselves about them (19).

19. It is not likely that the Tukanos had the Makú as allies, or that they would rely on them, if we note that they are shy and also subject themselves to other tribes. Nor do the legends that we collected speak of favors by the Makú to the Tukanos in war.

The tribes who arrived later called the Tukano Yepá-maxsã,

/*81 cont.*/

*101 that is, "people of the land." Impressed later by the fact that they ate a great deal and frequently, they compared them with the *tucanos* /toucans/.

This is probably a later explanation invented by the native imagination. It is to be noted, however, that those of this tribe have always called themselves *Daxseá*, and never *Yepá-maxsã*. According to the old Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, *Yepá-maxsã* is the nickname of the *Bará*, although he does not know what that denomination means! In reality, *Yebá-maxsã* (in Tukano, *Yepá-maxsã*) is the name of a tribe of the Tukano group, as we shall see later (IV -- 2, t).

/*82*/ The designation "*Tukano*" clearly obeys the structure of the primitive's mentality, naming himself after an animal or plant. For now we do not want to go into the question of *Totemism*, which we hope to deal with more fully in another study. We are now permitted only to infer for them a *habitat* where the *Tucano* /toucan/ bird (*ramphastus*) might live, such as in the Amazonian plain of Colombia.

2) *Habitat and inhabitants* -- More or less numerous groups of Tukano are found from *Yu-Rapecuma* (almost on the mouth of the Uaupés) up to *Umarí* (middle Uaupés), on the Tiquié from the mouth up to *Carurú-cachoeira*, and on the *Papurí* from *Serrinha* up to the headwaters. Small groups have also established themselves on the Rio Negro between S. Gabriel and Santa Isabel. The preceding charts (II -- 6, a, b) show the principal places where we find them today. The principal route of penetration into Brazil, it seems to us, was the river Papurí, from where they passed to the Uaupés and Tiquié (20).

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20. The old tuxáua José of Parí-cachoeira, about thirty years ago, showed Pe. João Marchesi an area of underbrush on the Tiquié, reporting that the first maloca of his ancestors was there when they came from the Pakurí. The indigenous denomination of the locality of S. Luzia of the Tiquié, *buõrá-bathá*, swim of the old ones (cf. Note 9, III), is confirmation of the Tukano tradition concerning their origin and migration.

/82 cont./

*701 The more noble subdivisions established themselves from Piracuara upwards (river Papurí), with a group of the Waú-ro coming down as far as Ananaz (Uaupés).

According to Frei Gregório's maps, in 1853 the Tukano on the river Uaupés lived in: Pacú-cachoeira, Iuquira-Rapecúma, S. Joaquim, Naná-Rapecuma, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Iauareté-cachoeira. The first "Relatórios" of the eighteenth century (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, No. 174; "Diario" /Diary/ of Sampaio, No. 366) already report the presence of Índios Uaupés in S. Isabel, today Tapurucuá, in the middle Rio Negro. In fact, a Tukano group is still found in that vicinity.

161 According to Koch G. (Festschrift Eduard Seler, 206) the Tukano would come to 1,500 souls. They must, however, be rather more numerous. The statistics of Pelo Rio Mar report in Brazilian territory alone 1,622 individuals; and those of Colombian territory are equally numerous. It is possible that they exceed two thousand.

829 We have sketched the physical appearance of the Tukano
(IV -- 1, a (1)). The physical and spiritual qualities do not
reveal any superiority over the other tribes. On the contrary,
some of these present more delicate features and perhaps even
a better configuration and anatomical proportions. Nevertheless,
the Tukano, as we have already noted, considers himself /83/
superior to the other tribes and this primacy is peacefully granted
[197] to him. The Missionaries explain this superiority by the fact
that the other tribes accepted his language as the official, or
at least general, idiom on these rivers. Logically the generalization of the idiom would be explained by the superiority of
[173] the tribe. This inconsistency is to be pointed out: according
to the Tukano tradition, they were defeated by the "Blood
children of the Thunder," the Taryana, who finally accepted
the Tukano language.

/83 cont./

648 We are inclined to think that, independently of war episodes or cultural elements, this superiority of the Tukano has various causes: 1st, the tribe's being more numerous; by the data of the old statistics we can imagine that they approach two thousand. If that is the case, it is two or three times larger in population than any other tribe; 2nd, it is also probable that they had occupied some of their present centers (from where they expelled the Makú) before other tribes arrived in this area, and, according to the native mentality, the value of priority in time is great; 3rd, they located themselves more or less regularly scattered along these three rivers, and due to the unity among them (that all call themselves and consider themselves brothers), they must constitute a feared force for the other tribes, who are smaller and have their nuclei located farther apart; 4th, the number and the arrangement along the rivers would have, little by little, generalized their language among the individuals of the other tribes, who traveled for the sake of trade with the Tukano or with other tribes (21).

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21. Living together as students or employees, and later the frequent meetings among the various tribes, in the Missionary Centers has contributed powerfully toward the ever more rapid propagation of the Tukano idiom. One can foresee, at this pace, that it will become the língua geral of the Uaupés, as the Nheengatú is on the Rio Negro.

It seems to us that this hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that those indigenous groups of the middle Uaupés (especially above Carurú-cachoeira) whose trade is regularly carried on among themselves or with the tribes of the Aiarí indeed do not know (22)

22. We wrote this in 1947. Ten years later, 1956,

/83 cont./

197 [797] /footnote 22 cont./ we already found many Wanãna of the younger generation, who had passed through the boarding schools of the Missions, not only understanding the Tukano, but even preferring it to the mother tongue when they are amusing themselves with their classmates.

the Tukano idiom. At the same time the Taryana language is on the way to being lost, because they are surrounded by the Tukano.

563 The matrimonial interdiction of the Tukano with the Wanãna and the Bará is in force.

/84/ 3) Divisions (23) --

*101 115 23. In 1947 we had obtained a list of 28 subdivisions. And in 1953-4, we procured confirmation with the old Komũ, Gabriel Costa (about 80 years old), from Parí-cachoeira. He confirmed to us the order of derivation that we present here, starting with the Mamí (older brother) Waú-ro-põrá, and proceeding with the term Axkabí (younger brother) Oá kaxpéa põrá, etc. He also informed us that the first 14 subdivisions are the "principal ones," "the following 14 are inferior." And he added four more subdivisions as being "the lowest." Of the ones that we had obtained previously, he not only failed to mention, but even denied the existence of the U'khwãra and Vidari. Nevertheless we had confirmation of their existence on the part of individuals belonging to these subdivisions in S. Miguel and Melo Franco (last Brazilian localities on the river Papurí), respectively.

/*84 cont.*/

*101 115 /Footnote 23 cont./ The Tukano Dorotéia Brito from Ananaz (Uaupés) informed us of the existence of another subdivision called *Yamĩ-nõ põrá*, in Tatá-punha, a little below Ananaz. Another observation: according to Gabriel Costa, the principal Tukano stem would be the one of the *Waú-ro põrá*. The legend and numerous informants are in agreement with regard to this information. Nevertheless Dorotéia Brito, who belongs to the Waú-ro group, assured us that they are not the "Tukano from the head" (according to the general way they express themselves on this matter), who are the *Oyê*. And not only these but also, successively, the *Mimí*, the *Toarõ*, and the *Bororã* are all "*Mamí*" (that is, "elder brothers") of the *Waú-ro põra*. It seems to us, however, that here there is a mistake by our excellent and useful collaborator.

The same informant added that the last Tukano branches, the "Tukano from the feet," are the *Kõmã-rõ*, *Bu*, *Boxsó kasperí*, *Turo*, and *Dyi-pẽ*. She also said that the *Ihurwá*, *O'mẽ-peri*, and *Axpã-kerya* "were not Tukano in ancient times" (and, therefore, they could marry the Tukano), and the latter, out of compassion, called them *brothers*" /the initial quotation marks are missing/.

*101 Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 261) names the *Uíwa-tapuya* or Arrow people (*Pfeilrohr-Indianer*) as a *Tukano horde* located on the *Uaupés* between the cachoeiras of Micura and Umarí. It is true that the Ethnologists' concept of *Hordes* is vague and may correspond both to groups that the Indians consider different tribes and to groups taken as subdivisions of their tribe. None of the numerous Tukano with whom we conversed ever spoke about a tribe or division of his tribe by the name of

/84 cont./

/footnote 23 cont./ Arrow people or Wiwa-Tapuya (in Nheengatú), which in Tukano would be Anẽ-gȭ maxsã̄ or Bȭe-ka-te maxsã̄. Instead, coinciding approximately with the location indicated by Koch, there is the Tukano subgroup called Axpã̄-kerya or "pata-de-Caranguejo" /Crab claw/.

Although all those from one tribe consider themselves "brothers," all the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés (24)

24. We made numerous and useless attempts (April and May of 1957) to discover whether the Arwáke tribes of the Içana and Aiarí had /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ subdivisions, and what the names of them were. The result was always negative, that is, the existence of subtribes was not confirmed. It must be pointed out, however, that the Kumãdẽne group, residing in Urubucuara (river Uaupés), gave us the names of subdivisions of their tribe, whereas the Kumãdẽne of the Aiarí were unable to indicate these subdivisions to us. Would they have forgotten them?

present some subdivisions nowadays, and cite names of others that existed formerly. These subdivisions correspond to an old aristocracy, as will be seen below (VIII -- 3, d), and in the present study we call them Gens, because, it seems to us, they correspond to the Gens of Roman society. Festo gives the following definition of Cincio (ep. 94): "Gentilis dicitur et ex eodem genere ortus et is qui simili nomine appellatur" /one both begotten from the same origin and called by the same name is said to be a gentile/.

/85/

*101 Among the Tukanos we obtained the following:
1. -- Waú-ro põrá (25)

25. Põrá (or poná, as it is pronounced on the rivers
Uaupés and Papurí) means begotten, children, and
it is only used in the plural. For simplification, in
the lists that follow we shall omit the word children
in the translation..

[115] The more advanced Indians (who speak Portuguese
and have studied for some years in the schools of the
Salesian Missions), when asked about these divisions,
spontaneously add by way of explanation, "they are
nicknames that the others impose on them." This is
undoubtedly sometimes true, because they like to
*[192] give nicknames. But, on the other hand, it is not
in disagreement with the "baxséke wamẽ," "blown
[773] name" (cf. VIII, 1, b (4)). According to the legends,
from the beginning the first chiefs had the nicknames,
[551] which passed to the whole group; for example, one
of the "heads" was nicknamed "mimí," hummingbird,
and his descendants are known today as "Children of
the hummingbird, Mimí-põrá."

[115] The Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos of the sub-
division Kõma-ro-põrá, from the povoado of S. Luzia
on the river Papurí, told us in one of her interesting
pieces of information: "The Waú-ro-põrá are the
Tukano from the head. Waú is his baxséke wamẽ
(blown name). Formerly, he hid /this footnote is
continued on the following page in the original source/
himself in the plant called Waũ-mutõ, in order to
*[192] watch the girls taking a bath. The monkey Waú (in
Nheengatú wáya-pisá) is very fond of the fruits of that
tree. The girls, while they were bathing, heard a
noise in the tree, immediately looked in that direction,
and saw the man hidden among the branches. They all
cried out: waú nĩbẽ! it is the wáya pisá!

*101
*192

/85 cont./

(that is, the "children of the Waú," a black monkey with a white face, called in Nheengatú wáya-pisá), in Piracuara (river Papurí) and Ananaz (lower Uaupés).

2. -- Oá kaxpéa põrá (eye of the gambá /opossum/), in Piracuara (Papurí)
3. -- Oyê põrá (stuttering?), in Pato (Papurí)
4. -- Īrapé põra (a small black ant), in Anananaz (Uaupés)
5. -- Pamõ põrá (tatu), in Nazaré or Uira-poço (river Tiquié)
6. -- Menú põra (the bather? or Nẽẽrú, nẽẽnú, small miriti), in Acuaricuara (river Paca)
7. -- Toarõ põrá (a toad), in Acuaricuara (Paça)
8. -- Mīmí põrá (hummingbird), in Melo Franco (Papurí), Taracuá (Uaupés)
9. -- Bõrõrá põrá (Fallen), in S. Miguel (Papurí)
10. -- Sararó põrá (a large grasshopper), in Acuaricuara (Paca)
11. -- Ba'ti torõ põrá (sucker of japurá /fruit/), in Pari-cachoeira, Tucano and Bela Vista (Tiquié)
12. -- Nẽẽrú (nẽẽnú) põrá (a small miriti), in Iratí (Tiquié)
13. -- Dyí-pe põrá (clay hole), in Uira-poço, S. José (Tiquié)
14. -- Dúka põrá (abandoned?), in Uaracapá

/86/

15. -- Yai-ro põrá (a small inambú /tinamou/), in Beijú-cachoeira (Papurí)
16. -- Yõãrã põrá (bitter ones), at the mouth of the Tiquié
17. -- Bixpíse põrá (tumor) or Bixpỹã põrá (bluebird, bird), in Bela Vista (Tiquié)
18. -- Sakúro põrá (saracura /plant (Bignonia), or waterfowl (Ralidae)/), in Montfort (Papurí)
19. -- Sa: põrá (palm basket), in Nazaré (Papurí)
20. -- O'mẽperi-Ro põrá (long eared), in Uíra-poço (Tiquié); Tapurucuara (Uaupés); Yúa-pixuna (Papurí) (26)

[115]

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26. The Tukano Henrique, pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of Japú-igarapé, informed us that on the igarapé do Tamanduá, Bũxko-yá, there formerly lived a Tukano group o'mẽperi põrá, now extinct.

/*86 cont.*/

*101 21. -- *Búbera pōrá* (liver of the cutia /agouti/), in Cabarí (Tiquié)

*192 22. -- *Boxsó kaxpe-rí pōra* (eyes of the cavy), in Taracuá above Jandiá (Papurí)

23. -- *Túro pōrá* (a small poisonous toad), in S. José, Tucano and Esteio (Tiquié)

24. -- *Khoī-pá pōrá* (var. of small mirití), in Matapī, Urubú-lago (Tiquié)

25. -- *Bá: pōrá* (tied with leaves to smoke /meat/), in Turí-igarapé (Tiquié)

26. -- *Kōmī-rō pōrá* (summer), in S. Luzia (Papurí)

27. -- *Ihurwá pōrá* (thin person?), in Juquira (Uaupés) (27)

27. Koch Grünberg records the spellings *Yohoroa* and *Kurawa*. He reports that they had five malocas in the environs of Iuquira, and there were more than 100 persons (*Zwei Iahre*, 157 and 238).

28. -- *Bayá pōrá* (master of dances), in Serrinha (Papurí)

29. -- *Bu'ú pōrá* (tucunaré, fish), in Bela Vista (Tiquié)

30. -- *Axpā-keryá pōrá* (crab legs), in Umarí and Mirapirera (Uaupés)

31. -- *Waxpékāra bōrōrá pōrá* (fallen cacaos), in Melo Franco (Papurí)

32. -- *U'khwāra pōrá* (species of small monkey) or *Ku'kwāra pōra* (stuttering), in Melo Franco (Papurí)

/*87*/

33. -- *Yaí-uxtyá pōrá* (var. of large wasp), in Carurú and S. Tomé (Tiquié)

34. -- *Vidári pōrá* (sardine), in S. Miguel (Papurí)

35. -- *Būxpō pōrá* (spider), in Coró-coró (Tiquié)

36. -- *Yamī-nō pōrá* (ant of the night?), in Tatá-punha (Uaupés).

/87 cont./

*101

b) BARÁ OR BASÃNA

1) People-Name-Language -- It is the name by which, without any modification, this tribe is known in the various languages; also the name of a fragrant bush, with whose branches the various tribes are accustomed to gird themselves when they dance.

Their language belongs to the Tukano family, as can be seen by the "Vocabulário da Amazônia." (Cf. the author's books: "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas /Indigenous Idioms/.")

*[192]

We heard some Tukano say that the Bará are their Paxkõ-Ro (grandparents), but they could not tell us the reason for this apellation, nor did we find any allusion to it in their legends. It is certain that marriage between these two tribes is prohibited. Pe. Humberto Limpens (28) of the Congregação de Montfort informed us that he had heard from some old Bará that they called themselves Manao. We have not yet obtained confirmation of this, however. At present nothing is yet known about their relations with the ancient Manao tribe, which dominated a large part of the Rio Negro and is classified in the Arwáke group. Could it be that a small group of Manao were dominated or absorbed by the Tukano, whose idiom they assimilated?

[115]

[797]

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28. He was one of the great and well-deserving Monfortian Missionaries of the tribes in the Colombian region of the Uaupés. He became known by the name of "Pe. Clemente," who had been his predecessor in the Mission

/87 cont./

*101 [103] [648] In the vicinity of the cachoeira of Iauareté there is a place called Manao. Might this name for the Bará tribe have come from their former domicile in this locality; or vice versa (29)?

29. We heard it told that, when the Comissão Militar Demarcadora da Fronteira /Military Commission to Demarcate the Frontier/ was in Iauareté (in 1932), a group of natives presented themselves, asking for passage to the capital of the State, Manaus. The Comissão, however, did not grant this to them, and, after staying a few days in the vicinity of Iauareté, they returned to their povoados. And that, because of such an episode, the place where the natives pitched camp became known as Manao. Nevertheless, Pe. Limpens assured us that this locality has always been called Manao. And, it must be noted, Pe. Limpens has resided in the region since 1916.

[144] We know little about the ancient Manao. It appears that they had more regular and pleasant physiognomic features. The present Bará are less corpulent than the Tukano, and physiognomically more pleasant as well, /88/ fairer, with not very prominent malar and less marked Mongoloid features (30).

30. In part this agrees with the information of Koch Grünberg, who describes them to us: "slender in body, well-proportioned, smaller than the Tuyuka, finer countenance, black eyes, less receding forehead, nose high and slightly convex, large mouth, thick lips." According to what the Indians say, Koch would have been the first white man seen by them, and the one who went up to the headwaters of the Tiquié.

* /88 cont./

101 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- It is a small tribe of perhaps two or three hundred members, still living in the regime of malocas at the headwaters of the river Tiquié and its tributaries, the Igarapés Inambú, Abio, Aracú-pirera, and others.

Koch Grünberg observes (Zwei Iahre, 211) that, in language and way of life, the Bará are closer to the tribes of the Japurá, but has more intimate relations with those of the Pirá-paraná.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The informant was a young woman about 20 years old (1954), known as Pasíka (Francisca), of the subdivision Wáya-pōná. Perhaps closer tribes with whom the matrimonial interdiction was in force will appear in the present list as subdivisions. It is indeed to be noted: 1st. -- In the forests of the Cananarí (tributary of the Pirá-paraná), as in those of this last, there lives a tribe known as Kávyari, whose language belongs to the Tukano group; 2nd. -- Would Pamō-pōna perhaps be the Tatú tribe (see IV -- 2, o)? Their habitat neighbors that of the Bará; 3rd. -- Doxká poerá, poará or foará is the name of the Tuyuka (cf. IV -- 2, d), and they reside near the Bará, at the headwaters of the Tiquié. We did not get to investigate whether the last three divisions are in fact Tuyuka, considered more closely related to the Bará; or whether it is only a matter of nicknames of some Bará groups.

1st. -- Kawayari (?), on the river Tiquié (Colombia)
2nd. -- Pamō pōná (tatu), on the igarapé Inambú
3rd. -- Wáya pōná (an aquatic bird), on the Tiquié
4th. -- Oxkó kapéa pōná (eye of water), on the Tiquié
5th. -- Da-ryá (a fruit), on the Komé-ya
6th. -- Minō doxká poará (a fruit?), on the Tiquié
7th. -- Páya doxká poará (?), on the Tiquié
8th. -- Dahyá doxká poará (shrimp), on the Castanho River (trib. of the Tiquié)

/89/

c) BÁ:RE-MASÃ OR TẼMYÚ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- The idiom of the Bá:re-masĩ,
or "food people," likewise belongs to the family of Tukano
languages. As can be verified by the Vocabulary that we
collected (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous
Idioms of Amazonia/"), it is quite close to the language of
the Roéra. We met a representative of the Bá:re-masĩ Tribe
living among the Íde-masĩ of the Comé--ía (maloca Bohõ-
[144] rya-hidó, mouth of the stream of the spider). He was (in
August of 1956) a type of about 38 to 40 years old, short in
stature, fat, skin of a light bronze, nose small and high at
the point, rounded face, not very prominent zygoma, and
[301] almost cymotrichous black hair. He had pierced ears, with
[364] a plug approximately one centimeter in diameter stuck
through them, the largest orifice in the lobes that we have
[171] found among the various tribes of the Uaupés.

[582] The law of the exogamy is also in force within the tribe, and marriages seem to be concluded with the Hanẽra, Bará, and Íde-masĩ.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The tribe of the Bá:re-masĩ is very reduced in members. We know of the existence of a maloca on the stream Umũ-ía (stream of the japú /bird/), tributary of the left bank of the stream Timí-ia (stream of the otter), which, in turn, flows in on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná, a little above the mouth of the Comé-ia.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The above informant, called Titõyĩ (also known by the name of Domingos), indicated to us as being divisions of his tribe: 1st. -- Íde-masĩ, 2nd. -- Ogóro-sõroa. It is probable that the first subdivision, Íde-masĩ, is the principal tribe of the Comé-ia (cf. IV -- 2, h) considered related to the Bá:re-masĩ, and not a simple division of the latter. The Ogóro-sõroa are the Hógolo-tsõloa or Tsõroa mentioned by Koch-Grünberg (Z. I. 370) on the Yauacacá-Igarapé, almost identical to the Edúrya in idiom.

/89 cont./

*101

d) DOXKÁ POARÁ OR TUYUKA

1) *Peop[illegible]Name-Language* -- In the Tukano language they are called *Dyí-khãra* (*Dyi-khãna*), and in their own idiom *Doxká* [317] *poára* or *Doxká fhwará* or *foará*; or, as a contraction, *Doxká-rá* (sing., masc. *Doxká-poarõ*; fem. *doxká-poaro*). Tuyuka is a Nheengatú word that means *clay*, *mud*; and, with more accuracy, the clay or potter's earth used to make the cooking pots. The Tukano explain /90/ that the name is due to the fact that they live in the land where there is the clay for pots. It is easy to grant that in the beginning this clay, which later was found in many other beds on the Uaupés and other rivers, was only found [323] there. Because of this very fact, would not the *Tuyuka* have been the first potters? The ceramic art today is common and excellent [501] in the various tribes. The *Tuyuka* at present have the reputation of being specialized canoeists.

[197] Their language belongs to the *Tukano family* (cf. our works "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/") with traces of *Karaiba*, [142] Chestmir points out. The idioms of the *Tuyuka* and the *Bará* are the closest ones of the Tukano language, affirms *Koch G*. He distinguishes these two Tuyuka somatic types: the *slender* /Port. *fino*, fine, slender, delicate/ and the *stout* /Port. *grosso*, coarse, stout/ or corpulent (*Zwei Iahre*, 202).

[582] They do not marry the *Desana*.

[161] 2) *Habitat and inhabitants* -- They fluctuate around half a thousand members (378 in Brazil, in *Pelo Rio Mar* /Along the Rio Mar/; we know that they are more numerous in Colombian territory), and their present *habitat* is the headwaters of the Tiquié. Frei Gregório, with the help of the Director of the Indians, Jesuino Cordeiro, managed to found the aldeia of S. Pedro do Tiquié with Tuyuka Indians, where they are still found, but living in the maloca (in 1947).

/90 cont./

*101 [173] According to a Tukano tradition collected by Pe. Antônio Giacone, the Tuyuka came down from the çachoeira Uaí-numbí (headwaters of the Macú-paraná); but, under pressure from the Tukano, they were forced to go up the headwaters of the Papurí, from where they went over to those of the Tiquié and settled there.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Henrique Resende, about 35 years old (1953), of the subdivision Dõxpâri, tuxaua of the maloca of the Yai-sa igarapé (Tiquié)

1st. -- Dyáta põna (a small fish), on the Igarapé Inambú
2nd. -- Dyatáñõ-nõ (suspended?), on the Igarapé Inambú
3rd. -- Dyáta yuxkúro (long head), on the headwaters of the Tiquié
4th. -- Iñó-rõ (?), in S. Pedro (Tiquié)
5th. -- Iñó-rõ oaká (stake), on the Black Igarapé (Tiquié)
6th. -- Poã-nĩ manĩ (bald), on the Igarapé Marĩ-iá (Tiquié)
7th. -- Dõxpâri (branches), on the Igarapé Kuxtíro pextá (Tiquié)

/91/

8th. -- Yuxkũro (occipital protuberance), at the mouth of the Açaí-igarapé (Tiquié)
9th. -- Wesé doxká poará -- (Tuyuká of the clearing), above Carusú (Tiquié)
10th. -- Poá pirá (?) on the upper Cabari (Tiquié). They are the pariahs.
11th. -- Axkó kaxpéa -- põna (eye of water), in S. Pedro (Tiquié)
12th. -- Ébera-põna (water duck), on the mouth of the igarapé Boá-ia

[115] The young woman Amélia Resende, 18 years old (1955), added:

13th. -- Myõ dyi-Khãra (doxká-poará), in Cabarí and S. Pedro (Tiquié)
14th. -- Arã põná (child of the mountain range?), on the Igarapé of the breu /a resinous tree/ (the informant is from this group).

/91 cont./

*101 e) EDÚRYA OR ERÚLYA

1) People-Name-Language -- This tribe, in their own idiom, is called Edúrya, whereas the Tuyuka call them Erúlya. They are also affiliated by language to the Tukano group (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia").

[142] They are of average stature, a little taller than the Tukano. Light coppery skin, coarse, black, cymotrichous hair, a wide, square forehead, black eyes, delicate chin, high nose sometimes slightly acquiline, ovoid face, and thin lips.

They are connected by matrimonial ties with the Bará and Tuyuka.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Their habitat is several and small tributaries of the Pirá-paraná, in territory completely Colombian. It was not possible to find out the number of inhabitants of the tribe; it seems, however, that it is even smaller than the Hanẽra tribe.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions -- They are the following, indicated by a young man about 20 years old (in March of 1954), Tunú by name, in Mosī-bhoá (maloca of the urucum, headwaters of the Tiquié):

1. Kavyayána (master of dancing?), on the igarapé Axtáue-ya (31)

31. Should it perhaps be identified with the Kavírya tribe of the forests of the Cananarí?

2. Ehéburu (a straw), on the igarapé Axtáue-ya
3. Gābūxkōró (Komũ, "blower," VII -- 2, e (3)), on the igarapé Semé-ria
4. Ixkó-masā (a snake), on the igarapé Ioxkó-rya
5. Wextáyoa (?), on the igarapé Ioxkó-rya

/91 cont./

*101 f) EMÕA-MASÃ OR GUARIBA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Emõá, in the native idiom, is the name of the guariba /howler/ monkey. Their language also belongs to the Tukano family /92/ (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia"). We found /some words, perhaps a line of the text, are missing here in the original source/ [144] Ide-masã of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hidó of the Comé-ia. This was a type of average stature, slender body, delicate features, not very prominent zygoma, elongated face, high, thin nose, skin lighter than that of the Tukano, fine, black, somewhat [171] wavy hair.

[582] Tribal exogamy is observed. We know of marriages with Ide-Masã, H[illegible]ẽra, and Bará.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They inhabit the forests between the headwaters of the Tiquié and the river Pirá-paraná. They are few nowadays, according to the informant, who could give us barely 3 subdivisions. It is to be noted that, according to the informant, the Yebá and Roéra are part of her tribe. This agrees with some information obtained three years previously from a Yéba, who, among the divisions of his tribe, named [361] the Emõá and the Roéra (cf. IV-2, t). If the Yéba are to be included among the Emõá, these would be, in all, several [171] hundreds of individuals, because the Yéba live in several malocas in the region embraced between the Comé-ia and the Pirá-paraná.

Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 401) speaks of the greatly feared Guaríua or Guariba-Tapuya located below the Jurí and Passé, that is, in the basin of the river Japurá. The Emõá can not be identified with these Guariua-Tapuya, but rather with the Õmõá of the sources of the Tiquié.

[115] 3) Divisions. Informant, the Indian woman Misirã, about 50 years old (1957), also known as Joaquina, wife of the Ide-masã tuxáua of the Comé-ia:

/92 cont./

*101
1. Saĩrõa-masĩ (water people? gossiping people?)
2. Yebá-masĩ
3. Roeá-masĩ (taraíra /a fish/ people)

/In the original text, the last two lines of p. 91 are repeated here, which is apparently a misprint and is omitted in the translation./

g) HANERA OR PANENÕÁ.

[142] 1) People-Name-Language. -- A type taller and slighter than the Tukano. A redder complexion, long face, delicate chin, high nose, wide forehead.

Their idiom, which must be affiliated with the Tukano linguistic family (cf. Vocabulary, in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), presents this peculiarity: an initial aspirate (h, as we represent it in this work) appears in words in which the Tukano pronounces a p: for example: father, hakõ (Tukano pax-kõ), mother, hakó (Tukano, pax-kó), etc. This characteristic of their idiom explains to us the correspondence of their name in their own language, Hanẽra, and in the Tukano, Panenõá, or Parẽroá. /93/ We know that they are connected by marriage with the Bará and Tuyuka.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We have only seen a few individuals in passing by the maloca called Mosĩ-bhoá (mountain of the urucú) of the Bará, on the igarapé Uaracú-pirẽra, and in their maloca close to the mouth of the Timí-ya. They were unable to give us any information about the approximate number of individuals in their tribe. It seems that they do not exceed four hundred. At present they reside only in Colombian territory, on various igarapés on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná. [161]

[301] [439] The informants of the eighteenth century testify that it was from the Panenõá that the Taryana obtained by barter their ornaments of gold and silver (cf. II -- 3) and momõrõ Khwirí (VII -- 3, d).

/93 cont./

*101 [115] 3) Divisions. -- In March of 1954 the Indian woman Duhigó, about 50 years old, gave the following divisions of her tribe:

1. Dasékĩna (?), on the igarapé Umũ-ya (headwaters of the Komé-ya)
2. Doé (Taraira), on the igarapé Amorĩ-ya
3. Dyasumá or Ryasumá (?), on the igarapé Amorĩ-ya
4. Fẽmona (?), on the river Pirá-paraná
5. Komíya (?), on the Soarí-ma-pitó (mouth of the red igarapé)
6. Wámona (?), on the igarapé Umũ-ya
7. Nikoméyana (?), on the igarapé Umũ-ya
8. Senẽ (?), on the headwaters of the Komé-ya.

h) ÍDE-MASÃ, AÕ-NIRA OR MAKUNA.

*[192] 1) People-Name-Language. -- They call themselves this in their own idiom, which also belongs to the Tukano linguistic family, as can be verified by the Vocabulary (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"), and it means water people." It is a custom of all the tribes of the Uapesina region, after each sentence that they hear, to utter a sound expressing that they are understanding and following the conversation, or also that they are in agreement with the one who is speaking. This sound, for the tribes of the Uaupés, Papurí, and Tiquié, is ĩĩ or ũũ (cf. Gramatica da lingua Daxseyé /Grammar of the Daxseyé language/ by the author). The Íde-masã, however, repeat "aõ" each time. Because of this custom, the natives of the Tiquié call them "Aõ-nĩra" or "Aõ-nĩna," that is, "the ones who say aõ." This is the explanation that the Íde-masã tuxáua of the first maloca of the Komé-ya gave us. In their own idiom, this nickname would be translated: "I am of the Aõ-nĩra, yõõ aõ-žigõ (masc.), aõ-žigo (fem), aõ-žira (plural). This same tuxáua said that the Colombians call them Makúna. They do not, however, know the /94/ meaning or the origin of the word Makuna, which was recorded by Koch Grũnberg.

/94 cont./

101 The Ide-masĩ are in general less corpulent than the Tukano. Although of lighter complexion, somewhat pale, elongated face, high, slightly aquiline nose, not very prominent zygoma, almond-shaped eyes almost always light brown. The hair in general is dark or even black, fine, not lissotrichous; instead, many times even wavy.

[582] Tribal exogamy is in force among them. And we know that they are connected by marriage with the Tuyuka, Bará, [301 304] Emõa, Yebá, Báːre, Roéra. Not only the women, but also the men wear pierced ears with a small plug two to three millimeters in diameter, which keeps the orifice open.

A peculiarity of this tribe is the dances with masks. We had the opportunity to see the masks representing Waxtĩ and the [532] monkey. The one of Waxtĩ was a true white mask, made of bark, like a round face, with a long slit representing the mouth, a long and pointed nose, and, on the sides of the base of the nose, two slits, somewhat slanted, by way of eyes. The one that represented the monkey was a plain shirt of tururi, with a pointed part, like a hood, covering the head. In this hood there were two holes corresponding to the eyes and two points upwards representing ears.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They are found scattered over a very wide area: all the stream Comé-ia (stream of the iron or of the ax, in the Ide idiom Koméryaka, tributary of the left bank of the Pirá-paraná), the Miritĩ-paraná, Apapóris, and the Kamorĩ (which, according to indications by the same tuxáua, [161] must be a tributary of the river Solimões). They seem to be quite numerous, that is, several hundreds. The number of divisions that the tribe presents seems to confirm this information.

[115] c) /sic/ Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian Hinõ (that is, snake), also known as Fernando, about 50 years old (in August of 1956), tuxáua of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hido (mouth of the igarapé of the spider), on the left bank of the Komé-ya, about 10 hours by canoe from the mouth.

*101

/94 cont./

1. "Aδ," on the Komẹ́-ya (the informant belongs to this division)
2. Ide-hi-nõnya (?), on the Apapóris
3. Lyaró hi-nõnya letwana (?), on the Apapóris
4. Yúkũra (?), on the Miritĩ-paraná

/95/

5. Kwẽra (?), on the Miritĩ-paraná
6. Witata (?), on the Miritĩ-paraná
7. Adókya (?), on the Kamorĩ

/In the original source, No. 6 is repeated in the place where a No. 8 would belong./

Observation. 1st. Koch Grũnberg records the Dĩtwana as a subdivision of the Yahúna (Z. I. 382). We did not get to investigate as to whether these two groups mentioned by Koch are to be identified with Letwana and Yúkũra of the Ide-masĩ tribe. 2nd. It must be noted that on the Miritĩ-paraná, tributary of the Japurá, there is an Arwake tribe by the name of Yukúna, from which Koch (Z. I. 286) collected their Vocabulary of 60 words. 3rd. Koch also obtained information (Z. I. 394) that the Kueretú still lived on the river Caritáya, tributary from the right of the Miritĩ-paraná, and he also obtained their vocabulary from them. We verified, however, that the Kueretu idiom is noticeably different from that of the Ide-masĩ. 4th. The Witata, who appear as a subdivision of the Ide, are not to be confused with the Uitóto who inhabit the region between the Caquetá and the Putumayo. Koch, who managed to collect a vocabulary from them, is of the opinion that they must be considered a separate group (previously put with the Karibe). Witóto means enemy, a name given to them by the Omáwa and later by the civilized. The Witóto include a large conjunction of hordes with their dialectic differences.

/95 cont./

i) IHWANA OR YONA

*101 1) People-Name-Language. -- We were unable to find out for certain the meaning of the name Ihwana or Yona; it might be the name of a fish. The language is of the Tukano family, as is seen from the Vocabulary that we collected in the Wextá maloca on the Pirá-paraná near the mouth of the Komé-ya.

[142] The individuals of the maloca were slighter and had more
delicate features than the Tukano. All the men had pierced
[30] their ear lobes, keeping them open with a bunch of bird feathers.
A cord binding the arms a little below the shoulders, and red
paint across the face, indications perhaps of some feast a short
[142] time before. Dark hair, cymotrichous, with slight waviness,
and eyes lighter than those of the Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They reside in malocas along the Pirá-paraná and its small tributaries nearby, and below the cachoeira of the Beijú, where at low water one can see a beautiful design that resembles a Chinese dragon. Because of a lack of interpreters, we were unable to find out the number
[161] of members of the tribe or /96/ its subdivisions. From the
information obtained, we think it might be concluded that there are still several hundreds.

j) KŌ'NEÁ OR ARAPÁSU

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Kō'neá (in Tukano Kō-rẽá), the name of a variety of woodpecker called arapásu in Nheengatú.

[173] According to reminiscences of an ancient tradition, it was a very numerous and brave tribe. When individuals of other tribes passed the river Uaupés in the zone dominated by the Arapásu, the latter surrounded them, took away all their products, and afterwards sank their canoes, allowing them, however,
[161] to escape. The victims would avenge themselves "blowing"
(that is, casting an evil spell; cf. VII -- 2, e (1)) on the Arapásu, who, little by little, became extinct.

/96 cont./

*101 They also lost their own idiom, everyone today speaking the Tukano language.

[582] [142] Koch G. includes the Arapásu as a Tukano division. It seems to us incorrect, because even marriage is allowed between members of these two tribes. Physically the Arapásu are easily distinguished from the Tukano, because they are lighter, taller, and more slender. High nose, sometimes a bit aquiline, less prominent zygoma, and elongated face.

They consider themselves, instead, brothers of the Pirá-tapúya, because of which a matrimonial interdiction is in force between Arapásu and Pirá-tapúya, and also with the Bará, the Desāna, Mirití, and Kumādēne.

*[192] Their idiom does seem to be affiliated with the Tukano family of languages (32).

32. Their affiliation with the Tukano Family of languages can be verified only by the small number of words that some Arapásu natives were able to tell us:

tapioca, kávetari	father, mái	paternal uncle, mṓamō
fan, misōna	mother, Yō or ihyō	paternal aunt, mṓamā
chest, kutiró	son, maxkā	maternal uncle, kabṓ
people, maxsā	daughter, maxkō	maternal aunt, kabô, kabú
snake, pinó	younger brother, peñā	maternal fem. cousin, kabô maxkā
fishhook, sináke	younger sister, peñō	maternal male cousin, kabô maxkō
fire, pe'kāme		nephew, peñanā
		niece, peñanō

go to blow the fire, pe'kāme apusumaré

/96 cont./

*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- In Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/ we read that their center is the region embraced between the Uaupés and the Japurá, from where they moved to the Uaupés and were settled by Frei Gregório in S. Jerônimo, Naná-Rapecuma, and S. Joaquim.

/97/ Pe. João Marchesi, arriving among them in 1925, learned from the old Arapásu that they were the masters of the Uaupés from S. José to the mouth. Because they were more sociable and pleasant than the other natives, many women became wives of the civilized, and many men of the tribe were taken for labor. Many, on the other hand, established themselves on the lower Rio Negro, and others perished. Many caboclos of that region come from the crossing with Arapásu. The tribe thus became greatly reduced. There was a large group in Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) that emigrated to the lower Rio Negro. Upon returning, it found the Taryana established there, [161] and they did not want to relinquish the place, alleging that they were many and the Arapásu were less numerous.

Today a little over a hundred of them live on the right bank of the Uaupés, between S. José and Paraná-jucá.

3) Subdivisions (33)

[115] 33. This division was furnished to us by Pe. Antônio Giacone, SBD. It is to be noted that it is not similar to the names of the divisions of the other tribes. Perhaps, indeed, because they do not know them any longer. All the Arapásu whom we could consult maintained this. And one of them came to ask us whether we knew how the ancient divisions of his tribe were named. The names below are only indications of the places where they presently live. It is possible that each povoado today represents one of the ancient divisions.

/97 cont./

*101 1st. -- Axpã soxpé põná (children from the ponta do caranguejo /point of the crab/), in Caranguejo (Uaupés)

2nd. -- Wĩhó ñõá põná (children from the ponta do vento /point of the wind/), in S. José (Uaupés)

3rd. -- Kumã-kõ ñõá põñá (children from the ponta do louro /a kind of wood/), in Louro, (Uaupés)

4th. -- Dyá poxsá yõhõró põná (children from the strait of the Uaupés), in Paraná-jucá (Uaupés)

k) KÓTIRYA OR WANÃNA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Wanãna is a Nheengatú word and indicates an aquatic bird, chenálopex jubátus, commonly known as marrecão. The Wanãna call themselves Kótirya, Kótidya or Kótirwa (sing., masc. Kótirwa-kiro; fem. Kótirwa-koro). They are called by the Tukano Oxkó-tí-khãra, which means "people who have medicine" or "pajé people," from ox-kó, medicine. Although the Tukano expression authorizes a similar translation, an interpretation more in accordance with the legends of the origins would be oxkó, water (and not ox-kó), that is, "people who are on the water or came from the water." The Tuyuka call the Wanana simply "people from the river Uaupés, Dyá- /98/ Poxsá-maxkĩ." Thus one does not perceive any relation between the names in the Nheengatú and Tukano languages (34).

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34. We read in "Indios do Brasil /Indians of Brazil/" by Major Lima Figueiredo -- Brasiliana, No. 163 -- S. Paulo, 1939, p. 146): "the word Wanana, in the Aruack /Arawak/ idiom, means thief."

We have already noted that the Relatório of Frei Gregório mentions Ananá instead of Wanãna.

[142] They are taller in stature than the Tukano, and their language is of the Tukano family, although closer to the Pirá-tapuya idiom, as we can see in the vocabulary.

/98 cont./

*101 Matrimonial interdiction with the Pirá-tapuya is in force.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/" says that they were settled in Thomar in the eighteenth century by the Carmelites. They were, as is shown from the "Diário" of Sampaio, the Uayuna. It seems to us, however, that this is an Arwake tribe of the river Japurá, and not the Wanãna, who are of the Tukano linguistic family. We also think, for this same reason, that they cannot be identified with the Ana tribe, who came down from the Orinoco, according to the explorers of the eighteenth century.

[161] Their present habitat is the middle Uaupés, from Japú-ponta to the mouth of the Querarí, coming to about 600 individuals, according to Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 271). In the statistics of "Pelo Rio Mar" we find the number 367 for the ones attended to by the Salesian Missions. They informed us that the number of those who live in Colombian territory is much greater.

*[115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Maximiano Sá, about 25 years old (1953), and a group of men in Carurú-cachoeira.

1. Khenẽ (water duck) on the igarapé Paca (tributary of the Uaupés)
2. Biali (variety of duck), in Matapí (river Uaupés)
3. Wai kapéa ñãrori (35) ponáyro (ñãrori of eye of fish), in Macucú (river Uaupés)
4. Uryá ñãrori (a worm), in Iutíca (river Uaupés)
5. Dyãni ponáyro (white duck), in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés; the informants were from this group)
6. Batíri-ká poná (japurá, a fruit), in Arara (river Uaupés)
7. Stúpo poná (pot, water vessel), in Jacaré (river Uaupés)
8. Doxkana poná (pestle hand), on the igarapé Paca

35. The young man Ernesto Domingues, instead of Ñãrori, said ỹáhori and informed us that it means the mud from the bank of the river.

/*98 cont.*/

*101 9. *Wíroyro* (the thunder bird), on the igarapé timbó (river Uaupés)

/*99*/

10. *Bukúyro* (a tree), in Tipiaca (river Uaupés)
11. *Naĩ yaxpárya* (seed of miritÍ), in Tucano-cachoeira (Uaupés)
12. *Yopáyriro* (maize), extinct branch
13. *Naĩ ryĩkiro* (miriti), in Jacaré (Uaupés)
14. *Nixti dixsõryakiro* (painted with ashes on the legs during dances), in Uaracapuri (Uaupés)

[115] The informant, Ernesto Domingues, about 22 years of age (in 1955), in Jacaré (Uaupés) furnished 12 subdivisions, 9 of which coincide with those obtained in Carurú. The other three are:

16. /*Sic*: this item and the next one are virtually identical in the original source./ *Witõ monõ* (white acangatara /feather head-ornament/), in Uaracapuri (Uaupés)
16. *Witõ monõ* (white acangatara), in Uaracapuri (Aaupés /*sic*/)
17. *Ўáhori poná* (mud of the bank of the river), in Taiassú (Uaupés)

[115] Another informant, Gabriel Paiva, about 18 years of age, further added:

18. *Wánixtiro* (acará), in Matapí (Uaupés)
19. *Yaxpíma* (batata), in Jutica (Uaupés).

1) *MÕXTÃ OR KARAPANÃ*

1) *People-Name-Language.* They belong to the Tukano family with regard to the idiom, in which they call themselves *Mõxtĩ*, and in the Tukano language, *Mõxtẽa*, a term corresponding to *Karapanĩ* of the língua geral, that is, the name of a mosquito that bites at night (genera *stegoniya*, *culex*, and others).

C

/99 cont./

*101 Slighter than the Tukano, they also have less Mongoloid features, light skin and eyes, and an oval face.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- Their present habitat is the Colombian region between the Uaupés and the headwaters of the Papurí, or rather of its source, the Áua, and the Tĩ igarapé. Frei Gregório de Bene settled some Karapanã groups in Naná-Rapecũma and S. Joaquim on the lower Uaupés, and in S. Luzia on the Papurí.

Jesuino Cordeiro, in a dispatch dated 1 July of 1853, informed the Presidente of the Province about an attack by the Karapanã on the povoado of S. Cruz of the Kubẽwana, near the cachoeira do Mutum (today Mitú, capital of the Território Nacional del Waupés, Colombia). Pursued by the Colombian Polícia, in 1928 a group of them established itself in Brazilian territory on the headwaters of the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié). These episodes confirm their fame as warlike and violent.

[115] /100/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Antônio Gentil, 40 years old (1953), from Umari igarapé, in Paricachoeira.

1st. -- Dũrya mãtará (a fish), on the Ekẽ-ya (igarapé of the nose?). They are the Mamí.
2nd. -- Poxtã-hará (thorn), on the igarapé Po-yá
3rd. -- Mũmyá pakãna (bees), on the Ekẽ-ya
4th. -- Mũmyá (bee), on the igarapé Po-yá

[115] The informant Vicente, Karapanã (about 30 years old) from the headwaters of the Áua, now settled in Uaracapá (river Papurí), gave new names and modified the order, also with a small difference in pronunciation.

1st. -- Mũmyá (bee), on the igarapé Po-yá
2nd. -- Dõryá pakãna (?) of the Pirá-paraná, today in Po-yá
3rd. -- Dõryá mãtará (a fish), on the Ekẽ-ya
4th. -- Poa-yá mõxtẽ already extinct (35 a)

35a. Poá-yá-mõxtẽ properly means "Karapanã of the igarapé Poá."

/100 cont./

*101
5th. -- Poxtɨ̃ yára (thorn), on the igarapé Po-yá
6th. -- Mũmyá pakɨ̃na (bees), on the Ekẽ-ya
7th. -- Kenenõ (jataí /a kind of bee; locust tree/), on the river Pirá-paraná
8th. -- Botéa matsá (aracú /fish/), on the river Cananarí
9th. -- Datõ-hyɨ̃ (?), on the river Uaupés (the informant said: "nowadays they are Kubewana," that is, have been assimilated by them (35 b).

35b. Would it perhaps be the Kubẽwɨ̃na subdivision called Tatiwa (javarí /a palm/)?

10th. -- Pixkõ-sẽ (gavião tesoura /bird, Falconidae/), on the river Cananarí

[115] A young Karapanɨ̃ about 23 years old, Luiz, of the maloca of Hõboõ-mákarya (headwaters of the Tiquié), said that presently (1955) only the seven following groups existed, and in decreasing order of importance:

1st. -- Mũmyá (bees). They are "the ones from the head," that is, the principal ones.
2nd. -- Dũrya (cutia /agouti/) (the informant was from this group)
3rd. -- Dũrya mõtɨ̃ra
4th. -- Mõxtẽ pakɨ̃na
5th. -- Mõtára

/101/

6th. -- Poxtɨ̃ yára
7th. -- Poxtɨ̃ yára mõtára

We do not know whether he made a mistake in saying Mõxtẽ pakɨ̃na instead of Mũmya Pakɨ̃na in the fourth place.

/101 cont./

m) NEENOÁ OR MIRITÍ-TAPUYA

*101 1) *People-Name-Language* -- *Neenoá* in the native idiom is the name of the tribe known as *Mirití-tapuya* (name derived from a palm tree, the *Maurítia flexuosa*) or *Myarití-tápuya* (36), [142] that is, buriti people. They are small like the Tukano, but lighter, more slender, and have a more delicate physiognomy.

Matrimonial interdiction with the *Taryana*, *Arapasu*, *Kumãdene*, *Pirá-tapuya*, *Tuyuka*, and *Desana* is in force.

All of them at present speak the Tukano language, and the old ones themselves cannot remember but half a dozen words. *[192] They affirm, however, that the language was very similar to that of the Arapasu, and the few words that we obtained justify the affiliation to the Tukano family of languages (37).

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36. Artur Ramos (*o. c.* I, 172) uses *Matatí-tapuya* as another name for the Miriti. Would it be a printing error for *Matapi-tapuya* (*matapi*, fish enclosure, VI-5, a (2))? It seems to us there is an incorrect identification in this hypothesis. According to Koch G., *Matapi-tapuya* is a subtribe of the *Yukuna* living in Uacaiacá, tributary of the left bank of the Mirití-paraná (*Festschrift*, 205, and Z. I. 394 and 398).

37.

father, *kõ-kã*	grandfather, *kõ-Ro*	paternal uncle, *mõãma*
mother, *yõ*	daughter, *maxkõga*	paternal aunt, *mõãmo*
son, *maxkõga*	soap (?), *sã*	fire, *maryé tukáro*

/101 cont./

*101 [161] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The only survivors of the tribe in Brazil, about a hundred persons, live on the lower Tiquié in Urubu-lago and Iraiti. They informed us that, because of dissension, one group, perhaps around the end of the last century, fled to the river Japurá (Colombian territory), and that they probably still know the original mother tongue.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Furnished by Luciano, of the Umũhori group, about 50 years old, and Maria Cabral, of the Umú-pɔ̃ group, about 22 years old, both from Iraití.

1. Ixsé-pi poná (?), in Iraití and Urubu-lago (river Tiquié)

/102/

2. Pẽru bayá poná (master of the caxirí /see p. 595 / dance), Urubu-lago (came from the Japír)
3. Mahá bayá poná (master of dance with arara feather), in Iraití
4. Umũhori poná (?), on the stream Umú-ya, tributary of the Uaupés
5. Sɔ̃-poá (?), extinct
6. Umú-pɔ̃ (?), in Iraití and river Japurá
7. A-ú (?), extinct
8. Horí-di (?), in Iraití.

n) OÁ-MAHÃ OR MIKURA-TAPUYA

[115] 1) People-Name-Language -- Their idiom belongs to the Tukano linguistic family, as is verified by the Vocabulary that we obtained from an Indian woman named Kaxpé, about 45 or 50 years old, a native of the stream Inambú, tributary of the Papurí, and married to a Tuyuka from the Tiquié, where she resides in the last maloca on Brazilian territory, near the Colombian border. The Nheengatú name Mikura-tapuya, or gambá /opossum/ people, is the translation of the name Oá-mahã in the native idiom.

/102 cont./

* 101 [142] The Oá-mahã are lighter in complexion and more slender than the Tukano. Dark brown or black hair, fine, sometimes wavy. Face more elongated than among the Tukano, also more delicate features and light eyes.

[582] They likewise observe tribal exogamy, and we know of marriages with the Tuyuka, Bará, and Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- It seems that at present all of them live in Colombian territory between the headwaters of the rivers Tiquié and Papurí.

The Pamõá-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) mention the Oá-mahã as a division of their own tribe. We do not know whether it is a matter of the present tribe, as seems more probable by the location, or if it is actually only a division of the Tatú /armadillo/, with this name of Oá (gambá).

3) Divisions -- The informant did not know how to indicate them.

o) PÁBOA-MAXSÃ OR TATÚ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- In their own idiom, which belongs to the Tukano family of languages (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/"), they call themselves Páboa-maxsã, corresponding to the Tukano denomination Pamõá-maxsã or Tatú /armadillo/ people.

[142] /103/ Lighter in complexion than the Tukano, and also taller and more slender. Dark brown hair, ovoid face, light eyes, fine lips, high nose.

[582] We know of matrimonial ties with the Bará and the Karapanã.

[721] [648] [266] 2) Habitat and inhabitants -- Presently they live in the region embraced between the headwaters of the Áua (one of the sources of the Papurí) and the river Pirá-paraná. About 20 years ago there were encounters and reciprocal massacres between the Tatú-tapuyas and Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/, and even episodes of anthropophagy are remembered, which are explained, it seems, by special hate and reprisals.

*101 /103 cont./

[161] From the information that we obtained, the number of inhabitants of this tribe must fluctuate around 300.

[115] 3) Divisions. -- Furnished by the Indian woman Kamõõ, about 45 years old (1954), from the headwaters of the river Áua:

1. Tsuninó (?), on the river Pirá-paraná
2. Pirõ (snake), on the Pirá-paraná
3. Petári suninõ (?), Pirá-paraná
4. Oá-maxsã (gambá /opossum/ people), on the river Pirá-paraná (38)

38. Would Oá-mahã or Mikura-tapuya be the same tribe?

*[192] p) PAMĨWA OR KUBEWÃNA -- Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 87) is of the opinion that the name Kobéua is only a nickname given by their ancient enemies, the Arwake, from the frequent use of the word kõbãuõ, nothing, no. In the Tukano idiom they are called Poterí-khãra, which means "people or inhabitants of the headwaters of the rivers" (cf. their name in different native languages; cf. IV -- 3). They, however, call themselves Pamĩwa (sing., masc. pamĩkõ, fem. pamĩko). Curt Nimuendajú and Koch record Hehénawa as the name of the tribe. The Hehénawa constitute only a principal group of the Kubewana, whom Koch found in the maloca of Namakoliba (Z. I. 276) (*).

* Koch says that on the sources of the Querari there is a small Kubewana group called Abóxõhãhãnaua, that is, Kubewana-Jurupari, a name that the Wanana translate Waxtĩkuxtipinoa; and the ones from Uaracapuri (Uaupés) are Olobahãhãnaua, called Diádãitoa by the Wanana.

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*101 1) People-Name-Language -- Their language belongs to the Tukano family, as can be verified by the Vocabulary that we transcribed and recorded (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous idioms of Amazonia/"). Chestmir affirms that it now shows Karaíba vestiges.

/104/ Anthropologically they are readily distinguished from the Tukano. They are taller, less corpulent, and, above all, less markedly Mongoloid in physiognomy than the latter.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They are found living on the upper Uaupés, on the frontier of Brazil and Colombia, and on the rivers Querarí, Cuduiarí, and the headwaters of the Içana. [797] The first explorers already found them in this habitat. About a century ago Jesuino Cordeiro settled some hundreds of them in Mitú and on the lago do espelho /lake of the mirror/.

[161] Including a thousand souls, according to the calculations of Koch Grünberg, who says that the Kubēwāna dominated two Arwáke groups of the Querarí and imposed on them their language and customs: the Hōhōwa and the Káwa (39).

> 39. Two or three families of the Káwa still survive (cf. II-6, a (5)). As for the Hōhōwa, whom Koch G. talks about, perhaps they would be the Hehénakō or Hehénawō, now considered a subdivision of the Kubēwana, as it can be seen on the charts transcribed here.

Many of the latter, however, emigrated to the Içana River, and in contact with the Arwáke groups there, they again took on their Arwáke character (Zwei Iahre, 72).

*101 /104 cont./

3) Divisions -- We obtained four lists of the subdivisions of the Kubêwana tribe:

[115] 1st. -- The first one contains 9 (nine) names and was furnished to us in November of 1953 by the Kubêwana woman Heloisa, about 45 years old, married and residing in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés). The Wanana man, Maximiano de Sá, from this same povoado, who served us as interpreter, gave us the meaning of each name as follows:

1st. -- Órobakõ (pacova sororoca /Ravenala guianensis, Benth./), on Pindaíba-igarapé (near Mitú, river Uaupés)
2nd. -- Áwekõ (beijú /manioc bread/), on the headwaters of the Cuduiarí (tributary of the Querarí)
3rd. -- Wárarikõ (variety of pepper), in Tatú-cachoeira (river Uaupés)
4th. -- Hehénakõ (sour), on the river Cuduiarí
5th. -- Bahúkekõ (appeared), on the river Cuduiarí
6th. -- Neábokõ (miritî), on the river Cuduiarí
7th. -- Bareákõ (manivara /manioc-stem cutting/), on Pindaíba-igarapé
8th. -- Húrukõ (?), on the lagoon of cold water (headwaters of the Cuduiarí)
9th. -- Pyarákõ (tocandira /a kind of ant/), above Mitú (river Uaupés).

[115] /105/ 2nd. -- Later, in April of 1955, another Kubêwana woman, Josefa, also about 45 years old, wife of the tuxáua of Carurú-cachoeira, the Wanana Mandú, reviewed the list furnished by Heloisa, confirmed it, and added nine other subdivisions. [illegible]e, however, denied the existence of the eighth division above, Húrukõ, and located the Pyarákõ or Myaráko on the igarapé Macaquinha. And as for the meaning of the names, it was furnished to us in Wanana (or Tukano) by her husband, so we shall put the subdivisions in the same order in which they were given:

10th. -- Utsí-awekõ (moã-parya), on the river Cuduiarí
11th. -- Bõoibokõ (tõnẽ-noãkiro), on the river Cuduiarí
12th. -- Korokõ (coró-coró /bird/ mira, that is, red), on the river Cuduiarí

/105 cont./

*101 13th. -- Pedíkãakõ (soxkõá, grater), on the river Cuduiarí
14th. -- Byókõ (the bird yavíroa), on the river Cuduiarí
15th. -- Korẽteraboekõ (the plant bõsaritena), on the river Içana (Josefa is from this group)
16th. -- Dyurébakõ (pino maxkã põná), on the river Içana
17th. -- Tóreakõ (guariba /howler monkey/), on the river Içana
18th. -- Dyokákebekõ (without leaf), on the river Içana

[115] 3rd. -- A group of Wanãna from Tipiaca (Colombian middle Uaupés), reciprocally helping one another, in May of 1954, gave us the 16 subdivisions of the Kubẽwana tribe that we give below. From the translation that they did for us, it seems to us that one can identify the subdivisions Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5... 7, 8... 11... 13... 15, respectively, with the numbers 1, 18, 14, 16, 9, 13, 12, 10, 15, and 3 of the lists furnished by Heloisa and Josefa. The difference would result solely from the fact that the list from Tipiaca is found in the Wanana language, whereas Heloisa and Josefa gave the names in their idiom, which is the Kubẽwãna.

1st. (1) -- Hópũrya (sororoca), on the Abio-igarapé
2nd. (18) -- Phurĩ marĩná (without leaf), on the river Querarí
3rd. (14) -- Yavíroa (a giver of color), on the Uaupés River, above the mouth of the Abio-igarapé
4th. (16) -- Maxkã pĩró põná (place of the snake), headwaters of the Querarí
5th. (9) -- Pixtá (tocandira), above Mitú-cachoeira (Uaupés)
6th. -- Suxpúara (water bubbles), on the headwaters of the Cuduiarí

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7th. (13) -- Soxkõa (grater), on the river Cuduiarí
8th. (12) -- Koxtoá (red coró-coró), on the mouth of the Cuduiarí
9th. -- Desõporea (bearded), below Mitú (river Uaupés)
10th. -- Yuryá (crippled), on the Karapanã-igarapé
11th. (10) -- Moã-paryá (salt), on the Miritĩ-igarapé (above Mitú, Uaupés)
12th. -- Boté dyeryá (eggs of aracú /fish/), on the headwaters of the Cuduiarí

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*101 13th. (15) -- Wamãtarwa (an herb), on the headwaters of the Querarí
14th. (7) -- Yebákaroa (manivara), on the river Querarí
15th. (3) -- Byẽdero (variety of pepper), in S. Cruz and Tatú-cachoeira (Uaupés)
16th. -- Wai wehẽkõ (puçá /hammock, net/), on Pacú-igarapé (above Mitú, Uaupés).

[115] 4th. -- In April of 1957 we met in Arapaçu-poço, a locality on the river Içana, near the mouth of the Aiarí, two women who came from the Querarí, Nazária, about 40 years old and Byatrina, 25 to 28 years old, married to Arwáke men of the Yauareté-tapúya tribe. They introduced themselves as being from the Korẽterabõa tribe, a name that they translated for us as Búya-tapúya (snake people). It is to be noted that on the second list above Josefa gave as a subdivision of the Kubẽwana the Korẽteraboekõ, a name that indicates the plant bõsaritena. In collecting the "test" Vocabulary from these Korẽterabõa women, we verified that it was almost identical tõ the one furnished by Heloisa in 1955. Byatrina indicated the following divisions; serving us as interpreter, the Indian Ernesto, from the Juruparí-tapuya tribe, from S. Ana (river Içana):

1st. -- Hehẽnawa (old), in Tuí (river Cuduiarí)
2nd. -- Padĩkawõ (grater), in Itapinima (river Cuduiarí)
3rd. -- Byawá (Pepper), in Pirá-mutum (river Querarí)
4th. -- Myarãwa (white), in Sẽi-ma (river Uaupés)
5th. -- Bahúkõwa (appeared), in Uaracú-cachoeira (river Cuduiarí)
6th. -- Wararíwa (?), in Macucú (river Uaupés)
7th. -- Korówa (coró-coró), in Itapinima (river Cuduiarí)
8th. -- Pyaráwa (tocandira), in Pirá-mirim (river Cuduiarí)

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9th. -- Horóbora paramẽra (clay), in Cupim-igarapé (river Papurí)
10th. -- Tĩdwa (a fish), in Tĩ-igarapé (river Uaupés)

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*101

11th. -- Akẽromõwa (ant of fire), on the river Pirá-paraná

12th. -- Táytõ paramẽra (young pavão /any one of several kinds of large birds/ or sorcerer), on the river Uaupés

13th. -- Korébawa (waited), Iviarí-igarapé (tributary of the Quearí)

14th. -- Kopáyõwa (white termite), on the Mirití-paraná (river Uaupés)

15th. -- Barõáwa (an ant with a large head), on the Mirití-paraná (river Uaupés)

16th. -- Órobawa (wilderness, open place?), in Jacamim-cachoeira (river Uaupés)

17th. -- Yamĩtidõwa (soot), in Uaracapurí (river Uaupés)

18th. -- Wírowa (a cricket), in Tipiaka-cachoeira (river Uaupés)

19th. -- Tatĩwa (javarí /a palm/), in Paca-igarapé (river Uaupés)

20th. -- Mõãkõrawõ (eye), in Iutica, (river Uaupés)

21st. -- Betówa (tucum nut), in Açaí (river Uaupés)

22nd. -- Byákowa (star), on the river Içana

23rd. -- Yamã paramẽra (children of the deer), in Surubi-igarapé (river Içana)

24th. -- Máwa paramẽra (black daguirú), Cumarí-igarapé (river Içana)

Observations -- Comparing the various lists we verified:

1st. -- The locations do not coincide. This difficulty, however, is perhaps explained because one is dealing with vague indications (such-and-such river or igarapé, headwaters of such-and-such river, etc.); or because one and the same group might be scattered through various localities.

2nd. -- The names likewise do not agree perfectly. This difficulty, too, can be explained, admitting that no list is complete, and from this the fact that one omits names that appear in others.

3rd. -- The last list greatly surprises us: a) it is more numerous. Perhaps, besides the subdivisions properly speaking, it might also include close tribes considered sisters /sic/ and, therefore, with marriage interdiction among them.

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*101 b) The agreement with the previous lists is not great (only in half a dozen names). Having in mind that the ending kõ indicates the masculine singular, and wa, the ending for the plural, we have discovered a large number of agreements. For example:

The 5th subdivision of this list, Bahúkõwa, with Bahúkekõ mentioned by Heloisa;

The 6th division, Wararíwa, with the 3rd one of Heloisa, Wárarikõ (pepper);

The 9th, Horóbora, clay, with the 8th, Húrukõ (?);

The 16th, Órobawa, with the 1st, Órobakõ (sororoca)

q) ROÉRA-MASÃ OR TARAYRA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Roéra-masã, as they say in their own idiom, corresponds to the Tukano word Doeá-maxsã or Taraíra-tapuya of the Nheengatú, since roé (in Tukano doé) is the name of the taraíra fish (Erithrynus Taraira, Lin.).

[115] Their idiom also belongs to the Tukano linguistic group, as is seen in the Vocabulary (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia") that was given to us in August of 1956 by a young man named Yamí, also known under the name of Pedro, about 22 years old [142] and residing in the Ídemasã maloca of the Komé-ya. They are in general of medium stature, plump of figure, roundish face, light bronze complexion, light eyes inclined toward blue, mustache hairs, nose high and a little aquiline, and lissotrichous [301] [304] hair. All of them, men and women, wear the ears pierced and a small plug of about two millimeters in diameter stuck through them.

[582] Tribal exogamy is also in force among the Roéra, and we know of marriages with the Íde-masã.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They have a maloca near the mouth of the stream Gõ-ya, right tributary of the Komé-ya. It seems that they are not very numerous, except if we consider them in conjunction with the Emõá and Yebá, which were designated to us as one and the same tribe (cf. IV -- 2, t). It is to be noted that it is not rare that those of one tribe are presented

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*101 as brothers or relatives of those of another tribe, with matrimonial interdication, although they are distinguished, not only by the language, but even somatically or bio-ethnologically. This is the case, for example, with regard to the Tukano and Bará.

3) Divisions -- The informant above indicated to us only the Yebá-Yetána. Various tribes, such as the Hanẽra, Yebá, Emõá, indicated as their subdivision the Roéra or Taraíra. Is it actually a matter of /109/ subdivisions of these tribes, or do the Roéra constitute a tribe per se? If the dialectic difference is small, as the Vocabularies compared reveal to us, the somatic one is greater, in spite of the matrimonial arrangement that binds these tribes. If we keep in mind the fact that among all these tribes exogamous marriage is in force as a strict law (cf. 1, a (1)), matrimonial non-interdiction could serve as a criterion for distinguishing the tribes, although the interdiction is not always useful as a classificatory criterion.

r) SURIRÁ OR SURYANA

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Surirá, meaning unknown, and they are called Suryana by those of other tribes. Probably it is the same tribe as the one called Cirango by Curt Nimuendajú.

Their language belongs to the Tukano group, as is seen in the Vocabulary that we collected and recorded (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"). Possibly the one that comes in the 16th place in the linguistic classification of Chestmir (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"), [144] and he has located it erroneously on the river Caiari.

[171] They are lighter in complexion than the Tukano, small face, less Mongoloid features, and also shorter and less corpulent than [829] they are. Morally more decayed, they are regarded by the Tukano as inferior, and they judge themselves as such. They are, in reality, slower in assimilating civilization, lazier, less

/109 cont./

*101 susceptible to stimulus (40).

[171]
[835]
[829]
[797]

40. The appearance of their homes in Acuaricuara confirms the impression that they are more decayed. It is true that in November of 1953 two Suryana families were building the two best houses of the missionary povoado. About the moral decadence, the fact that a father was living maritally with his daughter. It must be pointed out that the Tukano did not accept a Suryana as a labor overseer; nevertheless, in the Mission school the two most intelligent young men were Suryana.

In Acuaricuara we found Suryana married to Tukano and to Desana; matrimonial interdiction is thus not in force between these tribes. Exogamy is also mandatory among the Suryana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We found some groups on the headwaters of the Papurí and on the river Paca (Acuaricuara and surroundings). They are not to be confused with the Širyaná of Arwake origin located on the Demêni, whom Curt K. identified with the Bahuna.

According to the information obtained in Acuaricuara, the Suryana tribe is greatly reduced in members. There would be about 250 individuals: 120 in S. Geraldo (river Paca), 80 in Vinha-igarapé, 30 in Uiva-igarapé, and 20 in Tapira-cachoeira (river Paca).

[115] /110/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Manoel Rodriguez from Acuaricuara.

1. Tu-boá (?), in S. Geraldo
2. Behé burisêra (Suryana tapurú /caterpillar/), in Vinha-igarapé
3. Wivá (arrow), in Uíva-igarapé (river Paca, above Tapira-cachoeira)

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*101

4. Wya-toá (an ant), in Uíva-igarapé
5. Eóna (jaburú /bird/), in Tapira-cachoeira
6. Bayaró suryá mamasurá (Suryana singer), on the headwaters of the Vinha-igarapé
7. Bará-ka (?), on the headwaters of the river Paca.

s) TSẼNA

1) People-Name-Language. -- The Tsẽna belong to the Tukano family of languages, as can be deduced from the "test" vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/). It was not possible for us to obtain data for an approximate calculation of the Tsẽna. Like the neighboring tribes who reside between the Tiquié and the Pirá-paraná, the Tsẽna are lighter in complexion than the Tukano and have less Mongoloid features. Moreover, they exhibit dark brown, cymotrichous hair.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They are presently located in malocas on the middle Pirá-paraná and on some of its small tributaries, such as the Timí-ya (igarapé of the otter), Ahã-ya (igarapé of the inambú /tinamou/), Iaxpi-ya (igarapé of the batata), and Utú-ya (Igarapé of the plain).

[115]

3) Divisions: -- The Tsẽna Indian Marco, about 25 years of age (1958), who furnished and recorded the vocabulary for us, indicated the following divisions of his tribe in decreasing order of importance:

1. Oãni-séna (micura or gambá /opossum/), in Tsẽna-pwea (cachoeira of the Pirá-paraná)
2. Tsẽna-põ (?), on the stream Timí-ya
3. Pinõ-sẽna (snake), on the stream Ahã-ya
4. Kũmya (?), on the stream Iaxpí-ya
5. Waya-sẽna (a fish), in Tsẽna-pwea. The informant belongs to this group.
6. Pamõ (tatú /armadillo/), in Utú-ya (Pirá-paraná).

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*101 t) YEBÁ-MASÃ

1) People-Name-Language. -- Yebá-masã is their denomination in the mother tongue, although they do not know the meaning of this term (41).

[115] 41. Lucas, the old Tukano from S. Luzia, as has already been said (IV-2, a), explained to Padre Antonio Giacone that Yepá-maxsã (as they say in Tukano) means gente-da-terra /people of the land/, and that the natives who reached the Papurí afterwards called the Tukano this. [773] It is to be noted that Yepá, according to the legends, is the son of Bũxpó (the Thunder), and the Indians, with some religious notions, say that it is God, the Son. Koch G. (Z. I., 216) met on the Tiquié an Indian woman by the name of Inácia, of the Yepália tribe, with beautiful physiognomic features. Would it be another spelling of Yepá?

[142] Their idiom is classified in the Tukano family, as it is shown by the Vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical and Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia). In contrast to the Tukano, they are slender types, of medium stature like them or even shorter. Small face, tapering toward the chin. Physiognomy little or not at all Mongoloid. Coarser hair, black or dark, not lissotrichous, as generally befalls the natives of Brazil. At times they even exhibit slight waves. Dark eyes, nose low at the root, like the Tukano, but higher and finer tip. The men ordinarily have the ears pierced.

[244] [222] [224] [284] With an insignificant mandioca-agriculture, they are principally hunters, and they live on wild fruits. For this reason the consumption of ipadú /coca/ is great among them (cf. VI - 4, 1 (4). They all use the hammock of 30 threads. Their festivals are frequent.

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*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- One group of Yebá-masã lives on the headwaters of the igarapé Iaíssa (igarapé of the house of the onça /jaguar/), still in Brazilian territory; but the totality is in Colombian territory, in the interior of the forest watered by the Komé-ya. Probably they do not exceed two or three hundred members. [161]

[115] 3) Divisions. -- The five primary divisions were furnished to us by an Indian of the tribe, named Joaquim, about 25 years of age (in 1954), and the last two, by the Indian João, 40 years old, of the Tuyuka tribe, from the maloca of the Iaíssa. The Roéra and Emõá appear in the following divisions. We were not able to find out whether they are homonymous tribes, as is more probable, considered as more closely related. Their habitat coincides with those of these tribes, as can be seen in the respective places.

1. Doé or Roé (taraíra /fish/), on the Komé-ya
2. Wíhuri or Wípuri (?), on the Komé-ya

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3. Áyawa (?), on the Komé-ya
4. Héta (?), on the Komé-ya
5. Kuíto (?), on the Komé-ya
6. Emõá-masã (guariba /howler/ monkey people), on the Komé-ya
7. Sêi-masã (barrigudo /woolly/ monkey people), on the Komé-ya (42)

[136] 42. Sêi is the monkey of the genera Lagothrix and related ones, which is also called aimoré, because of which the natives of this group are sometimes called Aymoré-tapuya.

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*101 u) WAHYÁRA OR YURITÍ-TAPUÚA

1) People-Name-Language. -- The Indians known as Yuritÿ-tapuya are called in their own idiom Wahyara or Uhayána and belong to the Tukaño linguistic family, but their language exhibits Karaíba vestiges, so Chestmir affirms (cf. Vocabulary in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical"). Juritÿ is the translation of the name of the dove wahyara. They have a longer face and lighter complexion than the Tukano, as well as being taller and slimmer than the latter.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- Chestmir tells of their existence on the river Caiari. As far as has been reported to us, it is in the Colombian region between the Uaupés and the Papurí that some groups of the Juritÿ live, as well as in Acuaricuara (river Paca) and its surroundings. It seems to us that they are more numerous than the Suryana. [161]

In "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/" it is said that they were settled in 1852 by Frei Gregório on the river Uaupés, in Aracapurí, Carurú-cachoeira, S. Jerônimo and S. Joaquim, and a century before by the Carmelites in Thomar. And that they are very closely related to the Huhúteni and are called Halikuliarú by the Siwsí. We think that there is a serious mistake here. The Huhúdeni are of the Arwake group, and the Juritÿ, whom we are talking about, belong, by language, to the Tukano group. It is true that the physiognomic features of the Juritÿ are less Mongoloid and more delicate than those of the Tukano.

[115] 3) Divisions. -- Informant Emília Cordeiro, about 40 years old, in Acuaricuara in November of 1953.

1. Dexpoá Waxtí panamẽna (head of Waxtí), on the headwaters of the Pacá
2. Tsyára Wahyára (swallow), at the mouth of the Turí-igarapé, in Nenĩya
3. Dyáta poná (water duck), on the headwaters of the Cussá

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*101

4. Bótea Wahyára (aracú /fish/), on the headwaters of the river Paca (extinct today)

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5. Wákebu poná (ingá), in Tuim-igarapé (tributary of the Uaupés)
6. Yĩseá Wahyára (jurití /palm/ monkey), on the igarapé Komé-ya (tributary of the Paca) (43)

43. Komé-ya is the name in the Tukano language corresponding to Gi-paraná in the Nheengatú, that is, "Stream of the iron or of the ax." It is not to be confused with Komé-ya, tributary of the river Pirá-paraná, which waters the forests inhabited by the Ide-masĩ, Roera, Yebá, and other tribes.

7. Usẽniña (cucura /Moraceae/), on the igarapé Komé-ya
8. Dyípo yutáda (pata'pé), on the igarapé Komé-ya
9. Watkó basoka (seringa), on the headwaters of the Paca
10. Dyató panamena (iúa pixuna /fruit/), on the river Paca (above Tapira-cachoeira)
11. Ahuĩ betóri panamena (earthworm), on the headwaters of the Paca.

v) WAY-KHANA OR PIRÁ-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Pirá-tapuya is the língua-geral term corresponding to Way-khana, or "fish people," in the mother tongue (sing., masc. Waí-khõ, fem. Waí-khō). Their name is explained by the legend of the origins. Their particular physiognomic features were described (IV - 1, a (2)). Their language belongs to the Tukano group, as can be seen by the Vocabulary (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical"), and is very close to that of the Wanana.

[582]

We have already observed that matrimonial interdiction is in force between the Pirá-tapuya and the Arapasu, Wanana, and Jurití.

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101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They do not appear on the lists of the eighteenth century. It is interesting to point out that the Pira-tapuya are indicated on Frei Gregório's maps in Carurú-cachoeira, Iauareté, Juquira, S. Joaquim, that is, in povoados of other tribes and not where we found and recorded them (III). Their principal nucleus is the Papurí, from where they later moved to the Uaupés. It is probable that they arrived in Brazil before the Tukano.

[161] They fluctuate around six hundred (588 in the statistics of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/," distributed in this way: on the Uaupés, in Jacaré-ponta and surroundings of Ananás and Taracuá, in Urubucuara, Mariuá, Buzina, in Uaracú-ponta, which is their largest center nowadays, and on the outskirts of Umarí. On the Papurí: in S. Gabriel, S. Paulo. They are, moreover, numerous in the Colombian frontier territory.

[115] /114/ 3) Divisions. -- Indicated by a group of Pirá-tapuya from Teresita (river Papuri).

1. Wehétera or Vetára poné (powder), in Teresita, Ucapinima, Japim, Japú (river Papuri), and Uaracú (river Uaupés)
2. Swĩrya poné (red ones), in Macú-paraná and África (Papurí)
3. Sasíro poné (sasíro, a large grasshopper), in Uaracú (Uaupés)
4. Kenẽ poné (a cockroach), on the river Paca
5. Pâta poné (a toad that swells), in Japim (Papurí)
6. Busâna poné (paineira /tree/), on the igarapés of the river Japurá
7. Buxpó poné (thunder), in S. Tomé (Bela Vista) on the lower Uaupés
8. Duxkodõ poné (thin), in Bela Vista
9. Ñamá-emẽperoa poné (deer ear), in Ituim-ponta (Papurí)
10. Ñapá poné (a toad), in Ararí-pirá (Uaupés)
11. Komé-pá poné (stone of the ax), in S. Francisco

/114 cont./

(Uaupés) (44)

*101

[115]

44. According to the Tukano Henrique, pajé /curer-sorcerer/ of the Japú-igarapé (river Uaupés), the Komé-pá, also called Gi-Tapuya, are the "Pirá-tapuya of the feet" or "of the tail" (he expressed himself in this way) and formerly lived above the Japú-Igarapé, as can be seen drawn on the map of Hamilton Rice (cf. II-6, b).

12. Nohá-peoroa (burned), in Bacaba (Uaupés) and Japim (Papurí)
13. Poéroa (low water), in Teresita (Papurí)
14. Ñamákuli poné (spotted deer), in Macú-igarapé
15. Yapẽ poné (a frog), in Cangatara (Uaupés)
16. Kẽhólya (dreamer ?), in Ponta-fria (Uaupés)
17. Bwá poné (cotia /agouti/), in S. Paulo, S. Gabriel, Tucunaré (Papurí), Taracuá, Bela Vista, Açaí-paraná (Uaupés)
18. Paraoro poné (a cipo with fragrant flowers), on the streams Macú and Ituim
19. Nixtĩ-pá poné (ashes), in Teresita (Papurí) (45)

45. "Because they brought the fire in the dances," thus they explained to us the reason for the name. It must be an old custom, which is no longer in force today. It is to be noted that in Teresita they were introduced to us as the Pariahs of the Pirá-tapuya; whereas on the Tiquié they characterized as slaves the Bwá poné, Paráoro, and Oxkótirya.

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101 20. Oxkótirya poné (foam of the water where the Pirá-tapuya appeared), in Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) (46)

46. Would the Wanana be considered brothers of the Pirá-tapuya, from which would come the matrimonial interdiction that is in effect between these tribes?

[273] 21. Dyaxtú panámina (grandchildren of Dyaxtú, that is, of the one who drinks pure caxirí /various locally made beverages drunk at feasts/), in S. Tomé (Tiquié), Bela Vista (Uaupés) (47)

47. An individual of this group informed us that he identifies himself with the 7th group above, Bĩxpó poné.

w) WINÁ OR DESÃNA.

1) People-Name-Language. -- In their own idiom they say Winá, the name, it seems, of a fish. According to Padre João Marchesi, it means wind storm, thunder, people of the thunder. They are called Detsana or Papuriwára by the Taryana. The suffix wara is from the Nheengatú and expresses origin; the name would seem, then, to indicate that they penetrated into Brazil by way of the Papurí. It is certain that when the Tukano reached the Tiquié, the Desana were already there and on the principal tributaries. In contrast to the Tukano, it was afterwards that they moved to the Papurí, perhaps even before the arrival of the Tukano in Brazil.

In the Tukano language they call themselves Wená or Wĩrá; they also received the nicknames of "muhĩ-pĩ põra," children of the sun, and "õ mã-kori maxsã," people of the day. Such nicknames might be derived from some legend that we do not know. Or perhaps from the relative location of these two tribes, the Desana being in the eastern region in relation to the Tukano?

/115 cont./

*101 The vocabulary we managed to get (cf. "Discoteca Etnolinguistico-musical") reveals as great a distance from the Tukano idiom as they are different anthropologically from this tribe. [142] Short, as they are, but more slender and fairer, and with a tapered face. Chestmir affirms that their idiom exhibits Karaíba intrusion.

They are specialists in making sieves and in the preparation [284] [184] of the tucum. The Tukano affirm that they learned with the Desana how to make the "hammock of thirty threads" (VI - 2, c (2)).

[582] Marriage with the Taryana and Arapásu is forbidden for them (48).

[142]

48. We read in Koch Grünberg that they marry the Makús. We could not verify that. Perhaps it was a matter of a particular case reported to Koch. From the hundreds of individuals we observed, Koch's opinion that they differ from the other tribes in the following somatic features does not seem acceptable to us either: "not so well proportioned body, high head, coarse hair, oval face, prominent zygoma, large nose, somewhat slanted eyes."

[161] /116/ 2) Habitat and inhabitants. They come to several hundreds (601 in the census of "Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar/"). Today we find them in large numbers on the Papurí and tributaries, but especially on the Tiquié and its tributaries -- the Castanho, Umarí, Ira, and Turí-igarapé. Some groups came down, as early as the beginning of the last century, to [191] the mouth of the Uaupés and the Rio Negro. These last ones, as we read in Giacone, "from the contact with the Caboclos and whites, are the most advanced: besides their own dialect and the Tukano, they speak Nheengatú, and many, Portuguese. [438] Every year some of them go up the Tiquié and the Papurí, visiting their brothers, taking them goods acquired with the whites,

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*101 [438] and receiving in exchange manioc flour, sieves, aturás /large baskets carried on the back/ or baskets, balls of tucum, and canoes" (Os Tucanos /The Túcano/, 7).

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informants: Amélia Veiga (30 years old in 1956, from the subdivision Yugõ-põná) and Ana Cabral (22 years old, Depótino), both from Floresta (river Tiquié); Justina Pires (from Embaúba, river Uaupés), and Judite Monteiro (from Matapí, Tiquié):

1st. -- Boré-ka-põná ánikma (aracú /a fish/) (49),

49. Bore-ka-põná means "son of the aracú." "Ánikma" is a demonstrative that they employ frequently and means these, they. We transcribed it in order to remain faithful to the designation and pronunciation of our informants.

on the river Papurí; they are the "Mamí"

2nd. -- Bũgyẽri põná (old), in Tucunaré (Papurí)
3rd. -- Sumyẽri põna (a sour fruit), on the Macú-igarapé (Papurí)
4th. -- Poyẽri põná (a fruit similar to the abio /Sapotaceae/), on the river Uaupés
5th. -- Depótino põná (an ant), in Ira-igarapé (Tiquié)
6th. -- Yugõ põná (hiccup), in Trovão (Uaupés) and Floresta (Tiquié)
7th. -- Sipeáninã ánikma (a bird), in Umarí-igarapé (Tiquié)
8th. -- Anañeri põna or aganĩgãnĩ põná (foot of inambú /bird/), on the river Papurí
9th. -- Yexsé põná (wild pig), on the river Castanho (trib. of the Tiquié)
10th. -- Toá pianã (iúa pixuna, fruit), in Iraití (Tiquié)
11th. -- Waxsúpo põná (cunurí /tree/), in Turí-igarapé (Papurí)
12th. -- Yú põná (an insect ?), in Floresta (Tiquié)
13th. -- Yeborẽna ánikma (bone?), in S. João (Tiquié)

/116 cont./

*101 14th. -- Simyõ pêru põná (caxirí of uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/), in Teresita (Papurí) and Itapinima (Uaupés)

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15th. -- Yaxpé putiná (?) or yai buxtiná (white onça /jaguar/), in S. Antônio (Tiquié)

16th. -- Búyaka põná (sumaúma /tree/), on the river Papurí

17th. -- Teáburu põná (a fruit), in Floresta (Tiquié)

18th. -- Maháñana põná (an edible caterpillar), on the river Papurí

19th. -- Mõneá põna (carapanã /large, long-legged gnat/), in Umarí-igarapé (50)

50. Would it perhaps be the Karapanã tribe, which they consider more intimately connected with the Desana? Actually a Karapanã group exists on the headwaters of the stream Uamarí or Umarí-igarapé.

20th. -- Minumú põná (swallow), on the headwaters of the Papurí

21st. -- Mixpínya põná (açaí /assai palm/), in Turí-igarapé and Montfort (Papurí)

[823] 22nd. -- Way-goberi põná (canal with fish) (51),

51. The natives affirm that there is a subterranean canal between the Papurí and the Tiquié, through which, says the legend, the first fish moved to the Tiquié.

in Piracuára and Montfort (Papurí)

23rd. -- Kúperi põná (?), in Tucunaré (Papurí); only one woman survives, mother of Sabino Paíva from Iuquira (Uaupés)

24th. -- Poetẽna or Po'yaxtẽna (a plant), in Po-yá igarapé

[554] 25th. -- Õiwa ánikma (bat), on the river Papurí; they are the pariahs.

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*101 Obs. The Desana José Prado, about 30 years old (1956),
[115] confirmed the above subdivisions, with the following modifications: 1st. he does not know the 11th subdivision W[illegible]xsúpo
[554] põná; 2nd. he corrected the names of the 8th, 15th, and he divided up the 24th, respectively, aganígãní põna, yai buxtiná, and Poyaxtẽna, "because it planted the igarapé" (so he explained); 3rd. -- The first three are the most noble, he said, and the óiwa are the pariahs.

x) KUMÃDENE OR IPEKA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language -- Ipéka is a Nheengatú term that means water duck. In their own idiom they call themselves Kumãdene, and in the Tukano language, Dya-kaxtá-põrá (children of the water duck). The Taryãna call them Kumãda Yaperíkuli, ducks of Yaperíkuli.

On the Uaupés there is a small group of this tribe of Arwake extraction, whose idiom is affiliated with the Baniva group, as can be seen by the Vocabulary which we collected (cf. "Discoteca Etno-Linguístico-Musical").

[582] They consider themselves brothers of the Taryãna, and, because of this marriage is forbidden between these tribes. In the list of the subdivisions of the Taryana /118/ the Kumãda Yaperíkuli appear. The somatic and the glottologic differences, however, demonstrate that it is a tribe distinct from the Taryãna.
[142] They are less corpulent, more delicate in constitution, fairer, and have hair less lissotrichous than theirs.

The ones from the Uaupés have already lost their native
[115] idiom, all speaking Tukano exclusively. In Urubuara in 1954 we met only two old men who still knew some words of their native language that we could transcribe and record: the sexagenarian tuxáua Mandú Henriques, and the almost nonagenarian Komú (xamã /shaman/) Martinho, who passed away in March of 1956. The ones from the Cuiarí, tributary of the Içana, still preserve their own idiom.

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*101 2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- This tribe participated in the first migrations that took place on the Cuiarí and Içana, having as center on this river the locality of S. Pedro. The scarcity of fish in the Içana, in relation to the population, especially in some years, led some groups to migrate to the Uaupés in the middle of the last century. In larger number they passed through the forests of the Aiári, and others by way of the lower Içana. Among these last ones, the Ipeka group, which is found today in Urubucuara and surroundings and does not maintain any relations with the Ipeka of the Içana. It [161] seems that at present the whole tribe does not exceed three or four hundred souls.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Mandú Henriques of the Komãda-pú group, tuxaua of Urubucuara. It is to be noted that the various Kumãdẽne of the river Cuiarí whom we could consult, although they speak the native idiom, did not know how to indicate the divisions of the tribe.

1st. -- Kumãda-da (?), in Pinû-pinú, already extinct
2nd. -- Kumãda-pú (?), in Urubucuara
3rd. -- Kapási Máwesi (hook?), headwaters of the Yaviarí
4th. -- Hapáka (?), in Bacaba-cachoeira (Uaupés)
5th. -- Wamerída (?), in Bacaba-cachoeira
6th. -- Murisépa (?), in Periquito-cachoeira (Uaupés)
7th. -- Wirí-karúpa (uiripipí, bird), in Periquito (Uaupés)
8th. -- Kumãdáwẽi (row /Port. fileira, row, line, rank/), on the river Aiari.

z) /sic/ TALYSERI OR TARYÃNA

1) People-Name-Language. They are the principal representatives, on the river Uaupés, of the Arwáke ethnic and linguistic group. In the Tukano language, they are called Páãna (name of a plant?), and in their own /119/ idiom Talyáseri or Talyéseri, and in various Arwáke idioms of the Issana, Tarídza or Taría. We think the word Taryana is derived from Talyaseri by rotacismo /sound shifting/ (exchange

/*119 cont.*/

*101 of the *r* for the *l*, a common phenomenon among these tribes) and the suffix *ana*, from the língua geral, which expresses abundance or collectivity.

We have tried to give a sketch of the somatic appearance (cf. IV - 1, a (3)). They are characterized better by the language, which belongs to the *Arwáke* branch; therefore quite different from the Tukano in the pronunciation, roots, and inflection (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"). It seems to us, nevertheless, that, regarding the structure or the logical framework of the language (derivation of words, order of the sentence, syntax, etc.), the *Taryana* as well as the *Arwáke idioms* and the *Nheengatú* itself are similar to the *Tukano* Family of languages. Geographically enveloped as they are by the latter, and through commercial and matrimonial relations, one notices that their language is tending to disappear, being replaced by the Tukano. Actually scarcely one and a half hundred adults understand and speak the *Taryana* idiom. The young ones only know *Tukano*, which frequently is the language of their own mother, and many, the Portuguese learned in the Salesian Missions.

According to the legenus,they are supposed to have come out of the ground through holes that are seen in the rocks of the cachoeira of *Uapuim* (on the river Aiarí). As they emerged, still covered with blood, loud thunder was heard, and for this reason they are called "Children of the blood of the thunder" (in Tukano: *Bũxpó di põrá*) or *Di-roá* (people of the blood).

On the occasion of reaching the Uaupés, there was a schism between two groups, which even today are antagonistic. One became localized on the *cachoeira de Ipanoré*, and the other, on that of *Iauareté*; and between the two a *Tukano* group settled in Iuquira, a *Pirá-tapúya* one in Aracú-ponta and an *Arapasu* one in S. José.

/*119 cont.*/

*/101 Their Arwáke ancestry makes us think of a probable descent by way of the rivers Orinoco-Negro, some groups (*Ipeka*, *Baniva*, etc.) becoming localized through the valley of the Içana and Xié, and others (*Baré* and *Taryãna*) descended farther. The *Baré* went as far as the mouth of the Rio Negro, and the *Taryãna* as far as that of the Uaupés, whose stream they later went up. These migrations must have taken place several centuries ago. Actually, at the time of the discoveries, the Arwáke were [829] already found on the rivers that they now occupy. Furthermore, the first explorers who reached the Orinoco River found among (171) the local tribes the belief that the inhabitants of the Rio Negro were giants (cf. Sampaio, "Diario" of 1774-5, p. 302). We can then infer an interval of centuries for the appearance and generalization of legends of this sort.

/*120*/ *Habitat and inhabitants*. -- The statistics of the Missions of the Capuchin Monks from 1880 to 1888 indicate 11 aldeias inhabited by the Taryana, with a total of 2,272 souls, whose principal centers were: Iauareté, S. Joaquim, Naná-Rapecũma, S. Jerônimo, Micura-Rapecũma, Carurú-cachoeira. We can affirm that, of these centers indicated, at present there are *Taryãna* only in Iauareté, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Micura-Rapecũma. The last data that we have show only 717 in *Ipanoré*, *Pinú-pinú*, *Cigarro* *Buzina* and from *Iauareté* up to *Periquito*, all the localities on the river Uaupés, and in Aracapá, Japurá and surroundings on the river Papurí, and on the river Javiarí. It is possible that other *Arwáke* groups closer in language and customs, residing in the basin of the Içana, were included in the reckoning of the Capuchins.

3) *Divisions*. -- In October of 1953 a group of *Taryana* from Iauareté, among them two old men more than 60 years of age, verified the list that we are giving below and obtained on previous trips. There was indecision among the informants regarding the order and meaning of the names, due, perhaps, to the decline of the group, which, besides its reduction in members, is losing its own idiom.

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*101 1st. -- Põkurãna (born from the clouds), in the povoado Manao (Iauareté). They are the most important.

2nd. -- Nérikwa Kwénaka (face of deer), in Japurá (river Papurí) (52)

*[115] 52. Old Paulino, who supplied us with these subdivisions, is from this group, almost extinct today.

3rd. -- Sivíru thumú (?), in Japurá

4th. -- Kwísi úda (tail of mutum /Crax/), in Iauareté (Uaupés)

5th. -- Kwí-váte (?), in Iauareté

6th. -- Kwénaka (?), in Iauareté and Ipanoré (almost extinct) (Uaupés)

7th. -- Kwí Káparo (aimoré monkey), in Ipanoré

8th. -- Samĩ-da (?), in Aracú-ponta (Uaupés)

9th. -- Makú-ya (urutauí, bacurau /Caprimulgidae/), in Micura (Uaupés)

10th. -- Komãda Yaperíkuli (duck of Yaperíkuli), in Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) (They are the Kumãdẽne proper, also of the Arwáke group.)

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11th. -- Makaryá-põ (?), in Uaracapá (river Papurí)

12th. -- Hiparíku sásari (riku is a small woodpecker), in Iauareté (Mission)

13th. -- Seréawi (a parakeet with a long tail), in Bacaba (Uaupés)

14th. -- Kayároa (? dreamers), Iauareté (povoado Dom Bosco)

15th. -- Wáparo põná (a fish), in Pinú-pinú (Uaupés) (53).

[115] 53. This name is in the Tukano language. A young woman 17 years of age, Antonia Corrêa, presented herself in 1954 as being Wáparo põná, not knowing how to tell the meaning of Wáparo. According to others, it is a fish similar to the aracú, although more roundish.

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115 In May of 1956 the Taryĩna pajé of the Ira-igarapé, Henrique by name, a man of about 50 years of age, told us the legend of the origins of the Arwáke groups, in the cachoeira de Uapuim, and gave us the list of the Taryĩna chiefs in the order of their exit from the pit of the cachoeira, which likewise corresponds to the importance of the group from which he originated. It is to be noted that it differs from the preceding one, not only concerning the number of the subdivisions and their rank, but also concerning the names and their meaning. It agrees with the preceding one only in half a dozen names. He, however, appeared to be more knowledgeable about the ancient legends, and for this reason his word deserves more credit and, besides, is greatly respected, not only by the men themselves, but also by other pajés of the Taryĩna tribe.

+101 Starting with the most important ones, the subdivisions are thus listed in decreasing order:

1st Group, the most noble ones

1st. -- Kaméwa (?), the heads; they are already extinct
2nd. -- Iriyumákẽni or Ena-yamákere (people of the blood, that is, born from the thunder), from this group Agostinho of the povoado Manao (Iauareté)
3rd. -- Pokurĩna (that is, older brother) Kasútari, already extinct; formerly in the povoado Manao
4th. -- Pokurĩna náseri (?), also extinct, in Iauareté
5th. -- Pokurĩna purĩtĩ (leaf), from this group Filipe of Iauareté

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6th. -- Pokurĩna Kwénaka (cunurí /tree/); Joaquim of Iauareté is from this group
7th. -- Pokurĩna Neríkoa (forehead of deer), extinct, in Iauareté
8th. -- Dúpu-kári (water lizard), Paulino of Iravassú-ponta
9th. -- Kwénaka Pitasítsawi (leg of cutia /agouti/), Iravassú-ponta
10th. -- Kwénaka Sivíru (dove), Mandú Moleque of Iauareté

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*101 11th. -- Pokurãna Kwisívada (tail of mutum), Mandú of Turí-ponta (Uaupés)

12th. -- Pokurãna Wadakẽnini (branch of iúa-pixuna /fruit/), Benedicto of Tauá (formerly they lived in Taiaçú)

2nd Group, lower (i.e., inferior)

13th. -- Kwénaka Kwewáthe, Nicolau of Iauareté

14th. -- Kwénaka Manwére (Manuel) Kwewáthe, Calisto of Iauareté

15th. -- Kwénaka Manwére Kwewáthe, Leopoldino of Iauareté (54)

> 54. Leopoldino was a greatly feared tuxáua from Iauareté around 1920.

16th. -- Kwénaka Dakásani (puraquê /fish/), the Taryana of Ipanoré

17th. -- Pupúta Sahãmi (head of cutia), the Taryana of Aracú-ponta

18th. -- Sahãmi Maru-wyanapéri (nephew of the Bayá /master of dances/), Feliciano of Manáo

19th. -- Sahãmi Karinéseri Baasé-bõ (55),

> 55. The name Baasé-bõ seems to be from the Tukano language; according to a legend, he was the personage who gave them mandioca.

in the Ira-igarapé (the informant is from this group)

20th. -- Sahãmi Karinéseri -- Yauvityápu (bow of arrow), in Japurá (Papurí)

21st. -- Wiaka (?), today in Ipanoré, formerly on the cachoeira of the Acarí

22nd. -- Hwyaka (?), today in Cigarro, formerly in the cachoeira of the Acarí

/122 cont./

#101 3rd Group -- Surára (the soldiers, for the inferior work) (56)

> 56. Surára, it seems, is a term from the Nheengatú, a corruption of the Portuguese soldado /soldier/, which the different languages adopted.

23rd. -- Kumãda Axréda (white duck), Agostinho from the island of the horn-beetle (below Iauareté)

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24th. -- Kumãda Kadêita (white duck), Martinho of Urubucuara

25th. -- Kumãda Kadêita, on the river Jáviarí

4th Group

26th. -- Yaviría-pe nĩpe (people of the Javiarí), Paulino of Uaracapá (Papurí) (57)

> 57. Yavyria-pe nĩpe in all probability is from the Tukano idiom, and with better pronunciation is written Yaviria -põ-nĩpõ, i.e., the ones who were on the river Javarí.

27th. -- Yaviría-pe nĩpe (people of the Javiarí), Bibiano of Uaracapá

28th. -- Ādari (young pavão /Pavo/ or sorcerer, bird), Marcelino of Iauareté

29th. -- Yaryanípe (turtle bayá), in Iauareté (they serve Nicolau)

/123 cont./

*101 5th Group -- of the Kayároa (in Tukano Way-penésiriri)

30th. -- Yavyáripe (rhythm tube), the Taryãna of Mirití (Uaupés)

31st. -- Kayároa, extinct from the beginning (i.e., died without leaving children)

32nd. -- Hayku Sãni (heart of wood), João Barrigudo of Iauareté

33rd. -- Híparu (the curvature of the toad), Eduardo of Iauareté

34th. -- Tépána Masyẽdana, they are the slaves, in Iauareté (only a few women survive)

6th Group -- the nephews (?)

35th. -- Pai Penéseri (= Waí penésiriri?), Antonico of Iauareté

36th. -- Pai Penéseri, Eduardo of Iauareté (father of Ricardo)

37th. -- Pai Penéseri, the Taryana of the povoado of Buzina (Uaupés)

7th Group -- of the slaves, "Taryana of the tail"

38th. -- Mamyári-kéni (grandson of Wãx-tĩ or Juruparí), Bibiano of Periquito

39th. -- Mamyári-kéni, in Bacaba-cachoeira (Uaupés)

40th. -- Mamyári-kéni, in Juquira-ponta (above Iauareté).

3. Names of the Tribes of the Uaupés in the different native languages

		in Tukano	Tuyuka	Pirá-tapuya	Wanana
1.	Tukano	Daxseá	Daxseá	Daxseá	Daxséa
2.	Tuyuka	Dyí-khãra	Doxká-poará Doxká-foará	Dyí-kena	Dyí-maxkãna
3.	Pirá-tapuya	Waí-khãra	Waí-maxkãna	Waí-khana	Waí-maxkãna
4.	Wanana	Oxko-tí-khãra	Dyá-poxsá-maxkãna Axko-ti-maxkãna	Oxkó-ti-rya	Kótirya
5.	Desana	Wirá	Wina	Kna	Kna
6.	Kubewana	Kobêwa	Kubêwa	Sĩ-á (Sĩ-bá)	Bwísa-maxsã
7.	Bará	Bará	Bará	Bará	Bará
8.	Yurití-tapuya	Waíãra	Waídyana, Waíaka	Waíana	Waíana
9.	Suryana	Söryá	Söryá	Süryá	Süryá
10.	Karapanã	Mõxtẽá	Möxteá	Muxtã	Mõxtẽá
11.	Hanẽra	Parẽrõá	Panẽnõá	———	Parẽnõa-maxsã
12.	Edúrya	Eduryá	Edúrya	Erúrya	Dürya (Verúlya)
13.	Yıbá-masã	Yepá-maxsã	Yepá-maxsã	Yepá-maxsã	Yepámati
14.	Tatú-tapuya	Pamõá-maxsã	Pamõá	Pamõ-poné	Phamõ-poná
15.	Mikúra-tapuya	Oá-maxsã	Oá-fõná	Oá-poné	Oá-maxsã
16.	Mirití-tapuya	Neẽrõá	Neenoá	Neenoá	Neenoá
17.	Arapásu	Kõrẽá	Koneá	Konéa	Kõ'réa
18.	Íde-masã (Makuna, Aönira)	Aõnírá	Aöniná	Aönina	———

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4: Silva--180 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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		in Tukano	Tuyuka	Pirá-tapuya	Wanana
19.	Waríwa-tapuya	Emõá-maxsã	Emõá	Emõa	Emõa
20.	Taraira-tapuya	Doé-maxsã	Doséa, Daséra	Daxsepya-poné	Daxsá-piwa
21.	Bá:re-masã	Baá-maxsã	———	———	———
22.	Pusá-tapuya	Wehẽkö-maxsã	Bafígo-maxsã	Wẽhána-maxsã	Wahíye-kẽryá
23.	Káwa-yari	———	———	———	Kaviaría
24.	Yurú-piãũna	———	Waú (?)	Doxsé-betó-ñiena	Döxsé-ro-ñyina
25.	Sarabatana-tapuya	Bũxpúwö-maxsã	Buxpúwö-baxsóka	Vuxpú-paxká-poné	Pú-maxsã
26.	Tanibúka	Nũ'hõá-maxsã	Hoá-iñará	Nũi'hõ-paxká-poné	———
27.	Wakará-tapuya (Yeheá-maxsã, gente garça)	Yeheá-maxsã	Yé-maxsã, Yé-põná	Tâ-tâ-poné	Kóda-ká-maxsã
28.	Akãgatára-tapuya	Mahâ-poarí-maxsã	Mãhoá	Mahã-poarí-poné	Mahã-poaká-maxsã
29.	Tayasú	Yexseá-maxsã	Yesé-põná Maxkári-yesé	Yexseá-poné	Yexseá-maxsã
30.	Yakami (jacamim)	Tâ-tâ-maxsã	Tâ-tâ-maxsã	Tâ-tâ-poné	Tâ-tâ-porẽnoá
31.	Arakú	Bo'teá-maxsã	Bo'téa-maxsã	Bateá poné	Bo'téa-maxsã
32.	Irawsú	———	Dobé	Umí-maxsã	Mí-parẽnoá
33.	Pikasú	Buhá-maxsã	Buá-põná	Buhá-maxsã	Buhá-maxsã
34.	Tapira	Wexkö-maxsã	Wexké-fõná	Vexkö-maxsã	Waxtsé-maxsã
35.	Yawareté-tapuya (Yaí-maxsã, gente onça)	Yaí-maxsã	Yaí-fõná	Yairó-poné	Yairo-parẽnoá
36.	Pirá-yurú	Waí-öxseró-maxsã	Waí-öxseró-maxsã	Waí-doxsé-maxsã	Waí-döxsé-maxsã
37.	Tokãdira	Pextãra	Pextá-maxsã	Pextá-poné	Pixtá-maxsã
38.	Jí-tapuya	Komeá-maxsã	Komeá	Komé-paxká-maxsã	Komã-maxsã
39.	Jiboya-tapuya	Wexsé-koteró-maxsã	Maxká-finó	———	Dyátina-maxsã
40.	Utía-waíwa	Uxtyá-maxsã	Yũxsó-utyá	Uxtíroa-maxsã	Tiroá-maxsã
41.	Koró-Koró	Koxtoá-maxsã	Koxtoá	Koxtoá	Koxtoá
42.	Omáwa	Omáwa-maxsã	Omã-põná	Omã-poné	———
43.	Meyú-tapuya	Ahũga-maxsã	Wébe-fõná	Nahõ-poné	Nahũ-maxsa
44.	Wãtúya	———	———	Waxpâyakea	———
45.	Taryãna	Páana	Pávara	Pá:ne	Pháwana
46.	Ipéka-tapuya	Dyá-kaxtá-põrá	Dyá-katá-fõná	Dyẽni-poné	Dyá-kaxtá-poná
47.	Baniva	Bexkãrá	Bexkaná, Bekará	Bexkaná, Bexkeé	Bastyá
48.	Makú	Poxsá	Poxsá	Poxsá	Poxsá

/gente garça, "heron people"; gente onça, "jaguar people"/

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/126/		in Desãna	Kubewãna	Bará	Yuriti-tapuya
1.	Tukano	Nãxseá	Wéwewa (Hoéwe)	Daheá	Daxseá
2	Tuyuka	Mát-mana	Koróboa-parámena	Döxká-poará	Doká-puyãna
3.	Pirá-tapuya	Wai-ahana	Moá-parámena	Wai-maxkãna	Wai-masã
4.	Wanana	Dexkó-soró-mãná	Oxkó-diwa	Okó-timá-maxkãna	Oxkó-sutiró-makãna
5.	Desana	Winá	Weköwe (wekũywe)	Winá	Winã
6.	Kubewana	Dixpári-maná	Pamĩwa	Dyá-mahã	Ptéri-makãna
7.	Bará	Bará	Pididá-pwéw̃a	Bará	Bará
8.	Yuritl-tapuya	Gwaiana	Huréwayra	Waiana	Wahyára (Uhaiana)
9.	Suryana	Söryá	Pwĩmỹa (Pwĩmĩwa)	Sũrtyá	Sötyá
10.	Karâpanã	Mõneá	Mõréwa Hawãnya	Möxteá	Moxteá-põná
11.	Hanêra	———	———	———	———
12	Edúrya	———	Edúrya ? (Barõnina-parámena)	———	———
13.	Yebá-masã	———	Yebá-masã	———	———
14.	Tatú-tapuya	Pamõ-põná	Pamõa	———	———
15	Mikúra-tapuya	ódri-komẽ	Ohöwe-parámena	Oá-mõná	———
16	Mirití-tapuya	Neenoá	Neáwa-parámena	Neenoá	Neenoá
17.	Arapásu	Kõneá	Kõrewa	Koneá-mahã	Konéa
18.	Ide-masã	———	Aödina	Aöninã	———
19.	Guariba-tapuya	———	———	———	———

/127/	in Desãna	Kubewãna	Bará	Yuriti-tapuya
20. **Taraira-tapuya**	——	——	——	——
21. **Bá:re-masã**	——	——	——	——
22. **Pusá-tapuya**	——	——	——	——
23. **Káwa-yari**	——	——	**Kawáyari**	——
24. **Yurú-pĩãũna**	——	——	——	——
25. **Sarabatana-tapuya**	——	——	——	——
26. **Tanibúka**	——	——	——	——
27. **Garsa-tapuya**	——	——	——	——
28. **Akagatára-tapuya**	——	——	——	——
29. **Tayasú**	——	——	——	——
30. **Yakamĩ (jacamim)**	——	——	——	——
31. **Arakú**	——	——	——	——
32. **Irawsú**	——	——	——	——
33. **Pikasú**	——	——	——	——
34. **Tapira**	——	——	——	——
35. **Yawareté-tapuya (Yaí-maxsá, gente onça)**	——	——	——	——
36. **Pirá-yurú**	——	——	——	——
37. **Tokãdira**	——	——	——	——
38. **Jí-tapuya**	——	——	——	——
39. **Jiboya-tapuya**	——	——	——	——
40. **Utía-waíwa**	——	——	——	——
41. **Koró-Koró**	——	——	——	——
42. **Omáwa**	——	——	——	——
43. **Meyú-tapuya**	——	——	——	——
44. **Wãtúya**	——	**Kõnoríwa**	——	——
45. **Taryãna**		**Oráydõa (Ogáydawe)**	**Páoana**	**Pawá**
46. **Ipéka-tapuya**	**Dyá-kaxtá-põná**	**Bedé-parámena**	**Dyá-katá**	**Dyá-katá-põná**
47. **Baniva**	——	**Maká-paw̃a (põõá)**	**Bexkãna**	**Bekãne-makãna**
48. **Makú**	**Poyá**	**Boroá**	**Pohoá**	**Poxká**

/gente onça, "jaguar people"/

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		in Suryãna	Karapanã	Hanera	Edúrya
1.	Tukano	Daxseá	Ratseá	Daseá	Raseá (Latseá)
2.	Tuyuka	Matá-mana	Roká-poẽna	Lokaxna	Rokáhana
3.	Pirá-tapuya	Wai-kãna	Wai-makãna	Wai-kãna	Wai-makãna
4.	Wanana	?Bâreá	Wíroa	Oxko-tí-kãna	Oxkó-dí-kãna
5.	Desana	Winá	Winã	Winã	Winã
6.	Kubewana	Diparí-kãna	Dyá-mahã (Kubêwa)	Kobêwa	Kobêwa
7.	Barã	Bará	Bará	Gahé-masã	Bará
8.	Yurití-tapuya	Wayãna	Waíãna	Waiana	Wayãna
9.	Suryana	Surirá	Süryá (Sâtyá)	Tsödya	Tsödya
10.	Karapanã	Moré-ká-põná	Mõxtẽá	Möxteá	Mõxteá
11.	Hanẽra	———	———	Hanẽrã	Hanẽrá
12.	Edúrya	———	Edúrya	Edúrya	Edúrya (Erúlya)
13.	Yebá-masã	———	———	Yepá-masã	Yebá-masã
14.	Tatú-tapuya	———	Pamõá-yê	Hamônya	Hamõá-masã
15.	Mikúra-tapuya	———	Oá-maikãna	Oá-senõá	Oá-sinoá
16.	Mirití-tapuya	Neenoá	Neenoá	Neenoá	Nẽroá
17.	Arapásu	Konéa	Kõnẽá	Koneá	Koneá
18.	Ide-masã	Aŏkairã	Aökõra	Uhãna	Uheãna (Wahãna)
19.	Guariba-tapuya	———	Ka-möá	Ömöá-masã	Ömöá-masã
20.	Taraíra-tapuya	———	?Orotsé	Roeá-masã	Roeá-masã
21.	Bá:re-masã	———	———	———	———

	in Suryãna	Karapanã	Hanera	Edúrya
22. Pusá-tapuya	——	?Ba-pí	Syãri-ryarã	Syãri-hosá
23. Káwa-yari	——	Kawárya	Káwadya-masã	Káwayari
24. Yurú-piğũna	——	Iröipya	Risé-ñirá-masã	Risé-ñirá-masã
25. Sarabatana-tapuya	——	Buxpú-matsã	Buhwá-masã	Buhú-masã
26. Tanibúka	——	Oanãra	Ohoã-yára	Mugã-yára
27. Garsa-tapuya	——	Waní-matsã	Uxpíra	Uxpíra
28. Akãgatára-tapuya	——	Mahã-poá-matsã	Mahã-hoá-kãna	Mahã-h[illegible]-hakãra
29. Tayasú	——	Yetsá-matsã	Yeseá-masã	Yesé-[illegible]
30. Yakamĩ (jacamim)	——	Tâ-töá-mahã	Tâ-tâ-masã	Tâ-tâ-masa
31. Arakú	——	Boté-ká-mahã	Boté-ká-masã	Bodéa-hwinã
32. Irawsú	——	——	——	——
33. Pikasú	——	——	——	——
34. Tapira	——	——	Wakö-masã	Wexkö-masã
35. Yawareté-tapuya (Yai-maxsá, gente onça)	——	——	Dyai-masã	Yai-masã
36. Pirá-yurú	——	——	Wai-risé-masã	?Ryá-tõná
37. Tokãdira	——	——	Hetári-sanã	Hetári-henã
38. Jí-tapuya	——	——	Komeá-masã	Komé-masã
39. Jiboya-tapuya	——	——	Vexsé-koteró-masã	Wexsé-koteró-masã
40. Utía-waíwa	——	——	Utyari	Yetoá-masã
41. Koró-Koró	——	Kotoá	Hotoá	Kóto-masã
42. Omáwa	——	——	——	Omá-masã
43. Meyú-tapuya	——	Nãoro	Nahũ-háyri-masã	Nahũ-heri
44. Wãtúya	——	——	——	——
45. Taryãna	Pávana	Páwa	Hawãra	Hawãna
46. Ipéka-tapuya	Dyá-kará-põná	Dyá-katá-põná	Dyá-katároa	Dyá-katara
47. Baniva	Bexkãna	Be'kãna	Bexkãna	Bexkãna
48. Makú	Poyá	Potsá	Hosá	Hosá

/gente onça, "jaguar people"/

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	in Yebá-masã	Tatú-tapuya	Ìde-másã	Tsena
1. Tukano	Daseá	Daheãna	Raseá	Daheá
2. Tuyuka	Doxkãna	Hókapana	Lokáxna	Dóxkavana
3. Pirã-tapuya	Wai-maxkãna	Wai-makãna	Wai-maxkãna	Wai-makãna
4. Wananą	Wiroa	Wiroa	———	Wioroa
5. Desana	Winá	Winã	Winã	Winã
6. Kubewana	Póde-masã	Kubẽwa	Kobewa	Ryá-mahã
7. Bará	Bará	Bará	Bará	Bará
8. Yuriti-tapuya	Waiana	Waiana	Wadyána	Waiana
9. Şuryana	Sũdyá	Hutyá	Sudyá	Hötyá
10. Karapanã	Mõxteá	Mõxteá	Mõxtẽá	Mõtõá
11. Hanẽra	Hawânya	Panerá	Hanẽrõa	Panẽnõa
12. Edúrya	———	Edúrya	Edúrya	Edúrya
13. Yebá-masã	Yebá-masã	Yebá-maxsã	Yebá-maxsã	Yebá-mahã
14. Tatú-tapuya	Hamónya	Paboá	Hamõá-sená	Pámõa
15. Mikúra-tapuya	Oá-masã	Oá	Oá-sẽná	Ooa
16. Miriti-tapuya	Neenoá	Neéroa	Neéroa	Neẽnoá
17. Arapásu	Koné	Koneã	Kõ'neá	Kõnéa
18. Íde-masã	Aõdina	Uhãna	Íde-masã	Wöhana
19. Guariba-tapuya	Emõá	Émõa	Emõá-masã	?Ükö
20. Taraira-tapuya	Roeá	———	Roeá	Loheá
21. Bá:re-masã	———	———	———	———

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	in Yebá-masã	Tatú-tapuya	Íde-masã	Tsene
22. Pusá-tapuya	———	———	———	?Bapí
23. Káwa-yari	———	———	Kawírya	Wáyakõrõ
24. Yurú-pĩgũna	———	———	———	———
25. Sarabatana-tapuya	———	Bahábugana	Buhwá-masã	Búpwa
26. Tanîbúka	———	———	Õhañara (noyõña)	———
27. Garsa-tapuya	———	———	Wánya-masã	Yé
28. Akãgatára-tapuya	———	———	Mahã-hoá-masã	———
29. Tayasú	———	Yeseá-masã	Yexseá-masã	———
30. Yakamí (jacamim)	———	Bodé-winã	Bóteku-masã	———
31. Arakú	———	Tą̊-tą̊-masã	Tą̊-tą̊-masã	———
32. Irawsú	———	———	Mímya-masã	———
33. Píkasú	———	———	———	———
34. Tapira	———	———	———	———
35. Yawareté-tapuya (Yaí-maxsá, gente onça)	Yaia-masã	———	Yaia-masã	———
36. Pirá-yurú	———	———	Wai-õxseró-masã	———
37. Tokãdira	———	———	Hetãra	———
38. Jí-tapuya	———	———	Komé-masã	———
39. Jiboya-tapuya	———	———	Wexsé-kodé-masã	———
40. Utía-waiwa	———	———	Útya-masã	———
41. Koró-Koró	———	———	Koxtoá-masã	———
42. Omáwa	———	———	Omá-masã	———
43. Meyú-tapuya	———	Nahũ-masã	Nahũ-masã	———
44. Wãtúya	———	———	———	———
45. Taryãna	Hawânya	Pávãna	Hawarã	Páwana
46. Ipéka-tapuya	Dyá-katânya	Dyá-kaxtá-põná	Ryáka-tarya	Ryá-potáka
47. Baniva	Bexkãna	?Bekãra	Bexkãra	Mĩpya
48. Makú	Hosá	Poháre	Hosá	Pohá

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		in Guariba-tapuya	Tarayra-tapuya	Bá: re-masã
1.	Tukano	Raseá	Laseá	Raseá
2.	Tuyuka	Rokãna	Kouhõdya	Okãna
3.	Pirá-tapuya	Wai-makãra	Wai-makãra	Wai-makãra
4.	Wanana	Oxko-tí-makãra	———	Ryarígana
5.	Desana	Winá	Winá	Winã
6.	Kubewana	Kobéwa	Kobêwa	Kubêwa
7.	Bará	Bará	Bará	Bará
8.	Yurití-tapuya	Wayéra	Wadyána	Wadžána (Watoyána)
9.	Suryana	Sudyá	Sudyá	Südyá
10.	Karapanã	Mõxtẽá	Mõxtẽá	Mõxtẽá
11.	Hanẽra	Hanèroá	Ahãrã	Hanẽna
12.	Edúrya	Edúrya	Édurya	Édurya
13.	Yebá-masã	Yebá-maxsã	Yebá-masã	Yebá-masã
14.	Tatú-tapuya	Hãmõá-séná	Hamoá-masã	Hámorya
15.	Mikúra-tapuya	Oá-séná	Oá-sẽná	Oá-saná
16.	Mirití-tapuya	Neẽrõá	Neẽnõá	Neẽroa
17.	Arapásu	Kõ'neá	Kõneá	Kõnea
18.	Íde-masã	Íde-masã	Íde-masã	Íde-masã
19.	Guariba-tapuya	Émõá-masã	Émoa-masã	Émõa-masã
20.	Taraíra-tapuya	Roeá	Roeá-masã	Roéa-masã
21.	Bá: re-masã	Bá: re-masã	———	Bá: re-masã

/133/	in Guariba-tapuya	Tarayra-tapuya	Bá:re-masã
22. Pusá-tapuya	———	Yorí-masã	Yaurí-masã
23. Káwa-yari	Kawírya	Kawírya	Kawírya
24. Yurú-piḁ̂ũna	———	———	———
25. Sarabatana-tapuya	———	Buhábugana	Buhábugana
26. Taníbúka	———	———	———
27. Garsa-tapuya	———	———	———
28. Akãgatára-tapuya	———	———	———
29. Tayasú	———	Yeseá-masã	Yeseá-masã
30. Yakamí (jacamim)	Tḁ̂-tḁ̂-masã	Tḁ̂-tḁ̂-masã	Tḁ̂-tḁ̂-masã
31. Arakú	———	Bodéha-masã	Bodé-winá
32. Irawsú	———	———	———
33. Pikasú	———	———	———
34. Tapira	———	———	———
35. Yawareté-tapuya (Yaí-maxsá, gente onça)	Yaia-masã	———	———
36. Pirá-yurú	———	———	———
37. Tokãdira	———	———	———
38. Jí-tapuya	———	———	———
39. Jiboya-tapuya	———	———	———
40. Utía-waíwa	———	———	———
41. Koró-Koró	———	———	———
42. Omáwa	Omá-masã	Omágwa-masã	Omagúa-masã
43. Meyú-tapuya	———	Nahũ-masã	Nahũ-masã
44. Wãtúya	———	———	———
45. Taryãna	Pawará	Hawãna	Awána
46. Ipéka-tapuya	Ryá-kataryá	Ryá-katá-masã	Ryá-katãrya
47. Baniva	Bexkãra	Bekãra	Bekãra
48. Makú	Hosá	Hosá	Hosá

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		in Taryâna	Ipéka-Tapuya	Makú
1.	Tukano	Yasemá	Yasemá	Tãokó-dé
2.	Tuyuka	Surú-pẽne	Surú-peene	Mãi-dé
3.	Pirá-tapuya	Kupé-mínanei	Kopé-minánei	Mohópĩ
4.	Wanana	Panúmape	Panõmápe	Deké-dyóhĩ
5.	Desana	Detsãna, Detsénei Noká	Desá	Miná-dé
6.	Kubewana	Páseni	Al-yúne	Deheádyore
7.	Bará	Wíni-mínanei	Síribi-minánei	Pâm-hopé
8.	Yuriti-tapuya	Oripityẽne	———	Hob-nokáre
9.	Suryana	Sirẽne-mínanei	Suryẽna	Tjuryáge
10.	Karapanã	Aini-woné	———	Kyíra
11.	Hanẽra	———	Parẽno	———
12.	Edúrya	———	———	———
13.	Yebá-masã	———	———	———
14.	Tatú-tapuya	Yö-mínanei	Yêê-énipe	Yẽu-tére
15.	Mikúra-tapuya	Ináli-mínanei	Inari-yênipe	Wahoím
16.	Miriti-tapuya	Apyá-mene	Apeá-mane	Nenõ-tére
17.	Arapásu	Kuhẽne-mínanei	Kuhé-dine	Hom-do
18.	Ide-masã (Makuna, Aönira)	———	———	———

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		in Taryãna	Ipêka-Tapuya	Makú
19.	Waríwa-tapuya (Emôá-masã, gente guariba)	———	———	———
20.	Taraíra-tapuya	———	———	———
21.	Bá:re-masã	———	Báre	———
22.	Pusá-tapuya	———	———	———
23.	Káwa-yari	———	———	———
24.	Yurú-pišũna	———	———	———
25.	Sarabatana-tapuya	———	———	———
26.	Tanibúka	———	———	———
27.	Wakará-tapuya (Yeheá-maxsã, gente garça)	———	———	———
28.	Akãgatára-tapuya	———	———	———
29.	Tayasú	———	———	———
30.	Yakamĩ (jacamim)	———	———	———
31.	Arakú	———	———	———
32.	Irawsú	———	———	———
33.	Pikasú	———	———	———
34.	Tapira	———	———	———
35.	Yawareté-tapuya (Yaí-maxsã, gente onça)	———	———	———
36.	Pirá-yurú	———	———	———
37.	Tokãdira	———	———	———
38.	Zí-tapuya	———	———	———
39.	Jiboya-tapuya	———	———	———
40.	Utía-waíwa	———	———	———
41.	Koró-Koró	———	———	———
42.	Omáwa	———	———	———
43.	Meyú-tapuya	———	———	———
44.	Wãtúya	———	———	———
45.	Taryãna	Talyáseri	Taryá	Kém-ri
46.	Ipéka-tapuya	Kumãda Yaperíkuli	Kumãdẽne	Dexpú-tére
47.	Baniva	Bayaná-semá	Bayaná-semá	Bexkáwa-dé
48.	Makú		Makú	Mohém-Ketẽ

/gente guariba, "howler-monkey people"; gente garça, "heron people"; gente onça, "jaguar people"; p. 136 is blank/

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12

Chapter V

Observations on the Psychology of the Indian (1)

1. This chapter on the native Psychology arose, like the rest of them, from personal observations in different places and in diverse circumstances, as well as from inquiries presented to the Salesian Missionaries and those of Montfort and to other civilized persons knowledgeable about these tribes. A chapter about the psychological features more characteristic of the Uaupesina tribes had already been elaborated in the first outline of this work, organized in 1948. The opportunity for subsequent travels and for a more prolonged stay on the Uaupés suggested, as was natural, corrections, retouches, and additions to the work. It is in the present chapter, however, that the retouches and the corrections were more frequent, and perhaps where the difference between the original resumé and the present redaction of these studies will be more marked. The more prolonged and constant contact with the native obliged us to modify our opinion at one point or another. To some who might know the tribes that we study here only through information or through a quick visit, the traits that we outline here will perhaps seem dark. We are convinced, however, that not only are they quite objective, but those who have the opportunity to verify our observations in loco will grant that we are right. We can affirm that, before being put on these pages, our observations were read to persons who are very discerning and who lived intimately with these natives for decades, and all these persons assured us that our observations were accurate and corresponded to what they saw in the Indians of the different tribes of this region.

/137 cont./

000 If every human soul is invisible, that of the Indian constitutes a mystery. Those who have lived with them for decades and thought they knew the individuals in depth have surprises that are not infrequent.

To be human as he is, the native naturally presents good and bad qualities, like any other human being, some of them taking a color or relief that the environment of deprivation and isolation facilitates and that for this reason stand out more to the eyes of the civilized man who visits them. We shall point out in the following some quite general ones, which for this reason seem to characterize the native mentality and education, admitting that there could be some very rare exception.

1) Intellectual and physical slowness.

153 On the one hand, the material life to which they are forced and, on the other, the almost asphyxiating subjection to the tribal laws, which do not allow /138/ discussion, do not leave any room for speculation or, let us say, for the exercise of the [872] theoretical intelligence. This is proved by their difficulty in learning a religious truth and that of the school child in solving the simplest arithmetic problem. For the totality of the school children, the five or six years of studies in the boarding-school regime are not enough for them to be able to learn the four [481] operations. The Indian, just as he is slow in movement physically (2), is also slow in giving us the most obvious response. Slow in understanding an order we give him, he encounters difficulty in following our reasoning when we talk with him. Ordinarily

2. Perhaps, studied under the bio-physiological aspect, this slowness could be partially corrected by an adequate dietary regimen. They are certainly receiving some correction, more psychological in nature, during the years that they spend in the Mission, especially the students in the boarding schools.

/*138 cont.*/

153 it is necessary to repeat the teachings many times. Perhaps it is for this reason that there are so many repetitions in the conversations among themselves.

How much patience and time one needs to obtain from the native a vocabulary as simple as it can be, for example, half a dozen of words corresponding to the parts of the body (head, hand, arm, leg, foot), or the names that they give the various tribes. And this even when we make use of a language that they know (for instance, Portuguese, Nheengatú, or Tukano). The difficulty grows excessive when one wants the term corresponding to some object that we do not have at the time, or [124] when the idea is more abstract. By way of example and confirmation, if we ask him the words of his language that correspond to *cadaver*, *large* (space), *long* (time), *ultimate* (in an enumeration) (3).

3. By way of confirmation, two episodes are sufficient. We already had the names of the subdivisions of the Taryana tribe, obtained directly by us on a previous excursion and by Pe. Antônio Giacone. Wishing verification, we met in conference six individuals from this tribe, five of whom understood Portuguese sufficiently, and the oldest one, a little less. Two hours were necessary in order to obtain the names of the 15 subdivisions that appear in this work (IV, 2, y /see IV, 2, z, pp. 171 ff./) and the [192] locality where they live. On another occasion we wanted to ascertain the exact pronunciation of *nẽ'kĩ-yuse* (cf. below VII, 4, f (2)), the little branch, broken and "blown," that is left on the road as a malefice for someone. We asked in a circle of six or eight young men who spoke Portuguese. They rapidly exchanged ideas among themselves in

/138 cont./

153 /footnote 3 cont./ the Tukano language; first one would talk, then another, then two or more simultaneously, and afterwards all remained silent. We would first press this one, then that one, who seemed to understand our wishes. Only after we had opened the typed originals of the present work and the most unrestrained of them had read the excerpt that I was referring to did he add: "that is the way it is." In order to solve this simple question, 40 minutes went by!

12 *[192] [196] Properly speaking there is no term in the Tukano idiom equivalent to the word /139/ *ultimate*; they would say, more concretely: *the one of the end*, *the one of the extremity* (yaxpa-ti-kĩgõ masc., yaxpa-ti-kĩgō, fem., yaxpa-ti-kĩra, pl., yaxpa-ti-kĩse, neuter).

For this reason one must not be content, insofar as possible, to obtain the translation of a word from only one individual or on only one occasion. Many times the word is heard pronounced differently. Is it a matter of faulty pronunciation by the individual? By which one of them? By all? Or is the divergence due to regional pronunciations? And then which of them will be the best? Or, finally, is it a matter of terms corresponding to a similar Portuguese word? Which of them would be the best? Would they be perfect synonyms? We point out these difficulties in order for one to understand the efforts of anyone who decides to study directly with the Indian the language of the latter. It is ten times more difficult than to study a foreign idiom with the help of teachers, grammars, and vocabularies.

[193] The Indian is a man of reality, hence his difficulty with generalizations and abstractions. Instead of saying simply and abstractly *head*, he will prefer to say "*my head*, *your head*," etc. He does not say: *to work*, *to eat* (the Tukano language does not even have the infinitive form). He will say: "*I work*, *you eat*," etc.

/139 cont./

153 As for the memory, he has one a little more awake for the subjects that interest him. Thus he has less difficulty in learning some words or sentences of the Portuguese language, or in reading (4)

[125]

> 4. In 1948 I took to the Museu Salesiano do Índio de S. Paulo /Salesian Museum of the Indian in São Paulo/ the written tests of the children of Pari-cachoeira, after only eight months of school, consisting of a short dictation executed with good penmanship and few mistakes.

and in retaining the names of places, of persons, or in recalling the events. With more difficulty he will learn by heart the arithmetic tables or the prayers. And he also feels happy when the civilized man reminds him of some episode in which the [829] [872] Indian took part. Later, the desire to become "white," that is, to become civilized, moves him. For this reason he adjusts to the great sacrifice of entering a boarding school and attending classes, as well as of subjecting himself to the school discipline.

2) Practical intelligence.

As for the practical intelligence, it is more highly developed. This is proved by the practical solution of the problems that life presents to him, and with the resources that nature makes available to him. The civilized in those regions, when they do not have other resources available, end up, in certain things, imitating the Indian, or entrusting him with the execution of what is needed. It is enough to point out, for example, the solid and large house /140/ or maloca that he builds, the stable and rapid canoe that he makes, and the numerous objects that he manufactures (vessels, grater, baskets).

/140 cont./

868 The skill and perfection with which he opens out the palms
for the covering of the maloca, with the help of the oar, or how
he makes his plaitings, the way of tying and transporting a
bundle of palms, merit admiration. His ability with regard to
these practical necessities of life is very remarkable. And it
becomes more admirable if we consider that the training is very
quick, without true schools, and he soon finds himself skilled,
for example, in the varied and beautiful work of nets and baskets.
777 They also learn with relative speed the trades of the civilized,
868 such as mason, blacksmith, carpenter, tailor, in the Salesian
177 Schools, although, perhaps due to the force of the environment,
circumstances, and their inconstancy, they do not often reach
perfection in their trade. Some continue as artisans of these
trades in the missionary establishments. Others, returning from
the schools to their homes, have an opportunity to use what they
learned, handling, for instance, the saw, the hammer, and even
the chisel. They are also the machinists of the launches that
go up their immense rivers; just as they are capable of executing
more delicate work, such as the observations and handling
of meteorological instruments (5).

5. Wallace already observed a century ago (perhaps with some exaggeration to emphasize the idea) that, while a European countryman would take six months to learn how to handle a sextant, one of our Indians learns it in minutes. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre) also made a similar observation.

152
502 They are the irreplaceable "practitioners" of the navigation of those dangerous rivers, because they have an amazing topographic memory of the hidden rocks and sandbanks, bound up with an impressive calm during the dangers presented by the storms and the cachoeiras.

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502
Perhaps, at first glance, the small range of the Indian's intelligence would impress us, even in the practical field and in the most obvious and simple things. We will verify, for instance, the mistakes they make in navigation, the fact of not knowing how to foresee and, later, how to avoid or to remedy an accident. Perhaps, to present concrete cases, in order to get the water out of a boat, they will not remove a plank that makes the operation difficult; if a riverside tree impedes navigation, they cut it so badly that the passage remains even more difficult, etc. This impression of intellectual obtuseness, nevertheless, will be lessened if we realize that he performs the work with disprejudice and disinterest.

/141/ 3) Fantasy or imagination.

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A faculty highly developed in the native is the imagination. One easily understands why he is like that, since he lacks the control of a more highly developed and educated intelligence, having, on the contrary, a spirit animated by incoherent and even absurd childish legends and beliefs, and living in an environment of majestic and almost crushing solitude. 154 521 Many of their conversations in the long hours, idle during the day and dull at night, deal with legends, apparitions, and spells. For this reason they always have their imaginations stimulated. Only in this way is it to be explained how they can see in some strange rocks similarities with plants, tools, etc., similarities that, even when warned, we could not perceive. It is enough to mention a rock of the cachoeira de Uaracapá, almost at the mouth of the river Papurí, presented as "a banana tree" and in which we only see one of those common rocks that rise out of the water.

Their incoherent conversations, their incomplete narrations, denounce someone who supplies his own fantasy and leaves room for the fantasy of the listeners. Sometimes when we want fast and practical information (for example, about a road, a cachoeira, a distance), we ask a native interpreter to ask another. They will talk 10 or 15 minutes between themselves, and at the end of that time our interpreter will say that

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154 521 he does not know, that he does not understand his tribal brother. We understand, then, that from imperfect narrations, in which emphatic gestures and noises from the mouth supply words and ideas, will appear misunderstandings, alteration of the narrator's thought, variation in the reports and in the tales.

154 825 When we manage to get some native to talk to us spontaneously, with intimacy, we verify that this man who seems to us well-balanced, of little impressionability, that alumnus or alumna of the missionary schools, with an appearance of one almost civilized, not only has a head burdened with so many exotic legends and strange beliefs, but he even hears and sees with impressive frequency apparitions, voices, words, mysterious sayings. It surprises us at times to hear from the lips of young men and women, with many years of contact with civilization, perhaps even of life in cities such as Manaus, the strangest tales of visions that they had, in full daylight, in their hut or in the clearing, on the road, on a trip; voices, sayings that they heard, unbelievable events, fabulous or legendary, that they are sure of having witnessed, giving us place, time, names of persons (for example, that they saw Wĩx'ti, Boraró, etc.; persons who have changed, or who periodically change, into /142/ animal, anta, piraboto /dolphin/, who spend days, weeks, and even months in the depths of the water, etc.) (6).

6. We have been consulted by young men and women who have been through the Mission schools and who asked us with all conviction: -- "How is it possible for people to turn into a dolphin?" "to turn into an anta?" Patrícia Vasconcelos, for example, in October of 1955 told us the following as a fact about which she has absolute certainty. So-and-So of the Taryana tribe, from the povoado of Ararípirá (Uaupés) and former student of the Mission of Iauareté, married a Tukano youth who has already worked several times in Taracuá and

825 /142 cont./

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*[192]

/footnote 6 cont./ other Missionary centers. Another young man wanted to have her as his wife and, in revenge, one time while walking through the forest with her husband (this around 1952), gave him a leaf of pirá-yawára-pũrĩ (plant of the dolphin, Patricia explained to us) to touch. One day "the husband became different," "he became like a dolphin" (that is, breathing like the dolphin does on top of the water), and he finally dove into the Rio Negro there in Tapurucuara (formerly S. Isabel). He stayed in the water a whole day. The dolphins pushed him toward the land, and he "became a person" again. Several times "he has turned into a dolphin." The wife of the unhappy young man herself is the one who told her these episodes, and she cries a great deal because of this misfortune.

829 On one side, the reserve of the native before the civilized, because he knows that the latter does not understand him or believe in such tales, and perhaps will even scold or ridicule him, and, on the other side, the desire to seem civilized will make him remain silent about all this to the "white" who travels among them, in order that he will not notice this trait of the psychology of the Indian.

154 Perhaps it will not be an exaggeration to present as a general trait of the native psychology this superexcitability of the fantasy. Maybe one should even qualify it as confused and establish it as a deviation from normality, if we make a comparison with that of the civilized.

/142 cont./

154 We tend to believe that the imagination of the man from these forests, listening to the narration of some of his legends, starts reconstructing and reliving it, enriching it with scenes and details, in proportion to the incoherence and the omissions of the narrator. Even more, we have the conviction that in some cases an image or scene (desired or hated) that passed through the imagination of the Indian ends up by being transformed into a reality for him: the imagined is converted by him into the real, into the true. Thus we have explained, for example, how reports and information without any foundation arise (with such frequency that one does not even take them into account), and which the events themselves come to belie (7).

7. Here are some examples of this exaggerated impressionability or excitability of the Indian, and of how they manage to convince themselves of the reality of a mere fancy. Nor does this cause surprise among students of psychology and parapsychical phenomena.

The Mission launches that bring supplies to the several centers travel periodically. It is certain that their noise can be perceived at a great distance, thanks to the silence of the solitude and the direction /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original text/ of the wind. They not only hear the noise when there is no launch on the way, but they assert that indeed it is in a specific locality, or even that it was left there overnight by some native who was navigating during the night. We verified one of these cases in June of 1956. Coming from Iauaretê, as we were arriving in Urubucuara the Indians of the locality informed us that the launch had already arrived two days ago in Taracuá, where an Indian (from the povoado Cigarro), who

/142 cont./

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/footnote 7 cont./ had come from Taracuá the night before, had seen it. In reality there was no launch at all in Taracuá; the first one, coming from S. Gabriel, appeared three days after our arrival in Taracuá.

Cf. also Koch Grünberg's information about the noise of the Jurupari in Ipanoré (VII, 4, e (2 a) /see p. 508/).

We found ourselves in Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) in August of 1956. The local sanitary conditions were good, but the sailors from the launch alarmed the population with news of cases of whooping cough and measles in Taracuá (about 300 kilometers away). Then there appeared the news, without any foundation, that the Director of a third missionary center, Iauareté, had written to the one at Parí for him to send the boarding-school children back to their homes. Now that missionary to whom the receipt and the reading of the imaginary letter (in the absence of the Director at Parí) were attributed knew nothing about it. In turn, the boarding-school girls of the Mission (a little over one hundred), talking to one of the Irmãs Professôras /Teacher Sisters/, informed her: "As soon as the Director of the Mission arrives from his trip, the students, boys and girls, will be sent to their povoados." -- "How did you find this out?" asks the Irmã. -- The girls answer her immediately: -- "It was the Irmã Diretora /Sister Director/ who gave the information." Now the Irmã Diretora of the Colégio Feminino /Girls School/ not only had not spoken to anyone about this subject, but she had not even thought about it.

and nevertheless they are believed every time they appear.

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153 4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of
the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not
invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just
as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help
[438] of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present
to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We
[291] summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc
[285] presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of
these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we
do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make
your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they de-
177 nominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might
829 be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything.
[342] And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the
construction of the house with window and portico, and even
[291] in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontane-
ously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects
(hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization,
although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

153 /144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit.
He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has
seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers.
The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being
observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does
not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are
humorous and even sarcastic.

551 They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this
a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only
to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's
age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

/144 cont./

551 *[192] the civilized, who, they can be sure, already at the first presentation, receive a nickname, which will be propagated with incredible speed (8).

8. They told us of some of these nicknames: one they called sõãgõ, *vermilion*, because of his color; another, subí, *curled*, because he had curly hair; a third one, uxpíka-ro, *crooked teeth*; a fourth one, *o'mẽpero-ro*, big ears; a fifth one, waú, the *uáia-piçá monkey*; a sixth one, õxsó-boekhõ, *arrow of alligator* (because of being tall and thin), etc. Koch Grünberg (*Zwei Iahre*, p. 206) tells that they nicknamed him *Wãx'tĩ* (see VII-4, d (5)), because of the beard (?), and his companion Schmidt, nõ'myó-axké, *monkey-woman*.

6) *Curiosity*.

153 203 Endowed with great curiosity, he wants to learn from any civilized person to whom he is introduced who he is, what his name is, where he comes from, where he is headed, what he came to do, what his nationality is; and they ask their tribal brothers who are accompanying the unknown visitor a thousand [797] other questions. An Indian is apt to make a long and uncomfortable journey in order to tell those of another povoado an episode that happened, the visit of a new missionary, etc. (9).

9. In July of 1956 His Excellency the Coadjutor Bishop of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, Dom José Domitrovitsch, decided to surprise the missionaries of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), and he was covering the 300 kilometers that separate Parí from Taracuá with a small motorboat. He stayed overnight in the povoado of S. João, about 30 kilometers from the Mission. An Indian, in the middle of the night, set out

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/footnote 9 cont./ traveling in his canoe and at six o'clock in the morning informed the Missionaries of the visit of the Bishop, who is festively received at the Mission two hours later. Humorously one says that in these latitudes there is not yet wireless telegraph, but the communication system of radio-cipó is well developed.

153 If one opens a suitcase, a book, a notebook, the Indian's eye does not leave these objects. And many times he wants to have a more practical and complete knowledge, approaching them, touching them, and /145/ observing them in all their aspects. And not rarely subjecting them to observation by all the senses: he touches, smells, bites. The civilized man realizes that he is being furtively touched on his clothes, or even on the hand, by the children and even by the women. We were not able to verify whether in this gesture some magic concept might also enter.

When he hears Portuguese being spoken, if he does not understand it, he likes to repeat the sounds that he heard, pronouncing them several times, as if to engrave them in his memory.

7) Distrust.

829 Conversely, he does not like to be observed. If he perceives that he is, he withdraws. He answers the civilized laconically, going away as soon as possible, in order to avoid a new question; or he will leave without answering. He spends entire hours of travel in silence in a canoe when he travels alone with some civilized man, or even when he travels with others from the tribe, but in the presence of a "white." It is the mistrust (10) [123]

10. We were lucky in getting Indians of both sexes, from diverse tribes and in different localities, to unbosom themselves confidentially

/145 cont./

829 123 /footnote 10 cont./ and reveal to us many more intimate and secret things. Besides the frequent presents, although small (many times only some candies and cigarettes, things greatly appreciated by all), and the patience and kindness of the treatment, it helped us to show that we already knew some of the more secret things, especially pertaining to the subject of our questions. Perhaps the vanity in showing that he knew more and better than the previous informers would open the Indian's mouth. One must insist many, many times that they speak frankly, without embarrassment, that not only would they not lose our esteem, but the civilized person likes frank people better. They could talk because we would not reveal their name to anyone.

Among the confidences that we obtained in this way (and in our notes we have recorded the person, place, and date), confirming their preconceived opinion against all the civilized, even though one may be the most abnegative Missionary, we remember here the following four: 1st. -- they do not like the civilized; 2nd. -- they believe themselves more ingenious than the civilized; they consider them just silly; 3rd. -- they like to see the civilized irritated, even pretending not to understand what he wants; 4th. -- it is a good thing to hurt the civilized.

829 It would be easy to compile several episodes
that confirm these statements. But these confidences,
collected from the very lips of the natives, dispense
with any more words and are more valuable than any
[797] episode. The idea of adding this Note to the chapter
on the Psychology of the Indian came to us on August
27, 1957, in Carará-poco on the lower Içana, upon
hearing that, for the second time, a young Siusí-
tapuya woman (with three children, already

/145 cont./

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/footnote 10 cont./ abandoned by two men with whom she had lived, having been charitably sheltered and benefited in so many ways by the Salesian Mission) said to the other women: "the Missionaries are thieves like all the whites."

829 always observed and /146/ revealed by anyone who dealt with the Indians, perhaps in part because they have heard talk of the tricks engendered by the civilized (11).

11. Many travelers attest that, at the approach of the whites, the Indians used to send their daughters and wives to the forest. Alexandre R. Ferreira, in his "Diário da Viagem philosophica /Diary of the Philosophical Voyage/," p. 98, states: "On the other hand, the first ones who went down did not take much care to be amiable in the eyes of the Indians; I think that the memory of the treatment has lasted and will last among the people. Actually, they used to give their word, partake of the hospitality, then make the Indians drunk in order to take them captive." "In such a way the aversion and horror toward the whites took root in all, so that, at merely the memory, they hide in the forest. When they come down, it is because, in their dilemma: either they die in the hands of the Indians who are their enemies, or they come down to serve the whites." The well-deserving Salesian Missionary, [797] Pe. João Marchesi, confirms this, recalling that about 20 years ago, during the balata season, as soon as they saw some boat of the whites, all fled. The Missionary then had to stand in the bow in order to be seen from far away by the natives and thus to find them in the maloca.

/146 cont./

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/Footnote 11 cont./ Koch Grünberg tells (Zwei Iahre, 209) that, upon his arrival in the maloca of the Bará, on the Macucú-igarapé, three young women were put in a safe place in a second maloca. We have verified similar events in various circumstances, especially among the Karapanã of the headwaters of the river Áua.

In part also because he feels inferior to the white. A more accurate analysis reveals in him an inferiority complex before the civilized. Only after a long period of living together, especially when one speaks his language, does he sometimes become more open. It is a sign of some trust and friendliness then when he approaches the white and talks to him, resting his hand on one's shoulder. The woman, like the man, comes to wait on the visitor, offering him her hand, according to the present practice; but she soon withdraws. As signs of happiness because of the desired visit by a civilized person, the women -- accompanied by a longer and higher intonation of some syllables of the words of greeting, rub both hands from the shoulder to below the chest of the visitors while they are talking to them.

Due to a mixture of mistrust and shyness, they talk among themselves in a low voice in front of the white, in order that the latter not hear the conversation, if, by chance, he knows the native language. Perhaps for this same reason it is difficult for them to teach their own language (12). 123

12. "How is such-and-such a word pronounced?" we would ask the Indian. He, however, does not answer. -- "Is it this way?" we venture. -- "Yes, it is like that," he will say immediately. -- "Or is it this other way?" -- "Yes, it is like that," he will repeat again. In other cases he answers -- "I don't know, I am Taryana, ask the

/146 cont./

123 /footnote 12 cont./ Tukano." The Tukano will also excuse himself: "I don't know." "But you are Tukano." -- "But those from such-and-such a place pronounce it better than I do."

/147/ He is, as a rule, reserved; he does not like to divulge his illnesses, nor his legends and customs. On this point the men are even more reserved than the women, from whom one can obtain information with less difficulty, with the promise of presents.

8) Volubility and inconstancy.

157 If we except the prescriptions of the tribal laws, to which, it seems, he finds himself perfectly and passively adapted, as for the rest the Indian enjoys great autonomy. From childhood, especially for those of the male sex, he can follow his fancy. Great tenacity of will then is not to be expected in the native. One can not count on him for a job always the same, for example, to make daily meteorological observations or the connection of an electrical generator. They are very voluble, both the men and the women. They do not adapt to doing the same job indefinitely, although what they themselves choose is more acceptable to them. One can not, then, strictly speak of a profession of carpenter, tailor, sawyer, etc. in referring to some Indian. He might have some knowledge or practice concerning such a trade. But, when under the stimulus of an interest in acquiring some object he is disposed to work, not only is it a matter of indifference to him if he sits down at a sewing machine, serves as a sailor or oarsman, or does any other service, but he himself will ask to leave a job and go to another, quite different one.

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9) Indolence.

461 To visitors used to the intense and constant rhythm of activity and work in our great cities, it will seem strange to encounter the natives, during the day, in bed in their hammocks, asleep or entertained for hours on end in pleasant conversation. The repetition of these encounters will plant in their minds the traditional conviction about the indolence of the Indians. Perhaps it would be more exact to state that the Indian is neither the hero of hardship nor the prototype of indolence, although by temperament he is slow in his movements, as he is of spirit.

The nature that surrounds him and his way of life establishes for him a rhythm of work. He performs all those jobs that the customs impose on him: he builds his house, cuts down the forest for a clearing, prepares his fishing nets, hollows out his canoe, occupies himself with fishing and hunting, manufactures his utensils. If we do not find him busy from morning to night every day, like the civilized, it is because he does not /148/ feel the necessity of it. He does not have ambitions; he is contented with little, and he works as much as necessary in order to live. It is also certain that the depth of preconceived opinion that he feels against the civilized is not stimulus for the Indian to make an effort when he works for the "white." He will show even less desire than in his own work. He will nevertheless do a reasonable job under two conditions: a timorous respect for the white and constant supervision.

571 Comparing the Indians among themselves, one cannot blame anyone as stingy. It is the most harmonious economic equilibrium that one can imagine, although it is at a very low level.
*[192] Very rare are the cases, that are known, of singularly indolent types, tesé-bũhũgõ, and parasites, whom their fellow tribesmen themselves find fault with.

462 The woman, yes, finds herself busier, more absorbed as it were, in the housework (as will be seen later, VIII -- 1, a (9)), busying herself with the younger children, cultivating her clearing, and preparing the food or making some artifacts.

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The school children show some inclination and skill for the manual arts: the girl prefers the work in the field and also appreciates embroidery and sewing.

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He is also endowed with his talents as a worker. The skill, which we have already pointed out and will point out (see ch. V /see Ch. VI/), the perfection, and the relative speed in the kind of jobs that he traditionally performs are the best proofs.

The necessity to live forces him, for his part, also to face great difficulties in order to conquer nature. It is enough to imagine the sacrifices imposed by the cutting for a clearing, with the means formerly at his disposal. His endurance, for example, for rowing, is worthy of consideration. For other jobs, such as agriculture or digging the ground, he is weak. Although the work rhythm is not intense, but rather is always with the calm that is characteristic of him, and he has better nourishment than in his home, after two weeks the Indian begins to weaken and not infrequently to lose weight; and after two or three months he must be excused for holidays and rest (13).

13. Besides the danger of malaria in the lower Rio Negro, this weakening of the Indian, especially when he lacks his customary foods, condemn the process (that some are already exploring and others, ignoring the circumstances, recommend) of making use of the native hand in the extraction of the piassava, the Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," the name of several trees (and their fruit), including the Brazil nut/, or borracha. We think that such jobs can be, or rather must be, performed only by the caboclos, who already have physical endurance and a psychic disposition different from that of the natives.

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10) Patience.

He is a man of extreme patience. How useful it would be if this quality of his could be channeled into so many sectors of our civilization! It is documented by those jobs which require not only hours, but sometimes days, months, or years of work and attention, such as the preparation of the tucum and of a net, the making of a canoe with the stone ax and fire, or to pierce regularly a sarabatana /blowgun/ or a stone of amorphous quartz (see VII -- 3, d (2)) with the help of a stick and very fine sand. In a canoe he endures a rain for hours on end, or a scorching sun the whole day, without a word of complaint.

We never saw him fight (except when already drunk) or show impatience and protest against another Indian, although the occasions for it were superabundant. For example, to complain about a companion, because his indolence forces him to work harder. If he walks bent under a heavy load, and another Indian is blocking his way, he does not yell for him to move, but will patiently go around, taking a longer route.

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11) Shyness.

Before the civilized, whose superiority he recognizes and feels, he always shows docility. Never an open revolt; although he not infrequently fails to do what he told him to do. Rare are the episodes of joining together for a reprisal (14).

> 14. Some few episodes are recalled, but all of them were when the civilized violated some tribal custom or practiced true injustices or cruelty...

It is to be noted that, if the civilized asks him for a favor, he will perhaps answer with "I do not want to." If he is ordered in a categorical way, however, the Indian obeys and even cheerfully. Positive orders are more in accord with his spirit.

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152 The Indian is always shy before the civilized, especially if the latter raises his voice. Faced with dangerous jobs, such as cutting timber in the forest, crossing cachoeiras, he shows himself daringly brave. He remains undaunted during storms. His coolness in the face of certain dangers, for instance, that of a shipwreck, will cause envy in any Englishman. In other jobs, on the contrary, he appears extremely afraid. He is afraid not only of the onças /jaguars/, which have already taken many victims among them, but even of being hurt when he must /150/ deal with oxen or pigs. The burst of a bomb or a shot terrifies him. At the news of the approach of fierce Indians, he runs away immediately (15).

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15. The Indians of the Caburi region, to whom are attributed episodes of murder, never assault the seringueiros /rubber workers/ when there is a large clearing around the latters' hut or when they realize that there are many men inside. Among the Pirá-tapuia of Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí) there has been preserved a tradition about some Béxkhana (Baniva) Indians from Venezuela, who invaded as far as the Papurí and in the middle of the night killed many in the malocas. Sometimes alarming reports of new invasions comes through, and the Pirá-tapúia flee from their villages. About 12 or 15 years ago, in the povoado of Olinda (Colombian bank of the river Papurí), similar reports (which are called marandúa in the lingua geral; cf. Stradelli-Dictionary, note on "induiaméne") arose, and the Indians abandoned their houses for three months and devoted themselves to preparing trenches and traps. In order to stop these marandúas the Missionary Pe. Afonso Kuipers came to promise gifts for anyone who brought

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> /footnote 15 cont./ him one of these Bexkana /*sic*/ dead or alive. Some came to affirm that they had indeed seen them, one would go so far as to say that he had killed several of them, but he could not have any corpse, because their companions took their dead...

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His fear of poisonings or spells (*dohasé*) and of the spirits (*wãx'tỹá*) is especially great. Out of fear of these, for any reason, he will go at night into the forest.

12) Carelessness.

157 Perhaps the relative ease with which they get or manufacture whatever they need makes them careless of things and tools, especially those of the civilized, letting them become damaged or lost, without paying any attention to their value or necessity. Many times the traveler must draw the attention of the Indian in order for him not to lose, break, or render useless an implement. There is, however, one thing which they are tenderly zealous about: the ornaments for the dances, kept in a case *ad hoc*, in a safe place. Since they consider clothing and other attire an ornament, they ordinarily take good care of them. And one notices some carelessness only in those who can easily get other clothes from the civilized.

13) Profit and gain.

Some of his faults attract the attention of the civilized. He is extraordinarily selfish (16).

> 16. Even in the service of God they want to know whether he will give them gifts, if he will give feasts, ribbons, and garments. A little girl once asked the Directress if there are fish in heaven. Taken by surprise, the Directress said no. The child added at once: "Then I don't want to go there."

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He does nothing for the white without /151/ pay, and ordinarily he wants it in advance. The truth is that, as a rule, he does not deny his debts to the civilized; many times, however, he maintains that he has done more work and reduces his debts, in spite of the fact that the contrary appears in the entries made with precision and conscientiousness. He frequently lets the time go by, and sometimes he moves away or dies; and that is the end of that. 428 The parents, brothers, children, or other relatives of someone who passed away, let us say in the mission hospital will present themselves at once as legitimate heirs to the shotgun, hammock, suitcase, or other objects belonging to the dead person. No one, however, becomes responsible for the debts of the deceased.

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In order to have them at his service, at the time of the seringa or the Brazil nut, the civilized must pay them in advance. It not infrequently happens that at the time of the work (fâbrico, as is said in Amazonas) the Indian hides; or runs away after working for a time.

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He does not give gifts to the civilized, even though he has received many from him. He sells to him (17).

17. Episodes going so far as to be comic are told. A father, with the family, came to visit his son, who was a student at the Mission in Taracuá, and brought with him dried fish and beijú /manioc bread/. And, squatting in a corner, they ate, as on a family picnic. Before leaving, however, he came to charge the Missionary the price of the fish and the beijú.

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At the time of our first excursion to the Içana, in 1953, accompanied by Pe. José Schneider, the latter took with him, among his helpers, a tuxaua of the Mapatse-dákenei (Yuruparí-tapúia) tribe. Like the others, he

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/footnote 17 cont./ received, besides food and donations, daily service pay. When we arrived in Tunuí, he showed a small basket and beijú, saying that it was a gift that the Baniva from there had given him, but he asked the Pe. for salt, tobacco, and kerosene, "in order to give as thanks."

437 If he notices in the latter an interest in some native object, he demands a large payment (18).

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18. For example, the Kubewana came to ask us for a shotgun for a sarabatana /blowgun/ or a simple acangatara /feather head-ornament/.

When he offers something (beijú, fruits, dried fish), he immediately asks for an object of greater value.

5 They appear greedy in dealing with other Indians, and even with those of their own tribe. It is not rare that an individual, with his work or products, will acquire salt or tobacco in abundance in the Missionary center and later go to sell it to his fellow tribesmen with great usury. We have seen him acquire pots, mirrors, etc. in the Mission and with these small objects go to trade with those of the more distant malocas, receiving in exchange graters and canoes (19).

19. /This footnote is on p. 152 in the original source./ On our excursion to the Aiarí in May of 1957, one of our oarsmen, from the Siusi tribe, Ernesto by name, from the povoado of S. Ana (lower Içana), had acquired at the Mission in Assunção a shotgun valued at 1,200 cruzeiros. He took it with him, in order to exchange it for a sewing machine,

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437 /footnote 19 cont./ perfectly new, from a Hohodene of the stream Waraná (tributary of the Aiarí): and in fact he made the deal, in spite of the fact that the machine was worth about 4,000 cruzeiros.

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797 The very relations between parents and children are contaminated or are regulated by gain. The parents come periodically to visit the boarding-school children in the Mission schools and many times bring them beijú, dried fish, and fruit. The student sees them from far away and immediately sets out to join them and spends some time with them, but always in a cold way, without looking at them, perhaps scratching the ground with a toe of his foot. Another time the parents come without bringing anything. The missionary lets the boy know: -- "Go see, your father is there." "I already know," he answers indifferently. -- "Then go to talk with him." -- "He is not giving anything," he answers, and he does not stir to see his own father, although it has been months that he has not seen him.

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*[192] Periodically a /152/ small boat from the Mission in Iauareté in 1953 went up as far as S. Miguel and Melo Franco (river Papurí), buying flour for the schools. The Tukano from this last locality offered to keep for a few days the hampers of flour for their "irmãos" /brothers/ who lived a few hours away on the river Auá, until the Mission boat came to collect them. For this small favor, however, they demanded from their Tukano "irmãos" of the Auá 50 per cent of the flour, to wit: of four hampers kept, two were handed over to the Mission and the other two stayed as payment to the "warehouse."

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574 *[192] He is, however, hospitable. When some tribal irmão /brother/, or even an Indian from another tribe, arrives at the maloca, he at once presents to him beijú and quinhapira /a fish dish/, and, if there is any, also manicuera, bacaba, or some other drink. The "white" can likewise help himself liberally to everything.

156 14) Envy.

Envy is one of the vices that mar their character; they do not even take care to disguise it. Anyone who begins to distinguish himself because of his talents, becomes an object of the envy of the others, and he soon is afflicted by fear of some malefice from the others. A Tukano man, having acquired some planks with his work in the Mission of Pari-Cachoeira, started to make a hut with more luxury and comfort. The others at once threatened to poison him, and he found himself forced to abandon everything and run away. The same worm of envy is already great in the children. The ones who learn Portuguese more easily, win good marks, and are praised inexplicably become slack and decline. It was out of fear of the envy of the others. At the time of the /153/ school awards, it can not be specified that this is the first prize and is for So-and-So; or to reward only a few. It is imperative to give awards to all, being satisfied with calling first those with greater merit and letting them choose. The Directress gave a pair of shoes to one of the young women who worked in the Mission. She hardly used them once. "Why don't you wear the shoes any more?" -- "The others insult me" was the answer.

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577 15) Theft.

Suffering so strongly the sting of envy, it is not surprising that he presents another weak point: the tendency to steal. Resistance perhaps against the "white," whom he always considers superior and rich, he readily seizes (even outside of the

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pathological cases of kleptomania) (20)

> 20. In some cases, because of the precociousness of the thief, the frequency and the circumstances of the theft, it is legitimate to think that it is a matter of kleptomania.

something of his, especially what might be useful to him in life, or, if he cannot do that, he damages something in order to cause him injury.

And perhaps there is yet another stimulus for the theft: the fact that he considers himself more ingenious and cunning than the white, the latter, in order to avoid friction with the Indians, having to close one eye, as though he had not preceived the cunning of the Indian. It is a vicious circle, inevitable in those places and circumstances. The traveler pretends he does not see, and this attitude plants even more deeply in the Indian the conviction that he is slier than the civilized, and he feels spurred on to make sport of him. The civilized person, for this reason, must always keep a close watch on his own luggage, which, even so, will not infrequently be stolen (21).

> 21. The tendency to steal and the skill with which they do it, never followed by repentance, are so great that we were assailed by the doubt that might they not by chance judge it to be lawful and good, at the least, to steal from the whites. We asked two natives who merited more of our confidence, and both affirmed that they consider stealing from anyone, whoever it might be, a bad thing. Nevertheless, another of our best helpers stated to us that to steal from their brothers is a bad thing, but to rob the civilized is a good thing!

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577 They take objects from their own companions. Thefts will be rarer, because life more or less in common restrains or eliminates the impulses toward certain thefts. The attacks on the clearing or the cacurí /fish trap/ of others are frequent. They show shame when they are surprised. If he is not, he denies the theft. Or, confronted with the evidence, he will say: "I took, I did not steal." While the injured one says: -- "He robbed me." One notes a preponderant tendency, almost enslaving, to steal edibles. He ordinarily reveals in the thefts amazing /154/ cunning. Especially in the thefts from the other Indians he abstains from taking anything that might easily identify him. He always takes timely precautions, in the act of stealing as well as afterwards, to hide the corpus delicti; for example, the little girls steal needles and hide them in the hard layer of the soles of their feet.

He rebels when he is forced to make restitution; especially if he must do so to the civilized. He will do it more readily for the tuxaua, who orders him to make restitution whenever he wants to stay friendly with the white. In a different way, especially if he likes the thief, he will say haughtily: -- "There is no thief in the maloca" (22).

> 22. If they perform these very rare acts of restoration, it can be affirmed that, as a rule, they do not restore the thing stolen, nor do they give proper indemnification. From the moral point of view, it seems legitimate to conclude that they do not have any intention of making restitution or of abstaining from stealing.

123 16) Lying -- Not keeping one's word -- Simulation.

577 The love of the truth that has been noted among some primitives is not the strong point of these Indians of ours. He often answers, falsely, the inquires asked of him: "I do not know," "I did not see." Vice versa, they give information about what they do not know. And the other Indians present do not correct

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123 577 the inaccurate information. For example, they do not like to sell their dance ornaments and regularly affirm that they do not have them. If one asks whether there is anybody sick in the povoado, he will invariably answer no, although in reality there is. One cannot even think, in these and other cases, that there was a mental reservation. Would there be, in the case of the sick ones, some reason of a magic nature? We were not able to find out, in spite of many inquiries in different circumstances and places. They pass to a second and third party the thing stolen, in order to hide it. They never denounce the others, except to defend themselves. Not infrequently we caught them in contradictions (23).

> 23. In April of 1954 a young woman from Pari-cachoeira described to us her puberty initiation rite with all clarity and indication of details. In June of that same year, speaking casually about the subject, she started to deny that there was Komũ (cf. VIII-1, b (7)) or "blower" in her povoado and that she had gone through the initiation. -- Have you forgotten that you already told everything? Don't be bashful ... we told her. Then she smiled, confirmed and completed the description made in April.

If we make this evident to them, they are silent. Silence is a defense and weapon that they frequently use against the civilized and his arguments. They are "born liars" was the expression used by two persons who for several /155/ years lived with these Indians. Not infrequently he maintains his lie even before the most evident proofs.

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648 577 Just as little can one have absolute confidence in his word or promise and count on the Indian for a set date, for the performance of a job, a trip, etc. He will fail to appear on such-and-such a day or place where he is expected, or do the promised work. Later, perhaps, he will show up, without, however, talking about the subject or excusing himself. If, by chance, we are the first to talk and we complain (which is not always advisable), he will present some excuse, true or false. It does not even enter his mind to think whether there are strong reasons for keeping the promise given to the white. He absolutely will not sacrifice any of his interests in order to satisfy an assumed obligation.

[797] The unanimous affirmation of all those who have lived with them for some time is that they are endowed with a great capacity for simulation (24).

24. The Arwake natives of the Içana exhibit the same skill at simulation. Among the verificative episodes we recall the following one. It was at the beginning of the female boarding school, directed by the Irmãs Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora or Irmãs Salesianas /Sisters Daughters of Mary Auxiliary or Salesian Sisters/ (1957). Several girls, in spite of the liberality of the discipline and the tolerance of the Reverendas Irmãs, ran away. Two girl students, taking advantage of the right moment, escaped and, with a canoe, reached the opposite bank, where their mother was found in a small hut. The latter immediately crossed the river and came to the school to see her daughters. Not being found, of course, the mother showed great distress, starting to cry with signs of great affliction, causing serious concern to the

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648 577 [797] /footnote 24 cont./ Educadoras /Educators/. Nevertheless, it was the mother herself who had hidden the daughters in the forest, as was found out later through witnesses of the act.

In a perfect manner they will feign illness or indigence, they will feign ignorance of an order or a prohibition, loss of memory or an oversight. Planning a deed which they consider bad (for example, three or four Indians organizing an attack with the purpose of stealing, or in Indian file to spy on the white through a crack, etc.), they do not let any anxiety show. Even when they are surprised, they are not disconcerted. They simply separate, as though nothing had happened. Almost always a hearty laugh will come to terminate the disrupted attempt.

764 Furthermore they are capable of showing emotions that they do not feel. A typical example is the funeral weeping (with tears, screams, exclamations), performed with moving perfection, returning immediately afterwards to the same gay conversation of minutes before, intermixed with immodest laughs; while others, in turn, recite /156/ their part, surrendering to crying, only to turn back minutes later to their habitual gaiety. Perhaps they could be used as theatrical actors.

17) Sentimental life: love, friendship, gratitude.

152 [593] Their sentimental life does not seem very intense. One never observes displays very ardent with feeling (25).

25. The meeting between parents and children or between spouses, after months or perhaps years of separation, is always invested with the coolness of any meeting, without looking at each other, with those conventional expressions that we have indicated (cf. formalism below). The Missionary Pe. Antônio Giacone was able to observe this very curious episode: the husband had been absent for almost two years in order

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152 593 /footnote 25 cont./ to work with the whites of the lower Rio Negro, without having sent any news. Upon returning, the meeting with his wife took place with the customary indifference on the bank of the river as he disembarked from the canoe. Inside the hut, however, after having presented him with the quinhapira /a fish dish/ and the beijú /manioc bread/, the wife, squatting beside the husband, opened up with these complaints: -- "O father of my children (yõ-põra-kõ), you have finally arrived. You were gone with the white very far away, very far away, and the mother of your children remained here alone, without having fish for the children, without being able to make a new clearing, abandoned, without clothes... Oh! How sad it is to live like this! How sad it is! (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, pp. 72-3).

152 [832] [177] *[192] Although he laughs easily, he always receives the great joys or tragedies with a certain indifference. They do not know the kiss (26) or the embrace as a display of affection between parents and children or other relatives.

26. It also seems that words for kiss and embrace do not exist in the Tukano language. The term mí'mI, which Pe. Antônio Giacone records in his vocabulary as corresponding to kiss, actually means to suck. As a matter of fact, in the early days when they were taught to kiss some object, they sucked it, even when it was a matter of the priest's hand at a liturgical function.

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152 The Indian lacks some of the more delicate feelings, such as that of compassion. He will not only mistreat an animal, laughing at its painful contortions, but even watch with indifference another person's suffering, even if it is his brother, father, or mother (cf. VII - 4, g (1)).

593 There is no doubt about the existence in the parents, particularly in the mother, of love for their offspring, especially when still in the first childhood. Even then it is a love more effective than affective, diligently learning about the children's health, for whom they procure remedies during illnesses and food. When it is a matter of children already grown, the esteem is contaminated by interest in the services they receive from them. And the grief that they express when the children are absent or die is because they no longer have anyone to bring them fish or cultivate the clearing.

847 Attenuating this presumption in favor of mother love is the use of infanticide, and many times it is the mother herself who wants /157/ and executes it. Moreover, cases in which the mother abandons the children, even though newborn, are known.

593 889 In the children the correlative feeling is counterbalanced, or perhaps exceeded, by their selfishness. When the parents become old, they easily abandon them, without providing clothing for them any longer, or even giving them medicine, food, or water (27).

[115] 27. Pe. João Marchesi bears witness, with the authority of one who knows the totality of the natives, among whom he has lived for 35 years, and who, because of his heroic charity, cover for all the sacrifices, merited it when General Alexandrino Ferreira da Cunha called him "the Anchieta of the Amazon": -- "Among the elements of the same tribe, who consider themselves brothers, there is a certain outward cordiality and consideration toward someone else's suffering, but neither generosity nor a spontaneous

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593 /footnote 27 cont./ offering of help and means:
888 it is a *cold and sterile egoism.*" "The old parents
are left abandoned when they do not move from the
house of one child to that of another, in order not
593 to be a burden." "Nor can the natural love of the
847 procreators be said to have a firm foundation,
because of the cynicism with which they bury alive
the newborn babies, suffocating them as one would
do with any little animal" (in the book *Os Tucanos*
/The Tucano/ by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13).

593 Apropos of matrimony, Pe. Antônio Giacone
581 writes: -- The Indian, not having love and tenderness for the woman, will be satisfied with the one
that they give him, no matter whether she is pretty
or ugly: it is enough if she is hard-working and gives
him many children; if she is sterile, he will repudiate her as a useless thing, because every Indian
marries for the sake of having many children" (*Os
593 Tucanos*, p. 22). He censures the treatment of the
888 old parents on the part of the children as "*indifferent
and inhuman*" (*ibidem*, p. 26).

593 In November of 1953, on the occasion of our
758 stay in Iauareté, the following episode took place.
A young man from Uaracú-ponta (river Uaupés),
married a few months earlier, gravely ill with
tuberculosis, asked the Director to take him to the
Mission hospital. There he had a visit by his wife,
who remained in his company for some days. On a
second visit, she burst into tears so noisily that the
Director advised her that she should restrain herself
or move farther away, in order not to add to the
suffering of her sick husband. Nevertheless, two
days before her husband's death, she wanted to leave
for her povoado, taking with her the husband's hammock. And she did so, in spite of his insistent
begging that she stay longer and leave his hammock.

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593 888 Cases in which they buried their old parents alive are cited (28).

> 28. There was shown to us in Uaracapá (river Papurí), upon leaving the povoado, the place where the hammock of a sick old man had been tied between two branches. And they had not only turned him out of the house in this condition, but also left him there in the open, without assistance or resources. As soon as he had died, they dug a grave under the hammock, cut the ropes of the old hammock, which fell, with the cadaver, into the hole, and covered /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ it irregularly with earth, as we could see in November of 1953. In June of 1954 an old Taryana about 70 or 80 years of age, shivering with cold, was found in the port of Iauareté. We do not know how he got there. Taken to the hospital in serious condition, he was laid on a hammock, given medicine, and had a hot water bottle applied (to replace the fire that they always use under the hammock). Days later, feeling well, he was questioned about where he came from. He interrupted immediately, saying that he did not want to go back to his house, because he was mistreated there by the children. [764]
>
> We were informed about a Taryana from Pinú-pinú (river Uaupés) who mistreated and several times even spanked his own father, who was from Iauareté.

156 571 At least while they are living in their own environment, they cling together among themselves, even among individuals of a different tribe, more than /158/ with a civilized person. There is not, however, any sign of particular friendship among

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571 them: one notices the same treatment for all. It is still the group spirit that atrophies the individual impulses. The reciprocal envy and the fear of poisoning that torment them do not allow the feelings of friendship to flourish among them. They are always afraid of one another. Some of them would like to open up more with the civilized, and in some cases they do when they are alone. He will become reserved, however, as soon as another Indian appears. One has the impression that they are afraid of appearing as a friend of the white.

648 156 Nor is there any evidence of the existence of gratitude in his heart, especially toward the civilized. Although he appears friendly, speaking to them with expansiveness and intimacy, he never gives thanks for the favors received; he does not even show acknowledgement of them, even in cases of extraordinary benefits, and even of the true and heroic devotion of the Missionary or of the Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/. He does not approach him to offer any gift as a sign of gratitude, or even say a tender word of thanks. It is not reported either that among his fellow tribesmen he is concerned about showing gratitude for the benefits received from the white. One can affirm that the cordiality that they show toward the civilized is always inspired by self-interest, and the supposition of lack of attention on the part of the white is enough to make the manifestations of that cordiality disappear.

18) Revenge-vengeance.

627 On the other hand, his instinct for revenge is strong. With
628 perfect control of himself, without the slightest outward sign
or facial expression revealing his displeasure, the Indian accepts
the greatest contrarieties. He does not, however, forget the
*[192] insults and the injustices, real or supposed, nor does he forgive
*[797] them (29).

29. It seems that the verb to forgive does not exist in the Tukano language. Out of the necessity for catechising, the Missionary sometimes uses the verb oxkô-boho, to forget. The

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627 /footnote 29 cont./ natives instead use the
628 Portuguese verb with the Tukano ending:
*[192] perdoáya (you forgive), perdoápõ (I forgave).

[797] He thinks about revenge, and there are numerous episodes /159/ demonstrating that he waits patiently for years for the opportunity, and they take long trips for the purpose of executing revenge.

*[192] It is an imprescriptible obligation, that of vengeance, a'mẽ-wehẽ, incumbent on the group, for one of its members killed or wounded by some civilized man or Indian of another tribe. Vengeance will also be taken within the tribe against a native of another subdivision, and even against one's own blood-brother. If he does not execute the vengeance in some case, it is because he is afraid of counter-vengeance (malefice).

576 In appearance the Indian is very peaceful. One does not hear the natives quarreling among themselves in loud voices, even when it seems to us that there are reasons for it. They even seem very polite among themselves. When, in a group of natives, one among them gave, let us suppose, incorrect information (it should be noted that they do not like to state: I do not know, I am not sure of that), the others do not at the time correct the inaccuracy or mistake. Perhaps one of those present, when he is alone with the civilized, will on request rectify the erroneous information.

726 There is no recollection, except for the legends, of war among the various tribes (30).

*[192] 30. In October of 1947, a few days before our visit to the maloca of the Makú, about six kilometers from Iauareté, on the occasion of a caxirí (celebration with drinking), a machete fight took place among them, during which one Indian died and several were seriously hurt. In January of 1948 in this same maloca there was dissension of

/159 cont./

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> /footnote 30 cont./ greater importance, and a true fight with sticks, machetes, and arrows took place between the Makú and the Taryana, again on the occasion of a caxirí.

578 There are, however, frequent fights for economic reasons (attacks on a clearing, cacurí, etc.). Not rarely there are quarrels due to intrigues, and the greater percentage of these happen among the women.

For revenge among themselves, the opportunity is drunkenness (31),

> 31. In order to have greater courage "he will get intoxicated," said one from Colombia. For this reason there are never duels among them. It is not reported either that they might engage in wrestling for exercise. During the fights they use any object that they have handy, machete, mortar, bow, etc., or even a shotgun!

and beforehand they invite for the celebrations those from whom they might want to get satisfaction. After this, even when the consequence is the victim's death, nothing in the Indian reveals repentance or remorse (32).

> 32. Years ago, in 1933, an episode of revenge with circumstances of special cruelty took place. In Ananaz, on the lower Uaupés, the Tukano killed two Desana men, cut a boy in half from the shoulder to the legs. The ones accused were taken to S. Gabriel (today the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ town of Uaupés) and questioned by the Inspector of the S.P.I. (Serviço de Proteção ao Índio). Without difficulty they confessed to the crime. -- But why did you kill them? -- "That is the way it is" was the only answer.

/*159 cont.*/

578 The legends refer to similar episodes, and perhaps they try to imitate their legendary heroes.

278 /*160*/ a) The most common method of revenge, nevertheless, is poisoning. When they talk to us with intimacy and frankness, the natives affirm and document numerous cases of poisonings for revenge. From which one understands the general fear that dominates everyone, almost an obsession about being poisoned. Some revealed to us that they had been victims, they themselves, of poisonings that caused them serious and prolonged illnesses. We also know of cases in circumstances such that, according to the account of the Rvdas. Irmãs Enfermeiras /Reverend Sisters in charge of the sick/, they admit the suspicion of poisoning. Among these, we recall here two cases that happened during our travels. It was a matter of a more odious form of revenge, that is, to cause harm to the younger children in order to get satisfaction for injuries caused by their parents. Two children about ten years old, students of the Salesian Mission: a girl from Iauareté in April of 1955, and a boy from Parí-cachoeira in October of 1956. Both died at the end of a few hours, after ingesting native drinks.

266 They do not, however, practice anthropophagy, and nothing reveals that they had had this custom in the Tukano group of tribes (cf. below what will be said about *Cannibalism*, VII - 6, h /*sic*; see VII, 4, h/).

19) *Vanity*.

826 Vanity is a strongly pronounced trait of the native psyche. The mothers tie bindings on the babies in arms, below the knee and above the ankle, "in order to thicken their legs." Actually, on the whole, they are anatomically well proportioned and elegant, with well-formed legs. They want to have thick legs. It is one of the insults, especially among the girls, to call one another skinny leg (33).

*[192] 33. Insults in Tukano: skinny leg, *ñṍxkĩ-dyí-Marĩgõ*; curly hair, *poári-subi*; big eye, *kaxpéri-bũhũgṍ*.

/160 cont./

142 All of them have a full figure, up to about 30 years of age. After that age, corpulence becomes exaggerated in some men, and the women on the whole lose weight, growing old prematurely. They do not promote any deformation for aesthetic or warlike effect (34). [171] [304]

> 34. The deformation of the skull is characteristic of the Caraíbas /Carib/, applying tight splints to the children's heads. Among the Amazon tribes the first explorers found this custom among the Cambeba ("Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, 145). In some tribes, for example, the Pinao of Colombia, this was done in order to have a fierce appearance.

826 The maidens exhibit round, well-developed breasts. They identify beauty with corpulence. When someone changes climate in order /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /161/ to gather strength, they say that "he went in search of meat." No preoccupation with the waistline; they do not use a girdle.

302 The hair in particular is an object of vanity. They arrange it, comb it often, the women and the new generation of men. The young men, during trips, gather flowers from the bank of the river and string them through their hair, over the ear. They apply lotions, which they prepare with genipap and other plants, in order to keep it black. This is the secret in why they never become gray... They love beads, soaps, perfumes. A maiden sold herself for half a jar of pomade.

They like the mirror very much and stare at it frequently; formerly they gave an oar in exchange for a small mirror.

The young women are sad about being dark, and in order to lighten the skin they rub it vigorously with soap and even with sand, looking at themselves again each time, in order to see whether they are becoming fairer.

/Illustrations facing p. 160 in the original source./

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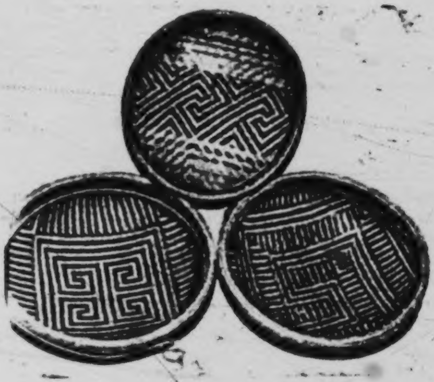
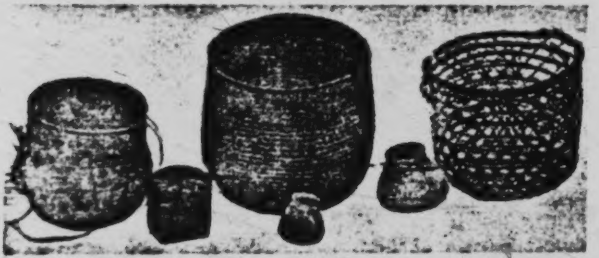


1. Sieves (baxti) with the characteristic designs.
2. Different types of large baskets (aturás, pyi, and sarreiro, térē-pi, the one with wide meshes) and small ones (pyi-kamõ).
3. Preparing the "rede-batida" /beaten hammock/.
4. Rough-hewing to prepare the oar.



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/Illustrations facing p. 161 in the original source./

Fan (wẽrĩ-rõ), urupema (sũõ), cumatá (tõ-pa) Stone axes (õ̃xtã-komé)

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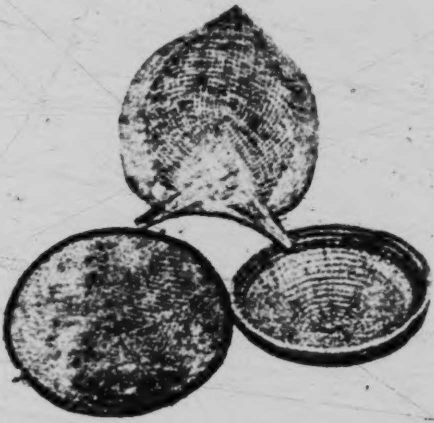

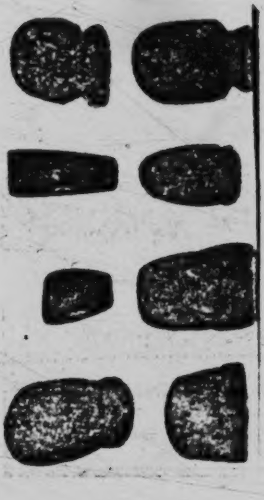

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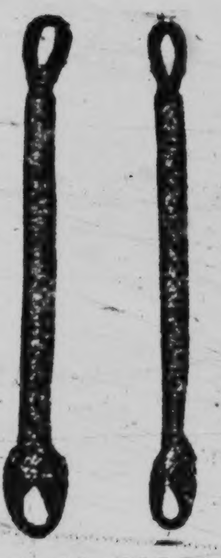
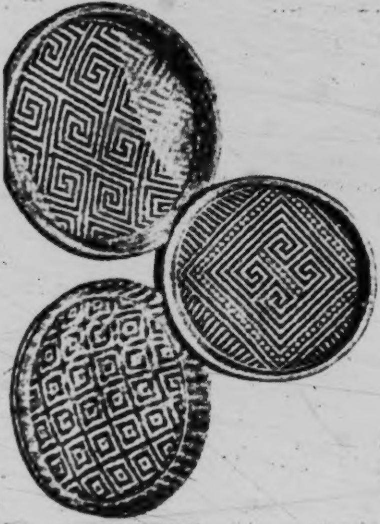


Tipiti (wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ)



Sieves (baxti)

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20) Pride.

Their pride is equivalent to their vanity. They never recognize their own mistake. At the least word that sounds to them like a scolding, they lock themselves up in muteness; and the child will act badly out of spite. There are cited cases in which, at a simple scolding by the civilized, they left and spent years without reappearing.

They are excessively pleased over praise; it is the means that the educators use in order to stimulate them to study and to work. If by chance the child is corrected at school because he made a mistake in reading, he lowers the book and will not read any more. He never asks questions in class, even when he does not understand and is invited to ask for an explanation. On the other hand, he laughs with delight when others, especially the white, makes a mistake (stumbles, falls down, does not know how to tie a hammock, etc.).

They are haughty about their own qualities and are pleased when they are praised. Even with their deep-rooted beliefs, they readily assimilate our civilization in its material elements, and even when they return to their maloca they imitate what they saw the civilized do. Deep within them they attribute the superiority of the latter to the resources that the Indian does not have at his disposal and "because they have learned from others." These are the two reasons (so they think) that they cannot accomplish everything that the civilized make, be it even an electric generator, a motor for boats, or an airplane.

Deep within them there seems to be rooted the conviction that the civilized is the one who requires them, since he came as far as their lands; and they do not require the /162/ civilized (35).

35. During the last war, the difficulties of supplying the missionary centers grew. One of the Superiors of the Mission thought it prudent to warn the natives that it was not the ill-will of the Missionaries, but the

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> /footnote 35 cont./ difficulties of the epoch (lack of resources, of transportation, etc.) that inflicted want of some things that they had been receiving, for instance, salt. And he heard this comment from a tuxaua: -- "You, the whites, are the ones who are going to suffer with this; we do not miss them."

And similar thoughts are difficult to correct, because they neither accept nor follow the reasoning of the civilized. And, in reality, the white who travels through these regions cannot dispense with the Indian's work (to guide him, to row, to transport cargo, etc.). And since the period of the discoveries, and in a special way in these last years, traders go up to fetch Indians for the work on the seringals and piassava grounds of the lower Rio Negro or seringals of Colombia. Before the majestic and savage nature of these regions, it is natural that the civilized person feels and manifests a feeling of timidity and inadaptation, which will confirm the Indian in his conviction of his own superiority.

When he is transported to one of our cities, quite far from his tribal brothers and from his native river, this same feeling of inadaptation and timidity will, with greater facility, cause the Indian to attach himself, with faithfulness and perhaps true affection, to the civilized man with whom he lives and for whom he works.

829 The native who is educated in the Mission schools considers himself "white" and tries to imitate the civilized. They do not like us to call them "índios" (36);

> 36. The more civilized among them say at times: -- "I am not from the Uaupes," as equivalent to "I am not an Indian." They commonly reserve the name of Indian for those of the Makú tribe.

one must say: "your tribe," "your nation." There is in all of

/162 cont./

829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

261 262 [177] They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always willing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

> 37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauareté did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

> 38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during the chôco (couvade), menstruation, etc. * [172] [784]

The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they 273 become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí [164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente; it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

/163 cont./

273 the odor from afar. In order to avoid reprimands, they hide the bottles on the bottom of the river, from where they remove them when they want to drink their alcoholic contents.

261 They are particularly gluttonous over sweets (39);

> 39. The tuxauas, povoado chiefs, themselves appeared satisfied with a piece of candy; and not infrequently even a candy ball is divided up, or it passes through more than one mouth. With some caramels and cigarettes, they considered themselves well paid for the work of letting themselves be measured.

they also appreciate salt very much, and even the bitter salt (sodium sulphate) itself, provided as a medicine. Salt is an article that they are always seeking.

32) /sic/ Ingenuity and cheerfulness.

157 Moreover he possesses an assemblage of natural virtues and enviable qualities. We have already indicated some; let us also point out others. Among the fine qualities of the native one notices his charming ingenuity. Simple, frank, even when he is telling the most disagreeable episodes, and he always does it with terms of the crudest realism. A strangely natural ingenuity in conversation and especially in composure, even when, judging by the previous facts, one is certain that it covers malice.

He is a cheerful individual. He laughs with the greatest of ease, and for any reason whatsoever he bursts out in great, prolonged, and typical hearty laughs. The laugh is not only a response to the ridiculous or to the humorous, but to every pleasant surprise (40).

> 40. An Indian woman, questioned about the reason for so many and such prolonged laughs, explained that it was because they loosen the

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157 /footnote 40 cont./ cigarette smoke over the several parts of the body. It seems to be a common custom when the woman is lying in the hammock to rest during the day.

Long before daybreak, from three or four o'clock in the morning, laughs can be heard in the maloca, and until ten or eleven at night. They are a happy race; in their /164/ maloca one can

[797] hear much laughter and almost no crying. The children themselves cry less than their little brothers of civilization (41):

> 41. In the children taken into the Mission boarding schools, and even in the small children who are sons and daughters of alumni and raised in the shadow of the Missions, one observes with more frequency and for a longer time habitual crying and shrieking.

crying that lasts a few moments.

152 23) Stoicism.

The Indian is an absolutely perfect type of the stoic and greatly surpasses the ancient Greek philosophers. Man of the present, the future does not worry him. He does not save for tomorrow; he trusts that tomorrow nature will be as favorable to him or more so than today, and he will also work tomorrow. In privation he knows how to suffer hunger with serene tranquility. He does not even think about future pain. The secret of his tranquility and constant good humor rests on this state of mind. As for the rest, he easily endures suffering; he will not moan, however intense his pains may be (42).

> 42. During our frequent visits to the malocas and to the native povoados, many times, with our admiration, we have found individuals, not only adults, but also children, enduring

/164 cont./

152 /footnote 42 cont./ great pain without a tear or a groan. On the other hand, when under the care of the civilized, for example, when hospitalized, they readily burst out in shrieks and groans that even seem exaggerated. We are prevented from presenting an explanation for similar facts, although we have in vain asked for one from the natives themselves on several occasions.

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During illnesses, he will lie in the hammock and wait for nature to react to the prompting of the rites of the pajé. If the latter says that the sick man is going to die, he will await death calmly, without cries or shrieks. The relatives will not give him medicine, and many times not even food or drink (43).

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43. And have you given mingau /a paste made with manioc flour/ to the sick man -- asked the Missionary to those of a maloca where he had found a very sick old man lying in a hammock. -- "What for?" objected the Indians, "he is going to die anyway." In May of 1954, a young wife gravely ill and given up by the pajé, Adelia Abreu by name, of the Tukano tribe, was found in Pari-cachoeira. She did not accept the medicines or threw them away, pretending to take them. She generally refused food. If by chance she showed any disposition to accept it, her mother whispered that she should not take it, because the pajé had said that she was going to die. With some difficulty they transported her to the hospital. The Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/ managed to overcome the young woman's resistance, and the latter decided to take the medicines and the food, and a hopeful improvement was

/164 cont./

758 /footnote 43 cont./ noticed immediately.
797 The sick woman's mother, upon learning this, ran to the hospital, in order to stop it. To anyone who argued with her because she acted so, the mother answered: -- "The pajé said that she is to die; if she gets well in the hospital, the pajé is going to be furious with me." It is true that as soon as the woman felt better she ran away from the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ hospital. From the delivery, which soon followed, she had a very weak child that died almost immediately. The young mother, however, became strong and is still enjoying good health (in September of 1956).

152 The /165/ patient will not ask for it or will even refuse to take it if someone presents it to him. His life has been full of fights and deprivations endured with the most inalterable calm, he was never defeated by despair, he always appears strong, even before the imminence of death (cf. VII - 2, e (1)).

24) Formality.

The Uaupésino native is a singularly formal type. It is precisely this rigorous formality, touching almost every activity of the individual, that crushes the individual, the personal in the Indian. About these, as about the Mongols, those who do not have very prolonged and immediate contact with them say that they all look alike, because it is difficult to distinguish them by physiognomic features. In reality, they are more alike in behavior than in the face. The Indians seem to us to have been made in series, if we consider them in their way of acting. Education, which subministers to them the congenital tendency to imitate, and the subjection to the customs and traditions are so absorptive that it almost makes the individualizing traits in them disappear. And this uniformity is still more impressive because it culturally

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152 leveled out nations distinct and quite different in somatic traits, in bio-ethnic origin, and in speech, and it seems to have managed to mold all the components of the tribes according to a single model. For this reason we affirm that, even in the way of laughing and gesticulating, the different tribes of the Uaupés are similar, and for this same reason, the vast Uaupésina region must be considered as a single cultural area.

Here are some indications of the native formality of the Uaupés.

At the meetings of relatives, indeed, as we have already pointed out, even at the meetings of spouses or between parents and children after a long separation, there are no displays of jubilation.

484 Trips for visits are frequent among them; psychological necessity because they live in small groups? Or reminiscence of an ancestral nomadism?

576 The official receptions at the great feasts or possible ones at some meeting are always invested with a strange and indispensable formality.

574 576 521 *[192] When during his frequent pleasure trips he decides to stop at some maloca or povoado, he leaves his canoe at the landing place and goes up. If /166/ there are several, they will do it in Indian file, that is, one after the other, observing an order in which the most dignified goes in front. He will absolutely not enter, without saying at the door: "nẽ! maxsã nĩtĩ? Hello, are there people there?" He will say this even when he sees that there are people. Then the head of the house, or the most important person there, will come to receive him, and they touch *[192] each other lightly with their right hands. Standing up, facing each other, without looking at each other, staring at the ground or at a corner, the one from the house will ask: -- "You have arrived? extatĩ mãã?" -- "I have arrived, extápõ." Or: -- "Has your canoe arrived?" The other will answer: -- "It arrived." They will spend a few seconds in silence, then he will continue: -- "Ah! You have arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." After a short pause he will perhaps insist: "Ah! Well! You have

574 /166 cont./

576 521 *[192] arrived?" -- "Yes, I have arrived." -- "Where did you come from?" (a question many times useless, because he knows very well the visitor's place of origin). -- "From X" (and he says the name of the locality). -- "Ah! Do you come from X?" -- "Yes, I come from X." These and similar expressions are interspersed with silence and with "ɨɨ," each of them alternating, as a sign that the one understood the other's sentence.

The same will be done and said by each man from the maloca to the guest, or guests, if there were several. Moreover the women will pass one by one in front of each visitor and, touching his right hand, will ask the same questions: -- "Have you arrived?" -- "I have arrived," etc., without however, looking at the guests, with the eyes lowered. The women soon withdraw, and one of them goes to get a small mat, stretches it out in front of the visitors, and on the mat she puts a pan with quinhapira and a sieve with beijú, from which the visitors help themselves without shyness.

574 521 Later, sitting on the stools or each one in his hammock, they carry on long conversations until the late hours of the night, with a certain rapidity, interrupted by the very monotonous "ɨɨ" and with countless and noisy laughs. If we consider that the Tukano language is so concise, it says so many things with few words, we will have an idea of the loquacity of the natives among themselves. The child will tell everything that happened during the months that he was in school. The adult will tell about his trips, episodes of fishing or hunting, the events, the persons that he met, the conve[illegible]ions that he had, his own and other persons' episodes, and, finally, he will have innumerable pieces of news to report, which seem uninteresting to us, but for his childish mentality they are very important. To the curiosity to know corresponds, on the other side, a great desire to tell.

/166 cont./

521 593 [115] It is to be noted that the husband never converses with his wife at night, only during the day, and they carry on long talks when they are resting after work. At night only gossip among persons of the same /167/ sex is permitted (so we were informed by the old Taryana woman Teodora from Iauaretê, and Dorotéia Brito, Tukano, confirmed it) (44).

[184] 44. Among the Ide-maxsã of the stream Koméya, we have observed conversation between husband and wife during the night. Perhaps phrases imposed by necessity are not forbidden, and only conversation for diversion is prohibited.

171 521 574 [115] A singular meeting of pajés gave us the chance of an excursion to the middle Uaupés in May of 1956. We were traveling in the company of two Tukano pajés, Marcelino and Henrique, the pajé of Juquira and of Japú-igarapé, respectively. A breakdown in the stern motor forced us to stop longer in the povoado of Periquito, of the Taryana tribe. The two pajés in transit greeted in a common manner the Taryana colleague of the locality. Soon afterwards, however, the three pajés settled down on the bank of the river at a distance of 50 or 60 centimeters from one another, each one smoking his cigarette (which one of the visitors had given to the other two). And without looking at each other, turned toward the river, they started to recite, in quite a loud voice and characteristic tone, which could be distinguished some 20 meters away. That dialogue lasted more than half an hour, during which now one and then another of the three would take turns speaking, always with the intervention of the other two, who would repeat the last words of the speaker's sentence, or other words, by way of refrain. It was a recollection of the episodes that, according to the legends of the origins, took place in those surroundings, the story of their islands, canals, cachoeiras, and rocks, a recollection with the power of an exorcism and augury of successful navigation. It was not possible for us to determine whether there was also an invocation of the "mothers of the things,"

171 /167 cont./
521 as Stradelli affirms having witnessed on the occasion of the impo-
574 sition of the name (45).

> 45. A similar event took place in August of 1956
> 521 on the Ribeirão /stream/ Timí-ya (left tributary
> 574 of the river Pirá-paraná). At the hour for breakfast
> we stopped in a clearing that rose on the left of any-
> [115] one who went down the stream. One of our oarsmen, of the Bará tribe, found there a tribal "brother" of his. Our oarsman, then, stopped his repast, and the two Bará, standing on a large felled trunk, turned toward the west (probably in order not to have the sun hurting their face), likewise without looking at each other, engaged in a dialogue with each other in a very loud voice. It was again the augury of a happy trip, through the recollections of the legends of the origins, as we were told. This dialogue must have lasted a quarter of an hour; afterwards the two of them sat down on the trunk and continued in a cheerful conversation, in a lower and friendly tone, while they ate, since our oarsman put our food at the disposal of his "brother," and both served themselves freely.
>
> This same Bará oarsman provided us with a similar spectacle the following night, although in more unpleasant circumstances. A storm and the dark of the night caught us navigating the Pirá-paraná, and precisely in the vicinity of the dangerous "cachoeira /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ of the beijú." A tent was improvised with two small canvases, which protected the luggage and some hammocks, on the left bank. About midnight the sound of oars was heard; a canoe approached the bank and its crew came up, among them an old man of the Ihwãna tribe. Either they already knew each other or this

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/footnote 45 cont./ would be their first meeting, we were not able to find out, due to the deficiency of the interpreter. We are inclined to think that they did not know each other before, because the Bará oarsman had asserted that he did not know the region, and the Ihwãna live in this zone of the Pirá-paraná and came precisely to help us to pass the cachoeira, in accordance with the request that we had made in the maloca visited hours before. The Bará oarsman got up to see who had arrived. Immediately there was initiated in the silence of the night a dialogue in loud voices, as if there were a quarrel, between the Bará and the old Ihwãna. They were the traditional exorcisms, with the recollection of the legendary episodes, in order to obtain success for the journey; this was revealed to us by a Tukano Indian who was in our company. At those shouts in the middle of the night, everybody woke up. After a few minutes, with the desire to get the sleep so necessary for anyone who undertakes such arduous travels, we tried to intervene in order to stop the disturbance. It was a futile attempt. The two dialogists, either because they did not understand our wish or, as is more probable, because they were not interested in knowing that they were inconveniencing the others (which is also a marked and general trait of the psychology of these Indians of the Uaupés), and due to the importance that they give to their practices, they continued undisturbed before our remarks and protests. After almost an hour of dialogue in loud voices and in the typical tone of the exorcisms, they shifted to speaking in low and discreet voices, asked for something to eat, and finally, lying on the sand, they slept until dawn.

/168/

25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

*192 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú,
286 tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order
301 to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

*192 The yaxkẼ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front
291 when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

The new generation, both of the female and male sex,
177 which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned
291 how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (!).

532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

/169 cont./

*192 822 It is to be noted that in the Tukano language (46) there is only one term, *soĩse*, to indicate *orange*, *red* and *yellow*, and another, *ya'sasé*, for *green* and *blue*, although they distinguish not only the seven simple colors, but also the intermediate ones.

533 534 As for the music, although not favored with a voice, since he generally has a *shrill* one, the taste and the relative ease with which he learns the songs with one or more voices are to be noted. Their dance songs, although they are monotonous and sad, are very harmonious, and the motifs that they execute on their flutes are quite varied and pleasant. Endowed, so to speak, with the musical instinct, the child learns the rhythm and the steps of the traditional dances with the greatest facility, without schooling, watching and dancing. *[192] Even the children are capable of preparing their flutes, even those called *de PĨ* or caríço, as well as small organs of six to ten tubes, corresponding to the musical notes and harmonizing their various musical instruments perfectly.
/Page 170 in the original text is blank./

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46. And not only the Tukano, but also the other idioms of the Uaupés (Tukano linguistic family) and of the Caburí use the same term for the colors *red* and *yellow*, and another for *green* and *blue*.

/171/

Chapter VI

Material Culture

121

*[192] 1. Dwelling, wi'ĩ.

Under the name of material culture (Sachkultur of the German authors), we mean the conjunction of objects that the forest dweller produces for the necessities of life. They are, properly speaking, the material objects in which they manifest their cultural level.

361 178 The tribes that we have studied are not nomads. They have been established in the actual phase in which we found them for several generations or centuries (as far as the record completed by some pieces of information from the first travelers extends) in the same place, from where they move only because of epidemics or fights. The dissident group then goes to build a new house or to start another povoado, ordinarily not very far from the first one, perhaps barely a few kilometers away. 342 [178] Even today malocas that are quite old, half a century perhaps, are admired. Particular circumstances (fire, storm, etc.) might likewise force the construction of a new maloca. The Indian always prefers to make a new house instead of repairing the old one, if it is greatly damaged. Although for the new construction he will often make use of the beams and, more commonly, the straw of the covering, especially if it is still good and he would have to go very far to find new straw. Thus, in dealing with sedentary tribes, it is natural that we find good dwellings. Since it is a zone with frequent and torrential rains, the simple construction of clay is not suitable.

/ *[192] The system of covering, peókaro, is always that of two slopes and with great inclination, so that the drip of the roof will remain only a meter or a little more above the ground. *[192] The palm for the covering will vary according to the resources of the region; they generally use the caraná (maurítia flexuósa, Wall.), pũ'sẽ, because, besides protecting well from the rains, it lasts for many years. They usually complete the covering starting from the drip.

/171 cont./

*192 342 They use the caraná palms without any more work, superimposing them in such a way that one again covers part of the other. For the other palms, /172/ like the buçú, muhĩ, they must first weave the leaflets (it is what is called muhĩ-pama, plaited buçú), and in different layers, so that they perfectly block the rains (it is the muhĩ-peókaro system).

At other times they prepare the buçú between laths on the ground: it is the muhĩ-deróke (sewed buçú). They sew a bunch of leaves, that is, they bind some palms between two laths in such a way that they constitute a rectangular piece two by three meters, more or less; it is what is called muhĩ-swá-ká-pãma (piece of sewed buçú).

Of the walls, tyákaro, the side ones (so'mũta-tyákaro) are preferably of plaited palm. One more frequently finds walls of pehé, a palm that reaches two to three meters in length and 30 to 40 centimeters in width; or also of moá, the palms of which are wider, the leaflets reaching some 60 centimeters.

The main walls (front and back), in the classic style of the malocas (so we were informed by Júlio, tuxaua of Parĩ-cachoeira, river Tiquié), are, instead, made of tree bark (yuxkõ-kaxserĩ tyákaro) up to a certain height (1),

> 1. In one place and another we saw huts that, instead of bark, had walls made of paxiúba trunks, open and beaten, in such a way as to exhibit the appearance of rustic planks or slabs.

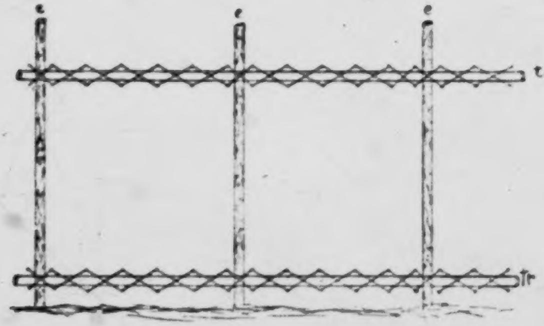
and completed up to the roof with the açaĩ /assai/ palm, mixpĩ yókaro.

342 They prepare the bark in such a way that it resembles wide planks. They cut a cipo as a measure of the length that the bark must have, ordinarily five to six meters. They go into the forest, choose the tree, and with a cutting object (formerly the simple stone ax or even any sharp point) make a cut around on the upper part and another on the lower part of the trunk, according to the size desired. Afterwards they make small cuts in the

/172 cont./

342 cortex, beat it quite hard with a stick along the bark, in order for the latter to come loose. Following that, they make a longitudinal cut in it, and with a small spatula go to separating the bark, which might be a meter or more in width, from the trunk. They transport the bark home, and in order that it not roll up, they pile one piece on top of another, well stretched, with a weight on top.

To make the walls, a crossbar /Port. travessa/ (tr) is placed horizontally a span from the ground, and another one higher up, above, parallelly, at an interval of a meter or more, quite firmly tied with cipo to posts /Port. estacas/ (e). To these crossbars or straight pieces are applied vertically the planks of bark, already quite dry, and on them are placed new straight pieces, parallel to the first ones, in order to hold the bark. Afterwards one Indian from the outside and another from the inside make four holes and, with cipo, they sew /173/ the pieces of bark to



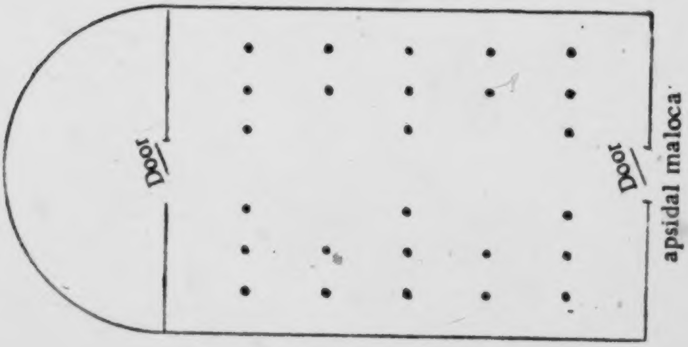
the straight pieces, there sometimes resulting from this stitching an X with quite a bit of regularity and symmetry around the crossbars.

[531] Upon these pieces of bark are frequently found paintings, the latex of the sorva serving as paint, with clay of different colors.

/173 cont./

342 *[192] [178] At present all the malocas that are still found in the region of the Uaupés and its tributaries are rectangular. Up to 40 years ago, one saw some with the posterior part of roundish shape, like an apse, called do'ákaro-tirí-wy'í (maloca with kitchen) (2).

> 2. The maloca of the Tuyuka in Pinó-koa-liró on the upper Tiquié, which Koch Grünberg affirmed measured 27x17.80x7.80 meters, was apsidal in this way (Zwei Iahre, 204).



353 *[192] [421] This /174/ apse was separated, in the interior of the maloca, by a partition of matting that was called i'mña-ta'tyá (separation of matting). The family of the tuxaua resided in this apsidal compartment, and the ornaments, musical instruments, and utensils of common use, which constituted the collective property of the group, were kept in it.

177 342 *[192] With the increase in comfort of the Indians and in the instinct of ownership (and up to a certain point it is imitation or even the prompting of the civilized), there appear small houses, wi'í,

/174 cont./

177 family type, of straw or bark or even of pau-a-pique (3),

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*[192]

> 3. By pau-a-pique or taipa (in Tukano dí'tá pyákaro) is understood, in all Brazil, the house whose walls consist of a hurdle of pales and laths, which is then filled in and plastered with mud or mortar.

instead of the old and large malocas, baxsá-wi or baxsarí-wi (dance house) (4)

> 4. That of Parí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, disappeared about 20 years ago, measured approximately 60 by 30 meters, attests Pe. João Marchesi.

for a whole local group.

[797] It is to be noted in the present povoados that all the houses have the same rectangular style. They are, on a small scale, a maloca. They are not alike, however, nor do they follow any alignment, except for the cases of intervention by the missionaries. In imitation of the houses of the Mission, today one sees some houses with a small porch or shed.

361 As for the location, it is always on the bank of a river or stream (5).

> 5. Paulo /Paul/ Rivet characterizes the civilization of these tribes as "mandioca civilization." Perhaps with more accuracy one should say "mandioca and fishing civilization." We have found, especially in the region inhabited by the Karapanã and Tatú, malocas in the interior of the forest 500 or 600 meters from the streams. This distance is dictated by the circumstances, in order for them to protect themselves against attacks and violence.

/174 cont./

361 And, in order to avoid the annual floods, they locate themselves on more elevated points or "terra-firme" and are never seen in palafittes (6).

6. In some posts on the Colombian frontier, called "Comissaria," a residence for the customs officials and the guards is built on an elevated point, on posts about two meters from the ground, approximately. In 1952 an Indian from the Brazilian bank of the Papurí imitated this style in building his hut. In jest the others called it "comissaria."

351 In the povoados of two or more houses, or behind the single maloca, there will always be a beaten area that separates them, by about 50 or 100 meters, from the forest and guards against attacks by ferocious animals.

241 They regularly plant in the vicinity the pimenteira (different varieties of cápsicum), pupunha, assai, urucum, and, with less frequency, the cucura /Pourouma cecropiaefolia, Mart./, lemon tree (today also the orange tree), mamoeiro (papaya cárica), abio (lucúma caimíta, Roem. e Schulth.), /175/ sugar cane (sáccharum officinale, Lin.), tobacco (nicotiana tabácum), and coca (erythróxilon coca).

249 Often one sees a small press, ã'rã arõãrõ (Uaupés a'nã
415 anyãnõ), for sugar cane (7).
*[192]

7. In a maloca of the Tuyuka, on the headwaters of the Tiquié, the press was found inside the maloca, in the vicinity of the main door.

They are generally four vertical posts, well planted in the ground, supporting two wooden cylinders provided with longitudinal grooves and which turn in opposite directions, pressing the cane between

/175 cont./

249 them. Although this is not a plant native to Brazil (8).

> 415 8. This is commonly thought. The cane has an Asiatic origin from China, from where it passed to the Mediterranean, and from Spain to the New World. The year of 1627 is marked as being the one of its introduction in Pará. It is certain that at the time of the discoveries the Indians were already planting cane. Alonso de Rojas, in the report on the journey of Pedro de Teixeira in 1637, tells us this ("Descobrimento do Rio das Amazonas," p. 114).

Nordenskiöld thinks that the press is a native invention, according to his material and resources. Nordenskiöld's opinion does not seem acceptable to us for the presses and the tribes of the Uaupés. [177] They would be an imitation of the presses that the civilized have used on the lower Rio Negro since the eighteenth century.

351 A square, maxkɨ̃-pá, or rectangular area, cleaned of any vegetation, and usually proportional to the population, is located *[192] in front of the maloca. It is also called baxsarí-u'tú, "dance yard"; actually some numbers of the ceremonial dances are performed there.

351 There is always a road a few meters wide, and clean, that leads to the landing place, or places, where they tie the canoes 504 and take their bath. A road that serves, moreover, for the procession of Wãx-tɨ̃ at his festival (cf. VII - 4, e (2)).

504 When the steep bank of the river is very high, they build a stairway with steps of earth or of timbers. If the steps are of earth, they are made immovable with roundish timbers of about two meters, tied to small stakes driven into the ground or tied transversely, by means of cipos, to two long lateral parallel beams.

/175 cont./

178 342 The Tuyuka maloca of the place S. Pedro (upper Tiquié), in the vicinity of the Colombian border, was (in 1947) one of the oldest ones. We have seen similar ones in other tribes (Tukano, Kubĕwĭna, Wanĭna, Bara, Karapanĭ, Ide-masĭ, Hanĕrĭ, Ihwĭna, Roéra, and Baniva). During our visit in 1954 we verified that it had already been abandoned.

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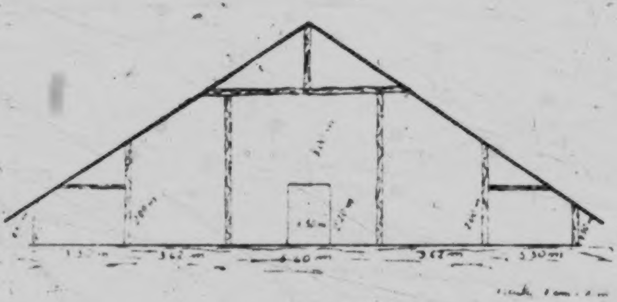

Tuyuka maloca (S. Pedro, river Tiquié)

It was built according to the ancient customs. We shall describe it, then, as a model of this type of construction. It was rectangular, measuring 27,60 meters in length by 18 meters in width. The covering was of two slopes, with a quite pronounced declivity for rapid flow. On the interior it measured 7.30 meters in height up to the ridge, ending at 90 centimeters from the ground, in such a way that the side walls measured only 1.52 meters in height. The caraná roof extended a little farther in the part corresponding to the doors, in order to protect them from the rains.

The main walls followed the classical style, that is, they were made of tree bark up to 2.5 meters of height, and afterwards of assai plaiting. The side walls were of pehé. *[192]

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/176 cont./
It was solidly built upon five pairs of supports, boxtá-ri (9).

9. Greatly preferred for supports is the "pau-vermelho" /red wood/ (mira-piranga) of the Caesalpiniaceae.

which demarcate the central nave (see the nomenclature of the columns - VII - 4, e (2)). They were roundish pieces of timber, straight, rustic (without removal of the bark), but quite regular and well-proportioned, as were also the beams, nẽxtõ-rĩ (Uaupés, nẽxtõ-nĩ), and rafters, wa' sõ-rĩ (U. wa' sõ-nĩ).

All the timberwork was solidly joined together with cipo (10).

[177]

10. In some of the modern houses nails are already appearing in beams, laths, etc.

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[415]

In the interior the supports, all of them nicely aligned, divided the space into five naves. The three central ones for common use: passage, meetings, dances, visits, and work. Kept there, but toward the back, were the utensils /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /177/ of common use, such were the large vessels of baked clay and the wooden tubs for the fermentation of the caxirĩs, and the oven for making the flour. It is here that the dances are performed on the occasion of the festivals (11).

11. Some malocas have only three naves, the central one being wider. We have also seen four naves. In those with five, the three intermediary naves are always used for work (preparation of the flour, of the caxirĩ, etc.) and for meetings.

/Illustrations facing p. 176 in the original source./

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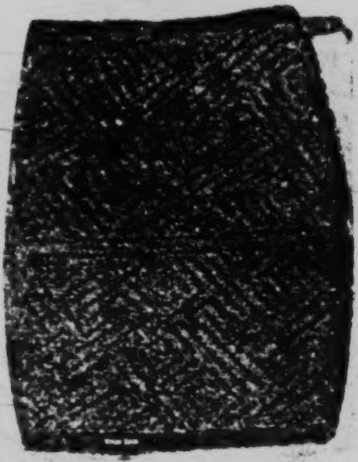

Grater
(One is seeing the small stones incrusted in a regular design.)

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View of the Uaupés during the period of low tide and a canoe filled with baskets for trading with other tribes

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/Illustrations facing p. 177 in the original source./

Preparation of the Caapi (Wanana tribe, Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés)

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Oven (axtaro, Nh. yapuna)

/177 cont./

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*[192]
The two outer naves, which correspond to the lower part of the roof, along the drip, were intended as the residence of the families: each nave had four divisions, in all, then, eight compartments, which are called wi'ĩ-khẽra tuxkũ-rĩ (Uaupés wi'ĩ-khẽna tuxkũ-nĩ).

In that of the tuxaua the separation might by chance be a little better; it was not enough, however, to obstruct the view from the inside. In some malocas there was absolutely no separation at all. One can then say that there are imaginary divisions, corresponding to the beams and the supports of the maloca.

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The posts that support the roof serve for tying the hammocks there and, in the two inhabited naves, permit the setting up of a platform, kaxsá-wõ, approximately 2.00 meters from the ground, serving as a shelf where each family keeps part of its household goods, and also beijú, flour, and smoked meat, the heavier objects staying on the ground.

Each division has its small stove or trivet, which, in all the native houses, consists of three vessels, vitári-a (see VI - 2, a (2)), of baked clay, among which are placed the wood chips.

*192
342
There are two doors, soxpé: a main one as an entrance, turned toward the river, called mẽxpĩ-yókaro-soxpé, and another at the back of the maloca, for the use of its occupants exclusively, doákaro-ká-soxpé; the former measuring 2.5 by 1.5 meters in width, with a beam 20 centimeters in height as a sill.

Serving as a partition for the two doors, there is a mat, soxpé-pẽma (in Nheengatú japá), of quite strong strips, with a frame of round pieces of wood. In some malocas the door resembles a strong and thick double hurdle, in whose spaces are inserted palm leaves, in order to block the rain and the wind better. The mats are suspended, like Venetian blinds, from the upper part of the portal. They are kept open during the day, the lower part being raised by means of a cipo, mĩ-yori-da, which hangs from the roof, or by means of a pole resting on the ground, soxpé-tú-kõ or soxpé-túñe-kõ. At times they reinforce the door at night with a bar, nẽxtõ-pĩ.

/178/

342 373 Having, then, only two openings, the interior is always somewhat dark, being, in part, illuminated by the stoves (12).

*[192] 12. Sometimes, on one or more posts, which seem planted only for this purpose, they light at night a piece of resin called cicantá, which burns with a quite intense and long-lasting light, and leaves as residue a tar which also serves for calking the canoes.

177 342 574 In the modern family-huts, there is customarily an interior partition, generally made of bark. Perhaps this division, which is being adopted, has been suggested by the convenience when they must house some guest, especially the civilized. The Indian ordinarily is very hospitable; he not only receives guests for the great caxirís, but he also shelters any Indian or white who might be traveling. The first division near the door is reserved exclusively for the guests (see VII - 4, c 2 a).

[797] In some povoados, at the request of the Missionary, they build a large hut that serves for overnight stays of the Padre and as a chapel, when there is no other place reserved for worship.

342 *[192] Some malocas (and also Makú huts), in which the roof ends very close to the ground, completely or partially lack side walls. Such walls are regularly dispensed with in the oxkóro-áro (Nheengatú tapirí or papirí), or emergency huts, which they make in the distant clearings or on the banks of the rivers where they are accustomed to staying overnight on the occasion of trips and fishing expeditions.

177 342 Ordinarily the maloca or house is alone and contains all the family household goods. Auxiliary houses, however, are beginning to appear. The maloca of the Tuyuca, described above, has one of these. One of the Indians, knowing a little Portuguese, explained that it was the "succursal" of the maloca. Much smaller and only partially protected by side walls, made of straw

[353] [415] and bark. There were about 14 hammocks reserved for the Makú in service, the flour oven, sieves, hampers, suspended tipitis,

177 /178 cont./
342 vessels of baked clay, and a cylindrical bark container, quite
353 well made, similar to the straight barrels in which we keep
415 chestnuts and codfish.

Nowadays (and since the time of the discoveries, as the
231 first explorers attest) the dog, which, besides guarding, also
serves for hunting, is found as a domestic animal in the various
malocas and houses, and in all the tribes. Ordinarily small,
hungry, extremely thin; some do not support the weight of the
body. Many of these animals, due to the stings of the fire ant
or taxi, have suffered degeneration of the cornea and for this
reason have white eyes.

/179/ Here and there in the malocas and povoados are
also seen araras, parrots, mutums /Crax/, jacamins, or domes-
[797] ticated jacus. The Missions have encouraged the raising of
[177] pigs and chickens. The chickens go back to the first colonizers
of the Rio Negro, and to protect them, by way of a chicken
coop where they are sheltered during the night, they make
small conical enclosures with the vertex upwards, or they use
some old canoe, turned upside down, with an opening that they
close at night, in order that the micura (gambá /opossum/) or
some other animal that chases chickens can not enter.

*[192] In the Arwáke languages the chicken is called karáka,
probably onomatopoeia for the chicken's voice. Onomatopes
are otherwise very common among the tribes of the Uaupés to
designate the birds. Perhaps from karáka is derived the word
of the Tukano language which means chicken, i.e., ká'rẽkẽ
or ka'rẽkẽ (Uaupés ká'nẽkẽ, ka'nẽkẽ). According to this
hypothesis, it is from the Arwáke that ~~the~~ Tukano (and the
tribes of the Uaupés in general) would have received the first
chickens, or at least knowledge of them. Such a hypothesis
is made probable, not only by the greater cultural develop-
ment of the Arwáke, but also by their prior relationship with
the civilized of the Rio Negro.

342 It seems that there is no rule with regard to the orienta-
tion of the maloca or with regard to the distance from the river
or from the forest.

/179 cont./

177 41 2) Household goods and utilitarian objects.

The house of the forest dweller who has been in the service of the "white" or has traded with them now displays many objects obtained from the civilized, such as kettles, mugs, ax, bottles, fishhooks, scissors, hammocks, and even trunks or suitcases in which to keep their clothes. Except for the cotton hammock, which among the tribes of the Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí is today almost as common or more so than the native one made of tucum, the other objects are rarities in the conjunction of the utensils of native manufacture.

We shall now recall these, and later on we shall describe the ornaments and musical instruments.

323 462 a) Ceramics.

All the ceramic work falls to the woman; looking for the clay, to the man.

*192 323 1) Earthen pots and cooking pots. Camotim or camocim is a regional term of the Amazon, and a generic one of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú, equivalent to pot, and is used to designate vessels of very different shape and dimensions, according to their use. Among the products of native ceramics, some are similar to a common pan of /180/ ours, are called ki-pu-tõ (Nheengatú, yapepú), and are used to prepare mingau /a manioc dish/ and quinhapira /a fish dish/. There also exist:

wai-doá-tõ, to cook the fish;

wai-baarí-pá, in which to serve the fish to the guests;

pẽru-tõ, a kind of large vessel in which to keep caxirí.

They distinguish the:

pẽru-ahũa aparí-pa, large black cooking pot in which the beijú caxirí is fermented;

pẽru-poorí-pá, in which the caxirí already prepared is kept;

sũxtõ-wõ is the water pot for carrying water;

kaxpí-tõ, the one in which the kaxpí is distributed (VI -- 4, i (3)).

/180 cont./

*192 323 They call the vessels of flatter shape baxpá, such as porringers or plates of different sizes, some quite small, baxpáryakã, used as spoons, which they do not know.

All these vessels are manufactured with the clay called dyí (Nh. tuyuka), which is found in compact strata, blue or dark green in color, in certain places, especially on the banks or in the bed of the watercourses. The clay is extracted with the help of splinters of wood, in fine layers, and is kept in humid places and well covered with leaves.

For the manufacture of the vessels the woman kneads the clay very well, with the addition of ewõ (ocher), and for each five parts of mud, one of ashes of caripé bark (13), reduced to powder and sifted. The mass is left to rest for a few days.

There is no mold whatsoever to facilitate the manufacturing; nevertheless, the vessels come out quite regular and well proportioned. Once the mud is prepared in the shape of a rope, torõrĩ-da (Uaupés tonõnĩ-da and toninĩ-da), of half a meter, starting from the bottom, then, with these ropes of clay, the woman starts raising the edges, pressing one rope on another and smoothing it well. Afterwards, with a piece of cuia /gourd/, wahá-pe'toró (Nh. peruta), she starts polishing and smoothing it better, inside and out. Once the vessel is made, it is left to dry in the shade, and when it has acquired a certain consistency, it is smoothed well, until it becomes glossy, using a round pebble, which they call wa'té-khá.

[824] 13. Trees of several species of the family of the Rosaceae (Licánia útilis and licánia myristicóides, Benthe., licánia scraba, Hook). Their ashes will give a certain porosity to the vessel and not let the clay crack.

/180 cont./

323 The last operation consists of the firing. Around the vessels are kindled some logs of firewood; little by little, other logs are added, so that the vessels are surrounded by the flames until they are well fired, that is, to the point of ringing. With half an hour /181/ of intense fire, they are ready; some will show a whitish color, others, a reddish one. These are the ones that are better baked.

*[192] In order to make the vessels dark, glossy, and impermeable, they start by rubbing them well, inside and out, with leaves of cubio /Solanum/, extóa pũr̠ĩ, or of abio /Lucuma/, kãrẽ pũr̠ĩ. They then kindle a small fire with wet leaves, so that there is a great deal of smoke, which is first received in the interior part of the pot or cooking pot, turned upside down, and then also on the exterior part. Finally, the vessel will be washed and will then display the dark color, almost black, fast, and, moreover, it has been made impermeable.

The vessels are relatively light, with the durability suitable for their use. They can be exposed to more intense fire, without cracking or letting the water or the liquid that is kept in them flow out. One sees some large vessels almost a meter in diameter and more than half a meter in height, therefore with a capacity of several hundred liters.

*[192] The vessel for the caapí, kaxpi-tõ, differs from the others not only in shape, since it is similar to an amphora with a narrow mouth and provided with two small side handles, but also in being decorated with designs.

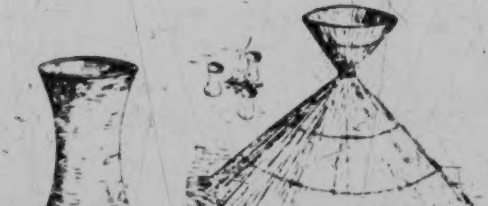
The kaxpí-tõ, after use in the feasts, is regularly kept outside the maloca, hanging on one of the corner posts. We were unable to learn the reason for this custom.

354 *[192] 2) Stove or trivet. The stove always consists of three vessels of baked clay, called vitari-a (in Nheengatú, itacurúa), among which the firebrands are placed. They are cylindrical in shape, but with the bases somewhat widened, almost as if they were two superimposed truncated cones, and this gives them greater stability. They measure approximately 25 centimeters in height and 10 in diameter. They are quite light and with the advantage of

/181 cont./

354 being heated only on the face turned toward the fire, and thus they can be handled by the other face when one wants to move them. They are arranged at a distance suitable for the dimensions of the cooking pots. Upon these vessels are placed the cooking pots for the preparation of mingau or quinhapira.

*[192] 3) Oven. The oven, axtá-ro (Nh. yapúna), consists of a vessel of baked clay, flat as a tray, two to four centimeters thick. It measures from 80 to 120 centimeters (14) in diameter, with rims /182/ of 10 to 15 centimeters. It is black, of the same composition as the camotins. Due to its size and weight, it is not customarily moved from its position, which is on a stove or furnace of clay, circular in shape, with a side opening through which the firewood is introduced. The diameter of the stove, 50 to 100 centimeters, varies according to the dimensions of the oven, and the latter, according to the quantity of flour to be prepared. Sometimes the oven is simply set on three or four stones stuck in the ground.



*[192] Trivet (vitári-a) and pot support (sã'ri-ró)

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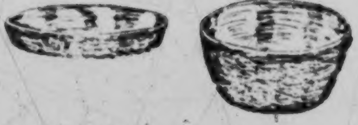
14. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 335) says that he found an oven up to 2 meters in diameter and with meander designs on the support.

/182 cont./

354



*[192]

Oven (axta-ro) and large vessel for drinks (pêru-tõ)

The ovens of large dimensions are manufactured at the place where they will be used. That is, on top of the furnace, previously prepared, the woman arranges a grate of quite compact poles, spreads on top a fine layer of earth, for the purpose of better leveling, and, with the mud ropes, starts making the oven, from the center of the flat part, until she reaches the dimensions that she desires. After it is dry, it is fired right there, as is done with the camotins.

Among the Suryana we saw a large oven prepared on top of an excavation made in the floor of the house, serving as a mold. It was left to dry right there, and afterwards the oven was fired.

*[192] /183/ An oven with slightly higher rims, for the preparation of flour, is to be distinguished and is called poká-axteri axtá-ro, and one with lower rims for that of beijú is the ahĩ-ga peóri-axtá-ro.

b) Wooden implements.

412
*[192] The tools for their work in wood were originally the stone ax, õxtĩ-komé, the adze, syó-a, also of stone, and fire, pexká-mẽ. With a piece of dark diabase (15),

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15. They are found in some cachoeiras, for example, in the Pirá-paraná, and already semiworked by the waters.

polished against the stones, they made their primitive ax. For

/183 cont./

412 that it was enough to set the diabase in a crack at the end of a straight stick, in the same position in which we mount our iron axes. With the help of tucum thread and breu /a substance
*[192] like pitch/ the necessary stability would be assured. The adze resulted from a smaller piece of diabase tied to the end of a curved stick, like a hook, yaxpú. Today the syó-a is only an instrument used as an ornament at the dances, hung on the left shoulder.

501
*[192] 1) Canoe. The canoe, yuxkõ-sõ, is an implement of prime necessity, since these tribes live in a region where the watercourses constitute the only means of communication (16), and fish is one of the principal foods. Today several tribes know how to build their canoes; but the skilled canoe-makers are the Tuyuka, Bará, Mikura, and Baniva.

The rivers of the region being large or with many cachoeiras and stones, they cannot use canoes made of bark, like other tribes (17), but of very resistant wood and of only one trunk. Some of three meters in length and about 40 centimeters in width; others, large logs of eight to ten meters in length and 100 to 120 centimeters in width. All, however, with high and pointed stern

16. The "varadouros" /see footnote 5, p. 10/ through the forest are few and of secondary importance.

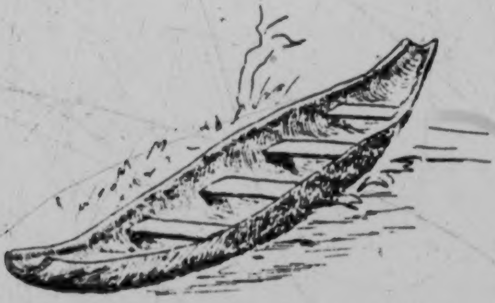
17. The explorer Lobo D'Almada also speaks of canoes, with pachiubas estribadas (?) /propped or supported paxiubas (a kind of palm)/. They were dangerous, however, and were used for two or three men to go down the Tiquié in the stretch without cachoeiras. (Cf. "Lobo D'Almada," by Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Manaos, 1940, p. 73.)

/183 cont./

501 and bow. Swift as the rivers are (18),

18. We mean to speak especially of the Uaupés and the Papurí, where the most numerous native nuclei are.

they do not allow larger boats. A small canoe will determine, in turn, that the community will be small, because of which the family community is the rule. Often, however, /184/ it was not enough for the transport of the whole family and goods. On the other hand, two men are sufficient for its construction: father and son.



Canoe (juxkõ-sõ)

*[192]

*[192] With a blow of the ax on the bark of the chosen tree (19),

19. They prefer to use for this the *kumĩ-kõ* (Nheengatú *mirá-tauá*, yellow wood, *Euxylóphora paraénsis*, Hub., of the Rutaceae), very resistant and light, so that the canoes never go to the bottom. And also the *sɨvi-kõ* (black laurel, *Nectándra mollis*, Nees., of the Lauraceae), the *kã-rẽ* (black and yellow itaúba, *sĩlvia itaúba*, Pax.), and other Lauraceae called *pũ'ũ-gõ*.

/184 cont./

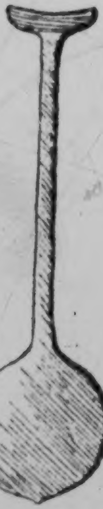
501 this starts to dry. A bonfire around it will end up by bringing down its trunk, which, with a slow fire (20), will be hollowed out. The adze was used to scrape the charred wood, leaving the interior part more smooth and regular. Afterwards the canoe, hollowed out as desired, is put on some crossbars, and a fire below, in such a way that the wood is heated and not burned. Under the action of the heat the fibers become more flexible and the canoe-maker starts, little by little, by means of small staffs used as a wedge, exerting pressure so that the hollow of the canoe starts to become larger, beginning at the center, then the stern and the bow. In order that it not contract upon cooling, they place poles transversely at the places where later planks for /185/ the seats will be installed. According to its length, they will have three, five, or more seats. They make it with such a mastery that, put in the water, the craft is perfectly balanced, with the stern and the bow quite high. The holes or cracks are calked with breu, oxpé.

[177] Under the influence of the civilized, they add to the height of these canoes, with planks set in with nails at the edges. Such canoes are called, in the regional term, montarias.

*[192] 20. For such an effect they kindled the house of the cupim /a kind of ant/, buxtwá-gá, which serves marvelously, because it provides a slow and long-lasting fire easily controlled by the native, in order not to remove more than is required. It is the process that they regularly use when they want to hollow out wood for the making of the tub, mortar, trocano /signal drum/, canoe, etc.

/185 cont./

501 *[192] 2) Oar. The oar, wahá-phĩ (Uaupés uhá-phĩ), is often made of saví-kõ, like the canoe. The end, wahá-phĩ dõxpo-á, is always a small cylindrical transverse projection, slightly curved, like a crutch. Among the Tukano it is perfectly in accordance with the style of their seat and their cigar holder. The dimensions depend, evidently, on the wish of the owner and its purpose: there are small oars for the children, medium-sized ones for the women, and large ones for the men.



Tukano oar
(note the crutch top and the beak-shaped tip)

[177] Due to the influence of the models of the civilized oars that navigate these rivers, one sees nowadays a great variety of shapes in the blade of the /186/ oars: roundish, lanceolate, etc. Not infrequently they produce on the blade colorful designs (circles, etc., evidently in imitation of the civilized). Originally it seems that they used an oar with a roundish blade, but with an almost imperceptible point; this generally in the more remote malocas.

/186 cont./

415 *[192] 3) Grater. In Tukano it is called soxkō-rō (Uaupés soxkō-nō) and in Nheengatú wiwisé. It is a specialty of the Baniva Indians of the Içana River (see IV -- 1, b), where the quartzite used in the grater exists in an igarapé near the cachoeira of Tunuí.

We have seen on the Içana that the preparation of the plank falls to the man, the incrustation of the small stones being executed ordinarily by the women.

As an object that is of prime necessity, it is found in all the malocas and huts, even in regions very remote from the Içana, acquired by barter from the Baniva.

*[192] It is generally made out of marupá (simaruba amara, Aubl.), white and light wood, whose fibers tend to return to the original position when they are made to deviate. In Tukano it is called
*[192] precisely soxkō-gō, that is, grater wood. It consists of a plank of 60 to 100 and 120 centimeters in length, and 40 to 50 in width by 2 to 4 in thickness, and somewhat curved. They start by executing
*[531] *[192] on the concave face the desired or, rather, traditional design, which facilitates the grating operation (21), like a small groove. Afterwards, with a point (today they use a nail) and following the lines of the design, they open a small orifice. Before the fibers of the wood return to their natural position, they set in small stones of flint in the shape of a tooth, in such a way that a chip measuring half a centimeter emerges. The small stones are better stabilized with the latex from the sorva, spread with a brush of fibers from the banana tree, whose tannin
*[192] gives more consistency to the latex. The stones are set at a distance of one centimeter apart and occupy the central part of the plank, leaving small side margins, a lower margin of 15 to 20 centimeters and another upper one, or head of the grater, soxkō-rō dōxpoá, of about 30 centimeters, this last one having a projection in the manner of a handle. This handle is used, however, only to hang up the grater.

21. There is a design pattern called precisely soxkō-rō óori, flowers of the grater.

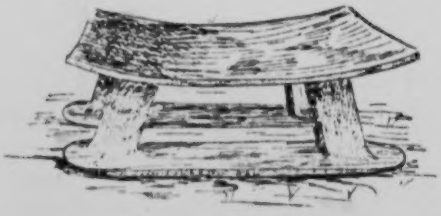
/186 cont./

415 The woman, as she grates, will do it with the two hands
252 alternately, and not in a uniform rhythm, but with sudden pulls
that cause movement of her very breasts. She will be seated on
the ground, having between /187/ her legs the grater, the head
[462] of which they support against the stomach. It is exclusively
women's work.

The grater is such an useful object that on the lower Rio Negro the civilized adopted it as well as the tipití (VI -- 2, d (1)).

*192 4) Seat. The seat, in Tukano kũ-mũ-rõ (Uaupés kũmũ-no),
352 is in general use, although its specialized producers are the
Tukano. It is generally made out of sorva or arara-seringa (Couma
guianénsis, Muell.), a not very heavy wood which hardly cracks.

They formerly made it with the help of their primitive adze. Today, instead of the syó-a, they use a digging iron or even an adze obtained from the civilized.



Little monoxylic seat (ku-mũ-rõ)

The dimensions are the most varied, some of only 30 to 40 centimeters and others of 120 to 150 centimeters. The style, however, is constant, to wit, the seating place is concave, with a double curvature in the longitudinal and transverse directions. It is always low, only 10 to 15 centimeters in height, with four legs connected by two longitudinal crossbars. And the seat, with the supports, is monoxylic, that is, made from one piece of wood.

[531 They are accustomed to decorating the seat with the tradi-
824] tional designs, and over it something like a varnish, obtained
from the sap of the bark of a wild inga tree, mẽ'rẽ (Uaupés
mẽ'nẽ).

/187 cont./

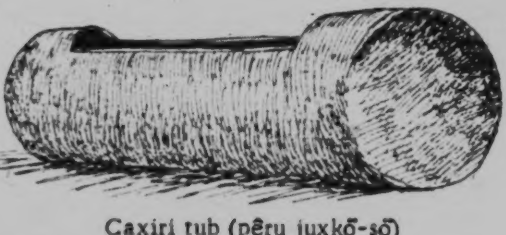
352 With two days of work, a man will prepare his seat.

Due to the instinct of imitation, and also because it is simpler, many Indians have started changing the original design of the seat, using nails to fasten the supports, and these in the number four, like the legs of our stools.

In some native houses we saw four small stakes planted in the ground, and on them a plank fixed to the stakes with nails, or with four holes through which the stakes are fastened.

*192 /188/ 5) Cigar holder. In Tukano it is called utíkaro yaxpú
276 or also utíkaro seré, or again mõrõ dõxkõ (?) (in Nheengatú
emapú). In the dabacurís /religious celebrations/ the use of to-
[796] bacco in the form of a large cigar, utíkaro, about 20 centimeters
[178] long is a ritual. Nevertheless, today it is rare to find the primitive cigar holder. It is large, measuring 50 or 60 centimeters, consisting of a three-pronged fork, in the style of the seat, to which the cigar is attached, and a handle, in a point, by which the utíkaro is held while being smoked and which is stuck in the ground when it is no longer being used.

*192 6) Caxirí tub. In Tukano pẽru yuxkõ-sõ properly speaking
273 means caxirí canoe (in Nheengatú iwá, hence the term ubá, which
means canoe). They are tree trunks of up to 50 centimeters in
415 diameter by about two meters in length, whose interior is also hollowed out with help of fire, and with a longitudinal opening almost the length of the trunk. It has a capacity of several hundred liters, and the natives leave the liquid there, covered with banana leaves, to ferment in the shade for the feasts.



Caxiri tub (pẽru juxkõ-sõ)

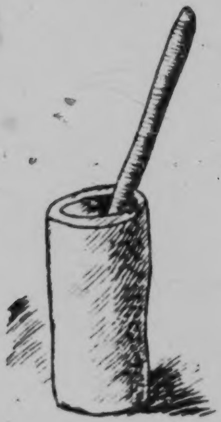
/188 cont./

*192 7) Mortar. The mortar, pa-mõ-a, is one of the indispensable utensils and consists of a hollowed-out tree trunk. The
415 shape and dimensions, however, will vary according to its purpose. Either it will have the common shape, as it is used among us, and is always small in size; this is used, for example, to crush the leaves of the ipadú.

Or it will resemble a caxirí tub, the trunk measuring about a meter or more in length, but small in diameter (about 20 centimeters). It is in this latter mortar that they crush the caapí (and for this reason it is called kaxpí pa-mõ-a) and the cará /yam/, cooked and chewed, for the preparation of the cará caxirí.

The pestle, doxké-kõ, looks like the one used among the civilized. It consists of a rounded stick, whose lower extremity widens into a cylindrical shape of larger radius.

/189/



Mortar (pa-mõ-a)

/189 cont./

*192 824

c) Spinning and woven products.

1) Preparation of the thread.

The tribes of the Uaupés do not know cotton (22) and prepare their thread with palm fibers, especially of neé (miritĩ or buritĩ, Mauritia flexuósa and viniífera) and of yõxká pũrĩ (tucum, astrocaryum tucumoides), the fibers of this being more resistant and durable.

*192 283 824 One gathers the still new leaves from the tucum, or better the sprout of greenish-yellow color, before it opens. Two bunches of fibers about 30 to 40 centimeters in length are separated from each leaflet. After being washed in natural water, they are exposed to the sun in order to dry and bleach.

/190/ The process of carding is done with the help of the "ouriço" /prickly part/ of the piquiá (caryócar villosum, Aubl.), ehyú-pu, in order "to comb," wõhõá-po, the fibers, making the thread quite fine. One thus has the raw tucum, yõxká pũrĩ põrá (Uaupés yõxká pũnĩ põná).

22. It seems that the ancient tribes of the banks of the Amazon cultivated cotton. Actually, Pe. Alonso de Rojas (voyage of 1637 -- cf. "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 116) tells: "the building of ships is greatly facilitated in these mountains (?), not only because of the abundance of wood and pitch, but also, because of the large amount of cotton that is harvested, there is a great abundance of stalks from which the pita /fiber/ (?) is made, and palm trees with which one can make shrouds as strong as those of canvàs." Unless by cotton he meant kapok.

/*190 cont.*/

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[462]

The woman (23)

> 23. Among the *Tuyuka*, *Bará*, and in general the tribes of the headwaters of the Tiquié, Papurí, and Komé-ya, it is the man who prepares the miriti thread and the *rede de "trinta fios"* /net or hammock of "thirty threads"/.

prepares her thread by rubbing a bunch of fibers against her thigh. It is natural that this would make the thread dirty. In order to bleach it, they wash it well, using also the leaves of the papaya tree or lemon juice, resources that are obviously more recent.

First of all, she takes two bunches of fibers unequally, that is, the end of one of them projects farther on one side, and that of the other toward the opposite end. With the right hand she rolls *toward the left*, that is, against the thigh from the knee up. In order to add new fibers, she opens the end of the thread thus rolled and inserts there two more bunches of fibers, also combined unequally, and she rolls *toward the right*, that is, rubbing in the opposite direction, from the upper part of the thigh toward the knee. Once the adding is done, she rolls the two bunches of added fibers *toward the left*, as she had done with the first two bunches, and so on, rubbing the fibers on the right thigh with the right hand. In order to roll, she rubs them up the thigh; in order to add, down the thigh. Two bunches of fibers give a finer thread, and by twisting together two or more threads one obtains the thickness desired for the work in mind. The finer the thread, the more delicate the weaving will be.

*192
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When it is in the form of a *skein*, one should take the opportunity to wash and bleach the thread, and also to dye it. They ordinarily use vegetable dyes. The preferred colors are: *reddish*, obtained from *õnõñá* pũrĩ (carajurú, see VII -- 3, e /*sic*; see VII, 3, b, p. 433/), *yellow*, by means of a small batata resembling ginger and which is called in Nheengatú *makarataña*, and a *dark* one, which is obtained by cooking the *dyawé* shrub (genipap). From the *skein* one later rolls the thread into large *balls*, which are kept in a sieve, in order not to become soiled.

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[177]

/190 cont./

2) Sleeping hammocks.

The Indian never sleeps on the ground, always in hammocks (24), pũghȭ, and they carry them with them on their travels. The hammock /191/ meets perfectly the demands of the climate of the region, warm and humid, since it is cool, ventilated, light, small in volume, and, woven, as it usually is, out of tucum (25), it presents sufficient resistance and durability. They make it in different sizes, for children as well as for adults. There are three types of hammocks for sleeping:

M
[286]
[352]

a) Rede de trinta fios /hammock of thirty threads/. This is the common name in Portuguese; in Nheengatu it is called kisáw, and in Tukano neé pũ-ghȭ, that is, hammock of miritĩ. It is made without the use of a loom. They make thirty or more turns around two stakes, as far apart as the length desired; always, however, longer than the body of the one who is to use it. These threads are joined in two clews /Port. punhos/, like a ring, pũ-ɣa-põ, by means of which the hammock will be suspended. Transversally, at a right angle, pass the threads that determine the width of the hammock, tied to the horizontal ones by knots in such a way that small rectangles of one span more or less result.

24. Through contact with the civilized they have learned to sleep on the floor or quarter-deck of the launches, and later also on benches and chests.

25. The "hammock of thirty threads" of the Makú is usually made of thick threads of miritĩ.

T
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/191 cont./

Due to its simplicity, it is known and produced by all the tribes, although it is called "rede de Makú" /Makú hammock/. Because of this depreciatory name, and mainly because of the present ease of acquiring more durable and economical cotton hammocks from the civilized, it is beginning to lose its acceptance among the Indians of the other tribes and today is found almost solely among the Makú and the tribes without contact with the civilized.

T
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The Tukano tell of having learned from the Desãna how to make this type of hammock. They were not able to clarify whether they had previously used the rede-puçá /puçá hammock/, or if they knew the hammock and slept on platforms.

* T
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b) Beaten hammock. In Tukano it is called pá-tuke, and in Nheengatú, makíra. It is manufactured with a very simple loom (26).

T
[797]

26. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 340) is of the opinion that the loom is of European origin. This opinion seems acceptable to us, and we believe one could say that the form of the "rede batida" /beaten hammock/ as well is not of native origin, but learned from the civilized. This conclusion is confirmed by: 1st, the fact that not many Indian women know how to make the "rede batida"; 2nd, those who presently know how to do it (as is shown by our inquiries) learned it in the Mission schools or from the alumnae of the Mission; 3rd, we know that the Governador of the Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro, Lobo D'Almada, in his economic plan to encourage industry, favored the weaver's trade, aiming at "the making of the cloth needed for the uniforms of the garrison, the colonists, and the Indians who came down, using eighteen looms and ten spinning wheels, with twenty-four spindles each. In 1798 only 157 Indian women were working as spinners"

/191 cont./

174 177 286 [797] /footnote 26 cont./ (A. Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada -- Manaos, 1940, p. 35); 4th, in the povoados more in contact with civilization, as well as in the more remote malocas, one never finds the "rede-batida"; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ but the natives either use only the hammock "de trinta fios" /of thirty threads/ or those bought from the civilized; 5th, it seems that we can discover still another argument, to wit: outside of the Colégio Feminino /Girls School/ of the Salesian Missions, on numerous excursions along rivers and igarapés, in only two povoados did we have an opportunity to see the loom and the work of the "rede-batida," and in the two cases it was a matter of young women who had learned it in the Mission and did it on order from the civilized. Furthermore: the terms of the Tukano language that we have presented in relation to the "rede-batida" result from innumerable inquiries at different times and places, with the more educated alumni of the Mission. It is not a matter of an ordinary nomenclature known and used by all, as one would expect if the "rede-batida" were a primitive industry. Many did not know the terms; others presented improper terms made up for the occasion. As generic terms for the occasion, they sometimes were and sometimes were not understood and accepted by other natives.

[438] Before there came into being the trade in the present cotton hammocks (called in the region redes-do-Ceará /hammocks from Ceará/), the civilized women of the Rio Negro and some Indian women of the Içana continued to "bater" /to beat/ their hammocks on the primitive looms, as they had learned in the lower Rio Negro. [797] The Salesian Missions in turn try to keep this skill from being lost, and they teach the Indian women of greater ability and skill, not only how to make the

797 /191 cont./

177 /footnote 26 cont./ "rede-batida," but, by
174 the same process, to make rugs, tablecloths,
286 napkins, bags, and other artifacts to suit
modern taste.

*192 /192/ pũ-pá:-tuse nextõ-rĩ, consisting of four rounded sticks
286 connected in a rectangle. Each of their vertical staffs (warp)
352 has two holes through which the horizontal ones pass. The holes
are purposely very large, so that with a suitable wedge the
distance with regard to the horizontal staffs can be varied and
thus hammocks of different lengths obtained.

The warp is made in the vertical direction (around the horizontal crossbars, the separation of which marks the length of the hammock), some turns going around with quite a long thread. The vertical crossbars of the loom determine the width of the hammock.

In between the vertical threads the woman starts developing the woof, a small stick with the rolled thread serving as a shuttle, wa'mẽ-kõ dõxká, and beating with a straightedge, pá:-turi-phĩ, in order to join the meshes well. The result is a true fabric of quite tight meshes, and the more elegant and comfortable the hammocks, the finer the thread.

They complete the elegance with a "veranda," pũ-ghõ so'mũ-tõrĩ or pá:-tuke-wári, or a side fringe of varied form, as macramé is made.

The veranda is prepared by stretching a thread of a size corresponding to that of the hammock. Along this thread are tied with knots the tucum fibers folded in half. With these variously colored fibers, the woman spins, without the help of bobbins, but only with the fingers, a somewhat wide lace "ponto" /stitch/, until she obtains a trimming /193/ of some
10 or 15 centimeters, and she afterwards tears the ends with the
ouriço /prickly part/ of the piquiá. They not only use fibers
[237] of different colors, but they even attach to them nowadays
[531] beautiful and colorful feathers of birds, in conformity with the
taste of the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

/193 cont./

*192 c) Puçá hammock. In Tukano one says pũ piõke; we call
286 it puçá hammock because it is similar, in the knots, to the fish-
352 ing nets called puçá in the Lingua Geral (27).

> *[115] 27. Pe. Ezequiel Lopes tells that around 1931,
> [797] among the little Pirá-tapúya Indians from the
> river Papurí who came to enroll as boarding-school students at the Iauareté school (river Uaupés), some appeared equipped with the puçá type of sleeping hammock.

In order to make this type of hammock, one uses a loom somewhat different from what we have seen previously. It consists of two pairs of vertical staffs, with the small separation of one span more or less. A more variable space lies between one pair and another and marks the length of the hammock desired.

Two threads are stretched horizontally, at a distance of 3 to 4 centimeters apart. Between them the woman starts to make knots or stitches like those of a casting net. They stretch two more threads horizontally, and new stitches are interlaced with the first ones, and so on successively.

This type of hammock is perhaps more work than the "beaten" one. The Tukano call it pũ pỹõke, because the line is run through, piõ: and the knot is made by hand.

227 3) Fishing nets (puçá).

284 The Tukano call them wehẽ-kõ (28)

> *[192] 28. The Salesian Missionary Pe. Eduardo Lagório makes the following observation: "The verb to kill, wehẽ, is interesting; it is used almost exclusively to indicate the death of fish and animals. For human beings, having almost no violent murders, they use the expressions related to the various methods of poisoning."

/193 cont./

*192 because of their purpose, which is to kill the fish (wehẽ means
227 to kill), and in the Lingua Geral, puçá. It is a mesh of knots
284 made out of fibers of caroatá (Bromélia pinguis, Lin.), caroá (Neoglarióvia variegáta Ar. Com.), or even tucum. The meshes are narrower or wider, according to the purpose.

[462] They are manufactured by the man. The pregnant woman cannot touch them, because the fishing would be fruitless.
[784] When they prepare their puçá, the men will remain silent, in order to have luck with the fishing.

They perform the work in two ways: either with successive knots, as the casting nets are prepared among the civilized; or using splinters of arumá /Ischnosiphon ovatus, Kcke./, tying them at intervals with caroatá knots, as if one were preparing /194/ a basket. Once this is ready, they take off the splinters and the caroatá knots present the desired net.

They manufacture them in two sizes: a larger one (jereré in Nheengatú), with the shape of a very wide funnel: it measures 1.5 meters or more in length and during the fishing is kept open by means of two poles tied at the ends, in such a way that, with the help of a third pole as a wedge, it almost forms a circle.

They also make smaller and funnel-shaped nets, ganapão /workman, porter/ type, fitted to a hoop equipped with a handle, such as are used to catch butterflies. It is with these that they catch the fish stupefied by the timbo.

It seems that all the men know how to weave their fishing nets, with the exception of the young men of the last generation.

4) Other woven products.

286 With the fibers of tucum or miritί they make those elegant
301 bands, yuxtá-seri, that they put on the legs (conf. VII -- 3, d (1)).

*[192] With these same fibers or with twisted embira they prepare some of the dance ornaments that must support the beautiful plumage.

They use monkey hide in order to make braids, which they wear as dance ornaments.

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In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

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d) Basketry and plaited work.

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For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men -- the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of some trees, especially that which they call pi'ɨ́-karõ-gõ. They use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use strips of paxiúba (waxtá), pataua (yumɨ̃), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mɨ̃-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (mɨ̃sɨ̃) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumã (wõhõ), reduced to strips (wõhõ-phɨ̃), that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

[824]
The arumã (Schinosiphon /Ischnosiphon/ ovatus, Kckes., of the family of the Marantaceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves.

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According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even: they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

/195 cont./

285 415 *[192] If it is a matter of a sieve or basket, they finish with three or four turns with the cipo, by way of a hoop (be'tó), on which they tie the ends of the plaiting and later trim the tips of the straws or the strips.

285 531 The basketry of these tribes is one of the richest known. Using a more or less flexible material, they combine the plaited and the twined in several technical processes, with wide or closed spaces, and warps and woofs in various directions, in such a way that an amazing variety of patterns results. As a further demonstration of their ability, they interpose colored strips, from which appear the fanciful Greek frets /Port. gregas/ that characterize their designs. And, with such richness of imagination and technique, they make objects of varied size and shape, according to their purposes.

285 415 184 *[192] Baskets and sieves are made by all the tribes, but the specialists are the Desana.

1) Tipití. The tipití, in Tukano wãx-tí-kẽ-õ, is the press of the Indian. It consists of a cylinder or tube, which the men weave most commonly with arumã straw, with a very tight mesh. It measures 1.50 and even 2 meters in length, and barely 10 centimeters in diameter. The upper end, wãx-tí-kẽ-õ dõxpo-á (head of the tipití), is open and terminates in a handle, by which the tipití is hung on one of the supports of the house. The other end is closed and also terminates in a handle, wãx-tí-kẽ-õ bé'tó (ring of the tipití). With the proper movement of the hands, the tipití is reduced to a shorter length, which has the effect of increasing the diameter, and through the mouth thus enlarged is introduced the mass of the grated mandioca (cf. VI - 4, a).

2) Sieves. They are used to strain the mass of mandioca, to sift the flour, etc., and are woven out of arumã straw.

The width of the meshes, dimensions, and shape will vary according to the use for which the sieve is intended. One finds some shallow, like our common sieves, and others deeper.

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*192 One can distinguish three types of sieves: 1st, tõ-pa (in
285 Nheengatú cumatá), is large, of very tight mesh, used to strain
415 out the manicuera /the liquid from the mass of manioc/ and extract the starch; 2nd, sɨ̃ó, or better sṍ-a (Nh. urupema), with a more open mesh and sometimes square in shape, in a frame of four rounded sticks, used to sift the mass of the water flour /see p. 310 /; 3rd, Baxtɨ, deeper, as small baskets for storing the beijú and other foods and objects. It is these that customarily bear the beautiful traditional designs.

3) Baskets.

*192 a) Pi'ɨ are large baskets which on the Amazon are custom-
285 arily called aturás. They are used to transport mandioca, fruits,
415 earth, firewood, luggage; they are woven exclusively by the Makú, who also work for the other tribes.

The traditional shape is the cylindrical one, with the base slightly wider than the mouth. The material is the uambé cipo, misɨ̃-da, quite strong, chosen without knots, and which is placed on the fire, in order to slip off the bark easily. The cipo is broken into two or three parts, and the plaiting is started from the bottom. The mouth is of rings of cipo, like a hoop, and is tied to the basket with woven caroatá fibers.

*192 The woman, upon whom the carrying of the pi'ɨ falls (the
462 man must always walk unencumbered, ~~in~~ order to be able to
482 defend himself and his family), carries it in the following manner: the aturá goes on her back, but is suspended from the forehead by means of a wide embira, pi'ɨ-karõ-pá (29), the ends of which, passing through the mouth of the basket, run along it and are interwoven on the bottom of it. They thus transport a load of 30 to 50 kilograms for a distance of kilometers.

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29. Or pi'ɨ-kɨ̃rõ-kaxserɨ́. It seems that the tree derived its name from the pi'ɨ, because its embira is commonly used to transport the pi'ɨ. Other embiras, however, are also used, such as sõ'ú-kaxsero, deóti-kõ.

/196 cont./

*192 b) A small basket of the shape and material of the pi'ĩ,
285 and in which the women keep their ornaments and painting powder, is called pi'ĩ-kamõ.

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[756] c) Also customarily of cipo is a small hamper, called wamõ axka-ro, in which the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ keeps his objects for treating sick people (cf. VII - 2, e).

d) In order to store or to transport the flour that they sell, they make the panniers, térẽ-pi (Uaupés ténẽ-pi), out of strips of arumã or taquara, and with quite wide meshes (two to three centimeters), and thus the manufacture is faster. They line them with great skill, with leaves of myõ-gõ pũrĩ, or likewise of arumã or other plants, in such /197/ a way that they do not allow the flour to go through, even with the little care that it usually has during the loading, unloading, and transport.

4) Fan. With miritĩ or tucum fronds, or arumã straws, they plait an object similar to a fan, and which can perfectly replace it; it is called wẽ'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés wẽ'nĩ-nõ). They manufacture it in various sizes and use it to fan the fire, as well as like a scoop to turn the beijú in the oven. It is heart-shaped, and the bound straws themselves constitute the leg or support, by which the fan is held.

Some quite large ones are seen, of the natural size of the biggest miritĩ fronds, from which they are made, and they are used as mats for the divisions of the compartments of the malocas, or even to serve as a wall.

5) Quiver. They also prepare with arumã strips a quiver, bu'sá-sa, of cylindrical shape and about 40 centimeters in height, with a diameter of 8 or 10 centimeters, widening toward the mouth. It is used to store the small poisoned arrows
[278] of the sarabatana /blowgun/, or curabĩs. To keep water from dissolving the poison, they customarily make this quiver impermeable with pitch.

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*192 354 6) Support for the cooking pot. With paxiúba splints about 40 or 50 centimeters in length, they prepare a support for the cooking pots, called sɨ̃'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés sɨ̃'nĩ-nõ).

It is essentially a bunch of splints, tied with cipo or embira in the central part, and the ends of which widen so as to form a spiral, in such a way that the sɨ̃'rĩ-rõ is similar to a double spiral-shaped cone, with a binding around the vertex. The ends are fixed by means of cipo or embira about two or three centimeters apart.

*192 415 7) Box for ornaments. It is a rectangular box, generally of miritĩ stalk reduced to laminae, which is used for storing the plumes and other dance ornaments. Since one box is smaller than another, the former is introduced inside the latter, as if it were its lid, in such a way that it remains tightly closed and in the shape of a trunk. In Tukano it is called mahɨ̃-poarĩ-karo, and in Nheengatú, pacará.

8) Other plaited work.

*192 285 a) Moreover, they weave the fronds from several palms to serve as roofing, peókaro, and even more frequently as walls, tyákaro.

/198/ b) They make mats for various purposes, called imĩ-sa (Nh. tupé), with leaves of different palm trees or with finer cipos.

c) With a rapid plaiting of the leaflets of some palm frond they improvise baskets, ba:, in order to transport fruits from the forest.

d) From the pacova sororoca /Ravenala guianensis, Benth./ and other leaves they make up small bindings, called sɨ̃: or sá:, in the shape of an ear of maize, which they fill with pirá-mirims /a kind of fish/, in order to roast them.

/*198 cont.*/

*192 285 e) Through contact with the civilized, these plaited products are starting to have new applications. We recall here that on the Amazon they are called *panacarica* (in Tukano *yuxkõ-sõ-mõarõ*) and *decorrera* (*moĩri kaxsero* or simply *moĩrõ*, Uaupés *moĩnõ*). The former is a straight cover for the canoes and small launches and is attached to fixed supports. The latter, on the other hand, of curved shape, is a movable cover and, because of this, small and light, and rests directly on the edges of the canoes. Ordinarily it is the custom to make the *decorrera* out of palm leaves with quite a tight mesh; whereas the *panacarica* consists of two superimposed mats, plaited out of cipo and with wide mesh, and between them a layer of palm or arumĩ leaves.

285 291 f) They also customarily plait out of cipo a hat with a wide brim, up to a meter in diameter, and, as in the panacarica, they combine two hats, and between them, in the manner of buckram, a layer of arumĩ leaves. Such hats are especially used for protection from the sun in the clearings and on canoe trips, and also from the rain, although they become uncomfortable because of the weight of the water.

*[192] Other plaited products worth mentioning are those that are used in fishing, such as *nassas*, *cacurís*, etc., which are mentioned later (cf. VI - 5, a (2)).

e) *Weapons.*

1) *Weapons used as festival ornaments.*

*192 178 411 a) *Tangapema*. The sacrificial club, or *tanga-pema* (in Nheengatú *cuidarú* or also *acanga-pema*, that is, head-flattener), in Tukano *uxpí-o-phĩ*, was formerly a war weapon of the chiefs. Afterwards, as was already observed by Gonçalves Dias ("Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas," Vol. II, p. 671), it became only a symbol of authority at the festivals and disappeared almost completely. The natives of the present generation only know its name, *uxpí-o-phĩ*. One of them remembered having seen it with special paintings, "in order to inspire valor and bring luck to the warrior." Others supplied the information that they had heard from the old people, to wit, that before leaving /*199*/ for

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*192 178 411 [276] war expeditions with their tangapemas, and in order to become invisible to the enemies and invulnerable to their blows, they painted themselves with the juice of the batata uxpí. Moreover, they smoked a big cigar called uxpí-mōrō, decorated with symbolic paintings, in order to become more courageous.

Koch Grünberg still found some clubs or tangapemas in the Namakoliba maloca, upper Uaupés (Zwei Iahre, 301). They were of a dark red wood, measuring 112 centimeters in length, with the handle painted and the other end wider. The Kubēwana and related tribes used them then for the dances and occasionally also as a seat in the canoe. It may be concluded that the war club of the Omawa is proof of the eastern origin of this Karaíba tribe, because it is similar to that of the tribes of the Guianas. Actually, among these tribes the upper end of the club terminates in a sharp point, in order to run through the fallen enemy, with a coup de grâce, in the temple or in the ear.

178 714 535 *192 b) In battle, moreover, they formerly used a shield, called in Tukano baxtí-pá:karò; it was woven out of cipo and was very light, but efficient against arrows. Today it is rarely seen and, up to the beginning of this century (information from Pe. João Marchesi), was used as dance attire, which they wore on the left arm when they went to drink their cuia /gourd/ of kaxpí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2)).

c) Likewise only a dance implement today (as far as we could observe) is the lance, yõxsẽrĩ-phĩ, which essentially is only a heavy rounded stick about two meters in length and ending in a sharp point. They use it in the dabacurí dances, and the "golpe-ao-branco" /blow to the white/ is performed with it (cf. VII -- 4, e (2 and 3)).

177 178 411 *[192] 2) Bow. The only indigenous weapons of present-day use, and, even so, of very limited use on the Uaupés, are the bow and the sarabatana /blowgun/. The tribes farthest in the interior of the forests, with few or no relations with the civilized, use them more. On the other hand, contact with civilization supplied the natives with shotgun, machetes, and axes, which, unfortunately, are used in the fights and reciprocal vengeance.

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The bow, bõé-ka-tẽ or bõé-kha-thẽ, is generally made out of pau-de-arco, in Tukano toxtó-gõ (Bignoniaceae with a purple flower, species of Tecoma), heavy wood, resistant and flexible. The normal dimensions are from 1.5 to 2 meters in length and a diameter of about 3 centimeters in the central part, tapering toward the ends, with a small incision or notch for tying the string. The outside part is roundish or convex, and the inside part, slightly hollowed or concave.

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As a string they use tucum fiber, and the bow is generally kept straight, that is, unstrung, with the string tied at only one end. /200/ It is bent only when it is going to be used. It is a weapon of precision in the hands of the Indian, being capable of projecting the arrows to about 50 or 60 meters away.

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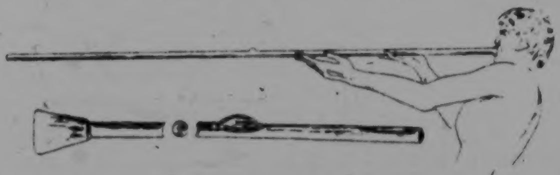
3) Sarabatana /blowgun/. It is exclusively a Makú weapon in origin and production, and one which the latter prepare for the Indians of other tribes of the Uaupés whom they serve. It is prepared with a variety of noded palm, the paxiubinha, called in Tukano buxpú, hence the name of buxpú-wõ for the sarabatana. It measures about 4 centimeters in diameter and up to 3 or 4 meters in length. They extract its pith easily with a very uniform stick, resulting in a well-calibrated orifice, like the bore of guns, but smooth. Externally, more or less around the middle of the tube, they fasten a curved tooth of a cotia /agouti/ or other animal, in order to serve as the "sight."



Sarabatana (buxpú-wõ)

In the part that is fitted to the mouth, a small cavity is widened as a mouthpiece to facilitate fitting it to the lips. Through this mouthpiece is introduced a small dart, bu'sá-khá, with a wad of paixa /kapok/ of sumaúma (Eriodéndron Sumauma,

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411 or *Céiba petándra*, Gartn.), with the double role of plugging the
orifice, and thus offering resistance to the blowing, and also to
give weight to the end of the dart and not permit it to swerve in
the air. With a short and strong puff they manage to propel the
M dart 20 or more meters with great precision, especially in the
[224] vertical direction. It is a very useful weapon, because it is easy
and quick in handling, and, besides, the dart does not make any
noise, and thus they manage to kill a bird in the top of the trees,
without making the ones that are close to it fly away.

It is a weapon for the minor hunting of birds, monkeys, etc.

T 4) *Arrows*. They are usually made out of paxiúba (*Eriártea*
411 *settígera*, Mart.), and with the help of a string and pitch the
T *point* is firmly fitted to it. The form and sustance will vary accord-
[237] ing to its purpose. There are points of paxiúba, bamboo, the
[824] teeth of jaguar or /201/ of fish, and thorns of patauá (30).

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[184] 30. Those of paxiúba, used by the Indians of the Caburí River, are equipped with three or four artificial knots, in order for them to break and remain buried in the body. They ordinarily exhibit beautiful and colorful feathering.

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[177] From the civilized they obtain nails or pieces of iron, from which
now come the metallic points.
T Some arrows are decorated with toucan and arara feathers.
[531] The feathering is found in a row /Port. *cavalete*/ or in a spiral.
T When they are intended for hunting or fishing, they are often
[224] poisoned with *curare* (31).

31. The poison is neutralized by the fire, when the food is prepared, or by the kitchen salt, which should be administered to anyone poisoned by the "curare."

They place the poison a few millimeters below the point, in order that a casual scratch will not poison some person.

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411 *[192] Three types of arrows are distinguished: for hunting, for fishing, and the curabís or small darts for the sarabatana /blowgun/.

224 411 a) For hunting. The arrows intended for large-scale hunting are heavy, made of brazilwood or pau-de-areo, with a point of wood, or more commonly of animal bone or of iron (32).

> 32. Before the relations with the civilized, they likewise used stone points, according to the account of Alexandre Ferreira, "Diário," 6th part.

The points /Port. pontas/ (of wood, bone, or iron) are embedded in a piece of wood called ponteira /an addition at the tip of something/, which is firmly tied to the body of the arrow with strings and pitch.

When the arrows are intended for birds and small game, they are of lighter wood and bear, on the end opposite the point, three arara wing feathers arranged in a spiral. In this manner the dart describes its trajectory by simultaneously making a rotating motion, which maintains its direction better.

*192 227 411 b) For fishing. For small fish common darts made entirely of paxiuba are used. For large fish (piraiba, pirarucú), alligators, and turtles, the point is of iron (or of bone) and laterally serrated, so that, once buried in the flesh, it cannot come out without dilacerating the tissue.

Those arrows that consist of two parts, staff and tip, are called sararaca (Nheengatú term which means: thing that comes apart). The tip, or suumba, is of strong wood (33).

> 33. They often use the paracôuba, one of the Leguminosae, further hardening the suumba on the fire.

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*192 with a harpoon set in, and is tied to the staff or the body of the
227 dart by means of a long string (34).

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34. The turtle fishermen call the iron point of the arrows virote /short arrow/ or espoleta /fusee, bomb fuse, lunt/ (cf. José Verissimo: "As populações indígenas do Amazonas /The indigenous populations of the Amazon/;" Rev. do Instituto Histórico e Geographico do Rio de Janeiro, Vol. 50, 1887, p. 377).

*[192] When hit, the fish or turtle flees with the /202/ tip harpooned in its body; but the staff of canarana (Gramineae of the genera páspalum and pánicum), which is tied to it by the long string, continues to float, and thus reveals the place where the harpooned animal is hidden. The fisherman picks up the staff and slowly pulls the string, and with relative ease also brings the turtle into the canoe (35).

35. In order to reach the turtles, the fishermen hurl the arrow upward, in such a way that it falls perpendicularly and, with its own weight and the impulse of the fall, penetrates the chelonian's shell. Ordinarily the turtles are kept alive for sale and consumption. As for the fish of larger size, when they are close to them they kill them with a stroke of an oar on the head, and ~~in this~~ way they are able to bring them into the canoe without any danger.

*192 c) Curabí. Curabí is a term from the Língua Geral, in
411 Tukano called bú'sá-khá. They are the darts for the sarabatana /blowgun/. Ordinarily they are of paxiúba and measure some 30 or 40 centimeters in length and one or two millimeters in diameter, and taper at the end. They are kept and transported in a quiver of arumã, bu'sá-sá, as we said above.

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5) The curare. Curare comes from the Lingua Geral word uirari and indicates the poison prepared by various savage tribes with different plants, especially varieties of Strychnos. On the Uaupés only the Makú (36) know how to prepare it and also make it for the tribes whom they serve. The Makú of Iauareté (37)

36. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 208) reports that the Buhágana (also called buxpú-maxsã, sarabatana people) make the curare so strong that they even use it to hunt large animals, such as the anta.

37. Prof. Ettore Biocca, in 1944, also witnessed the preparation of the curare by the Makú Indians of the Tiquié, and he took, for the observations of the Laboratório Paulista de Biologia de S. Paulo, samples of the various plants used and of the curare. The analysis of the Laboratório found alkaloids even in some plants that the natives consider less important. Four varieties of Strychnos (toxífera, etc.), two of Menispermáceae (abuta triana de Plancthon and Anomospérmum), and, without alkaloids, one Malpigheácea and one Rubiácea (policóurea or Psychótria) were identified. According to his conclusions, the preparation of the curare by the natives is not "a simple extraction of alkaloids, but a complex chemical operation, with transformation of the physico-chemical and biological properties of the alkaloids themselves" ("Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei" -- Vol. II, 1st sem., 1947). And that the plants not provided with alkaloids (like the Rubiáceae) can be supposed "to have probably the function of allowing or facilitating the native preparation of derivatives of the alkaloids

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/footnote 37 cont./ themselves, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ with a highly curare-like action" ("Atti," Vol. II -- 2nd sem., 1947, p. 165).

As for the toxic activity of the curare, one gram produced up to ten thousand minimal fatal doses for a mouse, when applied by muscular method ("Atti," Vol. II -- 1st sem., 1947, p. 695). Whereas by the oral method doses 80 to 90 times larger occurred ("Atti," Vol. V -- 2nd sem., 1948, p. 99).

make it in the following /203/ manner. They scrape the stalk and roots of several kinds of bushes and put the fragments in a funnel made of arumã leaves. On top they pour water, which dissolves the toxic alkaloids, and, dripping slowly, it is collected, as a reddish liquid, in a pot of fired clay. Afterwards the liquid is subjected to a slow fire for one or two days, the foam being taken off with a wooden spatula, until it acquires a syrupy consistency and a dark color.

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All the time that this operation lasts, the Indian cannot lie on the hammock, but must remain squatting beside the fire, and he can not eat beijú, quinhapira, fruit, or any other animal food. He can only use a moderate amount of chibé /see p. 313/. If any of these rules is neglected, he believes that the curare will not have its toxic quality.

The curare is kept in small ceramic pots. In time it becomes hard, and, in order to use it, they must dilute it with lukewarm water; or, if it is very hard, "wake it up," that is, they add to it water containing Indian pepper.

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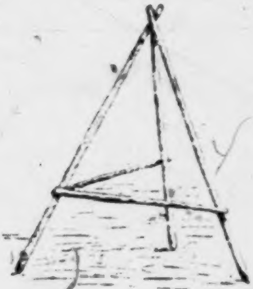
f) Other objects of domestic use.

*[192] 1) Tripod and grill. A very simple and very useful utensil is what in Tukano is called ñamá, deer. It is, properly speaking, a tripod, consisting of three poles of about two meters or more in length and whose thickness varies according to the size and use, generally a few centimeters in diameter. They are connected at the upper end by means of a cipo or embira and are kept separate in the lower part with the help of two sticks about 80 or 100 centimeters from the ground. There being only these two sticks, the base of the apparatus can be extended or narrow, as one wishes, or the tripod can even be closed and leaned against the wall to save space.

On top of these sticks is put the sieve in which the mass of mandioca is pressed by hand, while a pot collects the liquid, or manicuera. *[192] There can also be put on top of these sticks a kind of grill or moquém, in Tukano waí kaxsá, made of rounded pieces of wood. /204/ The fish or the meat that one wants to "moquear" /to smoke/, according to the Amazonian expression, is placed on the grill, and the fire underneath.



Tripod (ñamá)

One also finds the grill fixed to four stakes solidly planted in a corner of the maloca.

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*192 415 2) Equipment for the ipadú and the caapĩ

a) To prepare the ipadú (cf. VI -- 4, i (3) /see 4, i (4)/), the Indian, besides a pot with a wide mouth, pátu axtẽrĩ-tõ, and a small mortar, pa-mõ-a, in the usual fashion, needs bags and a long tube, patu pa:põ. The bags are obtained from the tururĩ (cf. VI -- 3).

b) For the kaxpĩ there becomes necessary a wooden tub, kaxpĩ pa-mõ-a (see VI -- 2, b (7)), in which the cipo is pounded, and a vessel, kaxpĩ-tõ (see 2, a (1)), in which the juice is collected and diluted with water.

855 3) Macurú. When the child starts to steady itself on its legs, they use a very practical process to entertain it and at the same time to teach it the first steps. It consists of a hoop which is obtained from a thick cipó wound several turns and tied to a beam. The child will stand inside the hoop, which reaches the height of its chest. A very flexible and soft embira, tied to the hoop, passes between the legs of the child, who thus remains as though riding a horse and can sit on the embira when it feels tired. 177 *[192] Nowadays it is very common to find a piece of cloth instead of the primitive embira. This apparatus, which in the Lingua Geral is called macurú, and in Tukano bahari be'tó, is secured to one of the roof beams by a cipo and reaches a distance from the ground that allows the child to touch it with the feet and to try its first steps.

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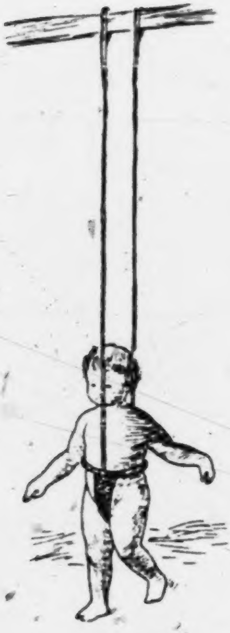

*[192]

Macurú (baharí-be'tó)

Outside of this apparatus they do not know another for the children, who either remain abandoned on the ground or will ride on the hips of their own mother or older sister (38).

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38. It is always the women who carry the children. Due to the influence of the civilized, one can see today a father carrying his own child in his arms, but for a short time, while the mother is carrying some other load. In the house one never sees an Indian man holding a child, and even less lulling one to sleep.

when they are not in the arms or in the hammock.

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4) Cuias and calabashes. Moreover they use cuias (wahá-ro) and calabashes (ỹaxsɨ̃), or ỹahɨ̃, ña'sɨ̃, of diverse sizes and shapes, /206/ as vessels for the most varied uses: to take water, to prepare chibé, to distribute the caapí, to store their colored powders, to manufacture the maracá (see VII -- 3, c (3)), etc.

a) The calabashes, obtained from the creeping calabash, Cucúrbita lagenária, Lin., of the Cucurbitaceae (yaxsɨ̃-ga), are used, when dried, without further work. The most important use for the calabashes is the making of the maracás and as containers for the colored powders.

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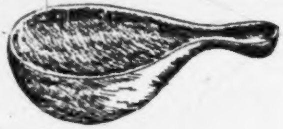
b) The cuias, from the plant called cuieira or cuietezeira (Crescentia cuyete /cujete/, Lin., of the Bignoniaceae), are used to take water, chibé, mingau, etc. and exhibit an interior surface of lustrous black color. The woman manages this with the help of the wahá-ko (that is to say, cuia water; from wahá, cuia, and oxkó, water, liquid, juice).



Cuia (wahá-ro)

They slash the bark of the plant called wahá-ko-gõ (39), cumati (myrcia atramentífera, B. Rod.), which exudes a dark red liquid; or they take scrapings from it, which, left for some time in a water infusion, produce a thick dark liquid, the wahá-kó.

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39. Pe. João Marchesi called our attention to the natives' custom of naming a vegetable after the use that they make of it.

/206 cont./

386 415 *[192] The waha-kó is spread in the interior part of the cuia with a brush, letting it dry afterwards. The operation is repeated a second time and more, until it reaches the thickness of approximately one millimeter. Directly afterwards urine is spread on the ground and on this area they turn upside down, on small pieces of wood, the cuias that they wish to paint. The ammonia that comes from the urine transforms the layer of wahá-kó in the interior of the cuia into a black, shiny, and quite adherent varnish.

The same result is obtained by applying mandioca leaves saturated in urine over the layer of wahá-kó.

5) Other utilitarian objects.

824 The Indian has known how to obtain from the nature that surrounds him many other objects and resources for his life.

We shall recall some:

*[192] [515] /207/ a) Papóque. The papóque, in Tukano pápwa-khá-sôtí, is the embira of a tree that produces foam, and they wash their heads with it, for lack of soap.

*[192] [276] b) Tauarí. Táwari, as is also said in Tukano (couratari tauarí, of the family of the Lecythidaceae), is also an embira, which unrolls into very thin and flexible sheets that are used as cigar wrappers. They are obtained from the bark by striking it with a mallet until all the ligneous part has been detached.

*[192] [415] [532] c) Bags, cueio, and masks. The tururí, in Tukano waxsó-gõ, is a tree of several species of Manicariao, from whose liber or bast they prepare the bags for the ipadú, the masks (see VII -- 3, d (2)), and the waxsó-ro (in Nheengatú cueio) for dances (cf. loincloth, VII -- 3, d (2)). Once the branch or trunk that suits them is chosen, they cut it and start to beat the bark with a wooden mallet until /in the original source the line of type that follows these words is the duplicate of one that properly appears later in the paragraph, while the line that belongs here is missing/ as if it were a shirt sleeve or a cape. With a cutting object (formerly a taquara /a bamboo/) they detach the part that they want. The

/207 cont./

824 liber that is thus obtained, if from a thick trunk, is used to prepare the masks; if from a small branch, tied at one of the ends, it presents the shape of a bag for their various uses.

We observed another process among the Karapanã of the headwaters of the Papurí. With the help of a spatula they detach the bark, as though they were rolling up the sleeve of a coat, until it reaches the length that is desired.

6) Toys and games.

524 We did not find characteristic objects of play for the girls, such as the dolls of the civilized. In any case, from an early age the children of the female sex are put to work, and they do not have much time for toys.

The little boys, on the other hand, make their small bows and arrows with which they entertain themselves, learning to shoot or even to kill birds and fish.

*[192] Out of a light and soft wood, poo-gõ, molongó (it is the ambelãncia grandíflora, Hub., of the family of the Apocynaceae), they build tiny canoes which they let loose on the water, tied to a string, accompanying them from the bank while they float.

They have still other toys and diversions that follow one another during the year. Among them one that is known in the south of Brazil as "cama de gato" /cat's bed/. That is, with a string, with the two ends /208/ connected, they execute figures with the fingers of both hands, passing it to the neighbor, who, with a different position of the fingers, makes it take another shape. We have seen eight or ten different figures formed with the string, some quite interesting and similar to the object or *[192] animal whose name they bear. This game is called mĩ-pesé (that is, game of taking).

A word here about some amusements of the children. The children, always respecting the separation of the sexes, join together in bands and entertain themselves in play in which the bees buzzing in search of flowers figure: it is the game of the

*192 /208 cont./

524 bees, mumí-pesé (40).

> 40. A little Indian also talked about the "game of the lemon," but she did not describe it to us, and we did not have a chance to see it.

Another collective game is "hide and seek," called in Tukano wĩx-tĩ mãã-ré baágõsamim (Wĩx-tĩ is going to eat you), because the signal to hide is given by one of the children, calling "Wĩx-tĩ is going to eat you."

One of the most common amusements, and which appears even in the Dabacurís (see VII -- 4, e (2)), is what is called game "of the toad," tárokõ-pesé. Some children squat and, advancing by jumping, start singing: táro-kõakĩ... táro-kõakĩ (little toad! little toad!). Other children, standing up, block the jump of the toads, and among them the following dialogue is started: -- Where are you going? (no'õ-põ waati mãxsã?) -- We are going to see whether there is any ripe pineapple in the clearing (õxsĩ wexsé-põ yĩra wá:, sẽ'rá to'ó-põ buxtise-pa yĩra wá:) -- Your grandmother went there to eat pineapple, fell down, and hurt herself (toó-põ mĩxsĩ ñẽxko sẽ'rá baágo myõ-doxké-pyõ-waápõ). Then the little toads exclaim: -- Poor grandmother! ... (adé:! õxsĩ ñẽxkõ!) and pretend to faint, falling on the ground.

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With the palm leaflet rolled in a spiral, they improvise a flute capable of emiting different sounds, according to the diameter of the spiral.

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They make small flutes, puxtisé, out of taquara or paxiúba; the spinning top, bextága, using the nut of the tucumĩ and others. More recently, in possession of jacknife and nail; they also prepare their wooden tops in imitation of the one of the civilized.

/208 cont./

177 3. Clothing and shoes.

291 a) Clothing.

Under the influx of the civilized (the example of the white, whom the Indian likes to imitate, the instruction of the Missionaries, and the clothes that /209/ the latter give them), the natives are getting into the habit of wearing clothes. As a rule, those who have spent some years in the schools, upon returning to their aldeias, do not dispense with clothing any longer. At least a pair of pants or shorts (the men) and a skirt (the women), leaving the bust uncovered.

294 296 462 An interesting detail is that generally the women only make, maintain, and wash feminine clothes. The men obtain ready-made clothes, given or bought, and they must attend to washing and repairing them. Some men have been seen washing the clothing of their wives.

291 Originally, that is, before any influence from the civilized, dating from the discoveries of the New World, did they have any clothing? What would it have been?

For one thing, the warm climate does not impose the use of clothing. For another, the rains and frequent excursions into the forest, which offers shelter to the individual and would quickly wear out the clothes, discourage the wearing of clothing. This is what we could deduce, a priori, from their habitat.

The first Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro, Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, in 1759, says very originally: --"The Indians of these sertões /interior parts of the country/ commonly not having any more clothes than those that our first parents wore in the field of Damascus" (o. c. 145). He notices, as an exception, that the Cambeba wore long garments of cotton and without sleeves, open on the side.

A century later, in 1846, the costume is still the same, according to Wallace: -- "These Indians free themselves from the hindrance of clothing as much as is possible to conceive. The men wear only a small piece of tururí, which goes between their legs and is tied to a cord that goes around the waist. The

/209 cont./

291 women completely dispense with even this costume, not covering themselves with anything whatsoever. They live in complete nudity, and this is very general. Among the Indians of the Uaupés such customs are not given up" (o. c. 629).

Seventy years later (Boletim Salesiano, Feb., 1918, p. 30) the first Salesian Superior of these Missions, Mons. Lourenço Giordano, reports: -- "The men do not wear clothes and the women ordinarily do not have any more than they do." "The Tucano can say with more truth than the philosopher: omnia mea mecum porto /I carry my all with me/. As clothing he wears ... the poira (?), that is, a string at the neck, with seeds of various colors, or a piece of white marble, and, ordinarily, nothing else."

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291 /210/ Even today one finds many men with only the loincloth or waxsó-ro, as is said in Tukano (cuêlo in Nheengatú) (41).

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41. We think that cuelo is only a corruption of the Portuguese word cueiro, the loincloth used for the newborn children. Waxsó-ro is probably derived, according to the nature of the Tukano language, from waxsó su'ti-ro. Waxsó means semen; su'ti-ro, garment. Some Missionaries who speak Tukano think that waxsó-ro comes from waxsógõ, the Tukano name for the tururí plant (of the family of the esterculiáceas /Sterculiaceae/ from whose bast is taken a fabric used for the bag for storing the ipadú, for the making of clothing or dance masks. It must be noted, however, that such masks are called ya'ko-kó su'ti-ro, dress of tears, because such masks are only worn in the funeral dances. Would it not be, on the contrary, that the name of the plant, waxsó-gõ, is derived from waxsó-ro, because of the use of its liber as cuelo? One must

/210 cont./

291 /footnote 41 cont./ point out that this is precisely the custom of these Indians, to name the plants according to the use for which they are intended.

which at first sight is similar to a hernia truss. It consists of a strap of goods about six or eight centimeters in width, covering the private parts, passing in between the legs and tied at the ends to a cord as a waistband, at the height of the flanks. Naturally this string must be uncomfortable, and probably, in order to get used to it, the little boys, before wearing the waxsó-ro, start by wearing only the waist string. It also seems that there is no prescribed age for the wearing of the waxsó-ro. Certainly all the boys wear it after six or eight years of age.

As for the persons of female sex in the povoados along the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí, from a very early age, certainly from 3 or 4 years old, they now appear before the civilized with the body completely covered, or at least with a skirt from the waist to below the knee. The cases of a simple short skirt above the knee or a piece of cloth wrapped around like a tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ are very rare.

Evidently these coverings are prescribed by the civilized, notably by the Catholic Missions. Would they have anything original, how and of what material?

There is no doubt but that the masculine waxsó-ro, from the shape and the use, is neither imitation of the Civilized nor advice of the latter to the Indian, although it is made with imported goods and not with the fabric made by the Indians or embira of tururí. The waxsó-ro is of very ancient and general use among the Karaíba tribes of America. Wallace, a century ago, among the Indians of the Uaupés, describes it to us as being a piece of liber or bast of tururí (42).

[171] 42. In the middle of the eighteenth century (1759) Padre José M. de Noronha reports it for the Tecuna (o. c. No. 139).

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291 The first travelers of the Solimões mention Indians "with a tail." Wallace is certain that attributing a tail to the /211/ Indians of these regions is due to faulty observation of the dirty and twisted waxsó-ro.

It does not seem, however, a "dress of decency," because it is too tight and narrow, and at times it only covers partially. It could be a "dress of attraction." We consider it rather a "dress of protection" (43),

> 43. In May of 1954, expressing to a Karapanã Indian, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papurí), Vicente by name, our desire to visit the region of the Karapanã on the headwaters of the river Áua, he informed us spontaneously, as to warn us, that over there they do not wear any clothing. After this trip, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has lived with the Irmãs Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women did not need bodily protection like the men.

it being a matter of a more sensitive part than the rest of the Indian's skin, hardened by the inclemencies.

*[192] [177] As for the tanga (44)

> 44. Gaspar de Carvajal, in the account of the journey of Francisco de Orellana in 1540 (o. c.), tells us about the use of the waxsó-ro by the women. Wallace (o. c. 352), in 1849, says that, on the Uaupés, the women, previously naked, "upon the entrance of the whites cover themselves with a tanga." The same still happens a century later.

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291 of the women, called in Nheengatú *muruarí*, it is similar to
*[192 a small apron of about 20 centimeters in length by 10 centi-
meters in width. Nowadays it is only a dance ornament which]
[178 the women exhibit together with the painting: or they are]
[535] even without it and only painted. With the jewelry that they
[531] have obtained from the civilized, they prepare very beautiful
*[192] *yaxkẽ waxsó-ro*. Even the original ones, woven out of tucum,
were outstanding works of weaving. The one and the other,
however, seem to be a "dress of attraction" rather than a "dress
of decency," because they remain hanging at the waist and,
due to the position and dimensions (the largest dimension is
horizontally), do not cover enough (cf. VII -- 5, b).

b) Shoes.

They do not manufacture or use shoes of any kind, as is the custom of the Indians of the savannas. They are unnecessary for their long trips, which are made by canoe, and are inconvenient for the excursions in the forest, if they are not made out of a resistant material, such as leather, and well fitted. Besides, the warm climate and the continuous rains would render their use harmful to the health.

4) Alimentation.

a) Mandioca.

*192 The Indian obtains from the mandioca (*Mánihot utilíssima*)
178 his principal food, preparing it in different ways, and he uses
262 it every /212/ day of the year. There are recollections of a
very remote period (centuries or millennia before the histor-
ical period, which is the sixteenth century) when they did not
know mandioca, and they ate the chestnut /Port. *castanha*,
any of several trees having edible nuts/ called *boxpé* (infor-
mation of Dorotéia Brito).

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262 *[192] 1) The flour. The flour, po'ká, is an indispensable food, not only for the natives of all the tribes of the Uaupés, but also for the caboclos of the Rio Negro. Without the flour, not only would the most varied and nourishing repast seem deficient to them, but they would not endure any nutritional regimen uninterruptedly without flour.

*192 252 For the making of the so-called "farinha dágua" /water flour/, they use the "mandioca puba," ki-bó. That is, the roots are submerged in water (sometimes in a canoe or in some submerged hamper, or even camotim) for about six days, until they show the beginning of fermentation or putrefaction, with an unpleasant odor. Through simple pressure between the fingers, the mass comes loose, the bark remaining almost whole.

The mass, ki-δ'tá, after it is squeezed by hand in a strainer of fine mesh, tõ-pa, placed on top of a camotim that collects the liquid, yõxká, is introduced into the tipití. After this is full, it is suspended on a support by the upper handle. Into the lower handle the woman inserts a rounded stick about two meters long, serving as a lever, this remaining immobilized by one of its ends against the support; and upon the other the woman will exert pressure with her arms or even by sitting on top of it. With the weight of the body itself and with adequate movement, the tipití is stretched, which thus compresses the mass and forces out the liquid, which is then carefully collected in a vessel.

There are three ways of immobilizing the end of the lever: 1st) by means of a ring of cipo, δ'tá buhuri-be'tó, which embraces the support; or 2nd) the support is equipped with orifices, δ'tá buhurí-pé, and the end of the lever is successively fixed in the various orifices as the tipití stretches; or 3rd) the support is cut like the teeth of a saw, δ'tá buhú-yeheró, on which leans the shorter end of the lever. Among the Arwake /Arawak/ of the rivers Içana and Aiarí, we observed the preference for this last process, and in a very practical way. That is, they would plant solidly in the ground a rounded stake, a meter or a little more in height and about 10 centimeters in

/212 cont./
diameter, equipped with teeth like a saw, against which the lever of the tipití was immobilized.

As a result of the compression, the mass comes out quite dry and hard. It is further passed through a strainer of wider mesh, sõó-a (Nh. urupema), in order to eliminate the fine fibers.

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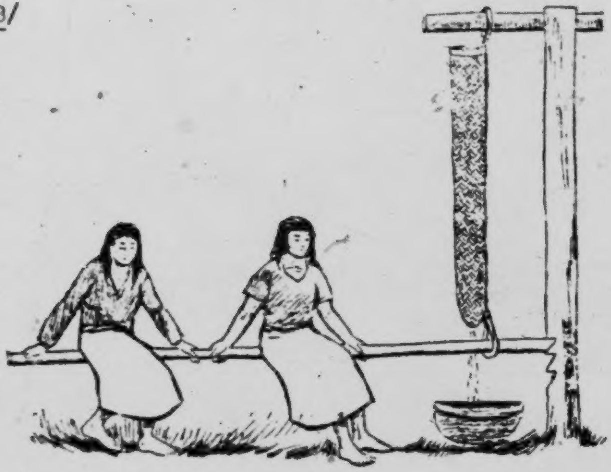

Squeezing the mass of mandioca in the tipití

The oven being already quite warm, the woman starts to reduce the mass to flour over it with the hand, spreading it well, in small amounts, and at the same time stirring it with a wooden scoop, po'ká axtẽrĩ-phĩ (Nh. tarubá), in order to toast it well. According to the quality of the mandioca, the flour will acquire a whitish color (it always contains tapioca, that is, starch) or a beautiful canary-yellow. From the oven they transfer the flour to deep strainers, baxtí, to cool, and later they keep it in panniers for consumption or to sell to the civilized.

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2) Tapioca. The fresh mandioca is peeled with the teeth, or with a terçado (large knife), if they have it, and is grated using the two hands in an alternate and rapid movement.

Water is added to the merely grated mass, in order to separate out the powder or starch, and it is left to rest in vessels called bixperí-pá. The powder, after a few hours, settles on the bottom. Once the excess water is eliminated, the vessel is sometimes covered with a cloth and a layer of ashes, in order to clarify the powder better. Later it is taken to the oven, and one has the tapioca, wextá, in granular form, greatly /214/ appreciated also by the civilized, especially taken with milk or coffee. The forest dwellers usually keep the tapioca and use it daily to prepare their mingau or beijú.

3) Manicuera -- Tucupim.

a) Manicuera. The liquid that ran out of the mass of squeezed mandioca, although poisonous because of the hydrocyanic acid that it contains, if left for some time fermenting in the sun or subjected to fire, loses its toxicity and becomes pleasant, being greatly appreciated in the caxirí and outside of it. It is what is called manicuera or manipuera (in Tukano yõxká). They usually add to it cará /Dioscorea/, sweet potato, or fruits, like a thin soup.

b) Tucupim. Also the liquid extracted from the mandioca puba, evaporated by boiling until it becomes a dark substance of syrupy consistency, somewhat acid, but, thanks to the flavor, it is used as seasoning and is called tucupim (in Tukano ki-bo-kõ). Stradelli affirms concerning the tucupim: "For my taste, it is the king of the sauces, for game as well as for fish, it being necessary to add that it is recommended for curing beriberi, in the dose of a chalice after each meal, and that extraordinary cures are attributed to it" (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry "tucupim").

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4) Beijú and similar foods.

a) The beijú, also called meiú or caçábe (in Tukano ahũga or ahũ-a), is a cake made out of the mass of fresh mandioca after it is pressed in the tipití. The woman starts by spreading the mass, little by little, over the very hot oven, pressing with the hands and smoothing with a small spatula, until it has the thickness of about 3 centimeters. When the lower part is well cooked, she turns it over, using a fan (wẽ'rĩ-rõ).

b) There is also prepared, although less appreciated, the beijú of mandioca puba, called in Tukano karĩbé-hũa.

c) The curadá (in Tukano sirákaro or sidákaro) is similar to the beijú, but thicker and richer in starch. It is the required food in the rite for the initiation of the maidens.

d) Õ'tá-pekaro is the name of the fresh, brittle beijú, which is obtained from the mandioca gathered, grated, and prepared on the same day, in an interval of a few hours.

e) Súkaro is the name of a variety of mandioca beiju with tapioca.

/215/ 5) Mingau. It is generally obtained from tapioca cooked in water until it has a gummy consistency, like soft glue. When they can, they add sugar or salt or fruit juices to it. It is the food that, as a rule, they are accustomed to taking every morning, before leaving for work. In Tukano it is called yumũ-ku. It is to be noted that on the Tiquié the drink prepared with bacaba is called yumũ-ko; on the Uaupés the name of this drink is pronounced ñãmã-ko, and the mingau, yumũ-ku.

6) Arumbé. The mass of mandioca can be prepared with pepper. It is called in the Língua Geral arumbé or arubé. It seems to us that such food, which is rarely talked about, might not be primitive, but inherited, as was also the name, from the tribes of the Nheengatú language, or perhaps even from the Rio Negro caboclo.

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252 *[192] 7) Chibé. The chibé, in Tukano po'ká pōóke, is prepared with the water flour rich in tapioca. It is enough to take a certain amount of flour in a cuia and add water to it. For example, they take the water directly from the river while they are traveling on it, with a quick movement of the hand, without spilling the flour. They wait for a few seconds, in order for the mandioca fibers that are in the flour to come up (at times they facilitate this, moving the mass with the fingers) and empty out the water from the top, along with these fibers. After a few moments the flour "grows," because of being impregnated with water. The chibé has then been prepared. This starchy water, acid in flavor, is naturally refreshing. The chibé is used as a snack by the Indian. With a cuia of chibé, he rows for endless hours. It is the regular food, or even the sole food, on journeys, and also his dessert after meals.

243 *[192] b) Maize.

The maize, ohó-ka (we do not know whether the Indian sees any special relation between the maize stalk, ohó-ka, and the banana tree, ohó; or if the similarity of the terms is a matter of mere accident), is not only of late introduction, but, moreover, of very restricted use. Properly speaking, there is no maize clearing among the tribes of the Uaupés, but only a few isolated [184] [797] plants, when there are any. A group from the Karapanã tribe, residing between the rivers Papurí and Tiquié, on the headwaters of the stream Umarí, cultivates maize in greater abundance, but it is almost entirely sold to the Salesian Mission. It is a matter of a variety with a soft and white grain.

273 In small quantity the chewed maize is used, in some cases, to facilitate the fermentation of the drinks.

252 It also enters into the preparation of cakes, through the following process: after the maize is pounded, the meal is sifted and moistened with lukewarm water. With this dough they prepare cakes that are /216/ put on to bake over coals, wrapped in banana leaves. If the woman "has a good hand," they say, a sweet and pleasing cake comes out. It is, however, a food of

/216 cont./

252 minor consumption and received from the civilized, just as from the latter they received the use of boiled and roasted maize, but very scantily.

c) Fish and fish dishes:

*192 251 252 1) Fish. Fish, in Tukano wai, also constitutes a customary food for the natives who inhabit the banks of the Uaupés and principal tributaries, sufficiently rich in fish for the small groups of present-day populations. They eat the fish almost always moqueado, wai sõókõ (Uaupés wai sõxsókõ), that is, roasted and smoked on a slow fire, only the entrails having been taken out, or even with them if the fish are small. The fire is set about 80 or 100 centimeters below a wooden grill, the moquém (cf. VI, 2, f (1)).

The smoked fish is kept for a long time, because sufficiently good dehydration is done. And thus for weeks, when the fishing has been bountiful, they keep it at home or consume it on journeys.

*192 251 2) Fish flour. From the smoked and dried fish, they remove the skeleton, crush it in the mortar, take it to the oven, reduce it to flour with the hand until it is completely dry, and the fish flour, wai póká (from wai, fish, and po'ká, flour; in Nheengatú, pirá-cuí, from pirá, fish, and cuí, flour), which they use when there is no fresh fish, is prepared (45).

45. Concerning this fish flour, Gen. Couto de Magalhães informs us: "sent to one of the expositions in London, it deserved the honors of being classified as the most perfect of the fish preserves" (Ensaio de Anthropologia -- Região e Raça Selvagens /Essay in Anthropology -- Savage Region and Race/, p. 398; Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 36 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1873).

252 *[192] 3) Quinhapira and maniçoba. They also prepare fresh fish, cooking it in water with much pepper and also with salt, if they have it.

/*216 cont.*/

*192 252 More rarely they cook it with tender leaves of mandioca; such a dish is called *maniçoba* (from the Nheengatú *manib*, mandioca, and *çob*, leaf), and in Tukano *dõxkõ* pũ (Uaupés *dõxkõ* pũní; from *dõxkõ*, maniva /manioc cutting for planting/, and pũní, leaves).

The peppery water (with or without salt) in which the fish or the *piracuí* was boiled is what is called *byá-tõ* (literally pepper pot) and in the Lingua Geral *quinhapira* (from *quinha*, pepper, and *pirá*, /*217*/ fish); and in which the pieces of beijú are moistened before being taken to the mouth.

*192 136 4) *The fish*. There are many species of fish (46)

> 46. It is estimated that there are about 3,700 species of Brazilian fish, approximately 1,700 of these species being fresh-water fish. (J. H. Leoni -- *Peixes Brasileiros* /Brazilian Fish/ -- Edit. Anchieta, 1946.)

existing in the rivers of this zone northwest of the Amazon, and the natives use almost all of them (47).

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> 47. A Tukano Indian, João by name, an old fisherman from S. Francisco (river Tiquié) assured us in 1955: "We eat all the fish, except the *pirá-boto*." *Boto* or *pirá-boto* /dolphin/, also called *pirá-yauara* (that is, dog fish, and in Tukano *oxkó puxtistéro*, blower of water?), is a cetacean mammal, four species of which are given for the Amazon region: the white one, known as *uiára* (*Inia Geoffroyensis*, Blaw.); the black one or *pixúna* (*Inia Amazonica*); the red one or *piranga* (*Delphines fluviátilis*, Gervais), and the gray one or *tucuxí* (*Stena tucuxi*). The *Boto*, moreover, is a fish that appears in the legends, as well as the *pirarara* (in Tukano *mahã-wí*, which means precisely

./217 cont./

/footnote 47 cont./ arara fish, due to its beautiful colors). One notices some prejudice against "the fish with skin," as being causes of dermatosis.

We shall mention some of the principal and most common species:

a'mĩ, jandiá or catfish (Rhamdia of various species)
á'ña, ray (plagiostomous fish)
bixpári or wai-dõxparí, ararí
bo'téa, aracú (Leporínus múlleri, Gunther)
bõ'õ, piranha (various species of Serrasalmo)
bu'ú, tucunaré (Cíchla ocelláris, Schneider)
bũxkõá-siró, ituim (Sternópygus carápus, and various species of Gymnotidae)
bũxpó, acará (Geophagus brasiliensis and various other species of Cichlidae
bũxpõ wai, spider fish (trachinoid fish)
doé, traira (Erythrinus taraíra, Lin.)
ixkyã, mandí (various species of Siluridae)
mã'hõã, jacundá (Crenicíchla sexatíllis, Lin.)
mĩx'pĩ-pũrĩ-wí, piraíra
mõõ, piraíba (Blanchyplatystoma filamentosum)
õxtĩ-bwí, uatucupá
sĩ-ĩ, puraquê (Gimnótus /Gymnotus/ eléctricus, Lin.)
sẽ'ĩ, pirá mirim (Brycon striatus)
uhú, pacú (Dóras dorsális, Cuv. and various species of Prochilodus)
yaká, acarí, cascudo (loricaridoid fish of the swamps)
yox'sõ-wí, pirá-pucú (Xiphostoma Cuvieri, Spix.)
/218/ wai-wexkõ, cow fish (Manátus americánus, mammal of the lower Rio Negro)
waxpé, aracapurí (fish of the genus Erythrinus)

/*218 cont.*/

224 d) *Meats and edible animals.* Hunting, as we find it in the present stage, is only a sport for the Indian. If we exclude the "wild pigs" (of the genera *Dicotyles* and *Tayassu*), which sometimes appear in herds in certain places (48), when the river is low and the javarizeiro /palm tree, Astrocaryum/ ripens its fruit, game is rare. It is used, therefore, only to vary the "*menu*" from time to time. All the more since the Indian will always share the fruit of his hunting with those who live in the same maloca, and he will commonly do it for those who reside in houses neighboring his (if he does not sell it to the civilized).

252 They prepare the game by "moqueando-a" /smoking it/, like the fish. And it seems that they never eat raw meat; they even say that it is only Wax-tí who eats raw meat. And they also eat snake meat. The principal animals that serve them as food
262 are (49):

48. Just as the piracema /shoal of fish/ appears, as a rule, in the same places, so do the wild pigs have their habitual path and customarily cross the rivers at certain points, where the hunter catches them.

231 49. The dogs are generally skinny and often also sick; for this reason and because of the services that they render, they do not eat them. There are indications that in Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) the natives ate a fat dog killed
[171] by a shotgun. The caboclo of the Rio Negro is incapable of killing a dog, even a sick one. He fears that this "*sin*" (as they think and say) would bring upon them the punishment of S. Lazarus, who they regard as protector of the dogs and who would punish them, probably, with leprosy.

/218 cont./

*192 262 monkeys of various species (axké, emõá, guariba, sẽi, aimoré, waú, uáia-piçá)

boxsó, cutivaia, cavy (cávia aperea, leupyga, fulgida, etc.)
bu, cutia /agouti/ (dasyprocta águti)
byí poxtá, a rat with long hair
dyayõ, otter (lutra brasiliensis, paraensis)
dyá wexkõ, capybara (hydrochoérus capibara)
mixpĩ, coatí (two of Násua, procyonine mammal)
nĩmá, deer (cervus campestris)
pamõ, tatú /armadillo/ (xenartros dasipódidas; of various species: pamõ soá, pamõ uhõ, etc.)
Semé, paca (caelógenis paca)
u, turtle (various species of chelonians)
úhuri, jabutí /land tortoise/ (testudo tabulata)
/219/ wexkõ, anta (tapírus americánus, Briss.) (50)

> 50. Whenever they kill any anta, they immediately cut off the tongue, so that it will not tell the others.

yaxsõ, lizards (various species of Lacertilia)
yexsé, wild pig (caitetú /collared peccary/, dicótylis torquátus, and queixada /white-lipped peccary/, dicótylis labiátus)

Among the birds, they most frequently eat:

ahĩ, inambú /tinamou/ (genera crypturéllus and tínamus, of various species: dyayró, puxtwa, etc.)
daxsé, toucan (various species of ramphástus)
dyá kaxtá, water duck (various species)
kaxtá kasõrõ, jacú (cracídeo penélope)
koxtóa, coró-coró /ibis/ (phimósus infuscátus, of the Ibididae)
tã-tã, jacamim /trumpeter/ (psóphia crépitans, Lin.)
wá'rõpĩ, mutum /curassow/ (various gallinaceans of the gen. Crax)
kaxtá, cujubim /piping guan/ (pípile cuyubĩ)

235 262 [439] They do not eat chicken, eggs, or pork, although they raise them and sell them to the civilized (and they eat any piece that the latter gives them). The skill of the Indian in raising some

235 /219 cont./

262 birds, such as the jacú, jacamim, mutum, parrot, araras, and others, which become unbelievably tame, is remarkable. They do it, however, simply for amusement, without using the meat (51).

> 51. Wallace tells (*Viagens ao Amazonas e Rio Negro* /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 1939 ed., p. 202) that some Indians raised araras because of their plumage. In the place of the removed feather they injected the milky secretion of the toad, and the new feather would grow with a yellow or orange color. Others raised harpy eagles, *uira-uaçú* (*Thrasaétus harpya* Lin.), feeding them two chickens a day, in order to use their feathers, and for this reason their ornaments were dear. We do not know whether they still subject the arara to this treatment today. Besides the domesticated araras are found almost solely in the more remote malocas. As for the 178 *harpy eagle* and the *mountain cock* (*rupícola élegans*), nowadays they catch them only when there is hope of selling them to the civilized. Koch Grünberg (*Zwei Iahre*, 50) also tells that the Káwa-tapúya obtained the orange color of the feathers by injecting pirara /*sic*/ fat or the secretion from a toad.

The native woman chews the food for the offspring of these birds, which sometimes are seen taking the food from the very lips of the woman.

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*192 e) Tubers and green vegetables.

262 They eat, boiled or roasted, the tubers of the batata, *yaxpĩ* (*hipomaéa* /Ipomoea/ *batátas*, Lam.), of the cará, *ñõmõ* (*dioscórea alata*, Lin.), which were introduced in the last century, and various tubers of the region, /220/ such as *duxtú*, *kaxpó*, and others. They do not know the English potato (*solánum tuberósum*, Lin.).

As for green vegetables, they refuse them when they are offered to them, saying that they are not cows (literally, anta, *wexkõ*).

*192 252 263 In the fish sauces, besides the pepper, at times they put tender leaves of mandioca (see above, *maniçóba*). Sometimes, too, they let the mandioca leaves age for three or four days, until they acquire the dark color; then they crush them, boil them, and drink the broth. It is what is called *ki-pũ*.

*192 263 178 They formerly used the ashes of the carurú-da-pedra (*mourera fluviátilis*), which grows spontaneously on the rocks of some cachoeiras, in place of salt, to season their food (52).

52. This plant provides an excellent salad, already salty by nature. The Indian, however, "is not a cow" to eat green vegetables. Wallace tells (*Travels*, 340) that from the fruits of the palm trees *inajá* and *jará* (*leopoldinia maior* and *pulchra*, Mart.), they prepared a flour of salty taste. It has not been reported to us, however, that they make it now, because of the ease of obtaining salt. [797] [439] The Indians who work in the Missions buy whole bags of salt, and later they sell them, even with exaggerated usury, to those of the more remote malocas, in Colombian territory too.

/220 cont./

263 According to the description by the Cônego /canon/ André Fernandes de Souza (end of the eighteenth century), the process was similar to that for the preparation of the lye for the manufacture of the "ash soap." That is: the plant was reduced to ashes, which were left in a water infusion in order for the salt to dissolve, and the latter, afterwards, through evaporation, would be deposited in the form of whitish crystals (p. 467 of the "Notícias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/," ap. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 10 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1870).

f) Insects.

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1) Termites and ants.

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[881]
a) Mexkɨ̃ (in Nheengatú maninuara, manivara) is the queen of a species of yellow termite, which comes out in abundance from the holes in the earth right after the rain. They eat them alive or roasted. It is the required food for the young men and women in the puberty rite.

b) In times of scarcity the women explore the ground with sticks in the places where they know that a type of manivara without wings, called exkó, probably exists. They come out in large numbers and are eaten alive, or after being roasted in small bundles of sororoca leaves.

/221/ c) They likewise eat the tanajura /large, winged ant/, dyɨ̃rɨ̃ (Uaupés dyɨ̃nɨ̃), and different species of ants, yamɨ̃-ka (night ant, because it comes out at night or early morning), dexpótyɨ̃ra (uarabá), duhúsɨ̃ (which come out in the afternoon), etc., when they come out of the ant nest. When they observe the clean openings and a great movement of ants, they prepare a platform at a height of half a meter above the ant nest. One can see an entire family posted on this platform, and as the tanajuras emerge from the ground, they are eaten raw, often also with the accompaniment of beijú or flour. When the emergence is very abundant, the tanajuras are collected in special baskets, in which they are later roasted.

*192 222 252 262

/221 cont./

d) They likewise eat, alive or roasted, the saúvas, byã-põrá (or põná; it means offshoot or broad, põrá, of the pepper, byá, because of their spicy flavor), and the termite, buxtwá.

2) Larvae.

a) At certain times of the year very many dark larvae about
3 to 4 centimeters in length appear on the plants of the jupará,
ba'tĩ (erísma japurá, Spr.) and of the cunurí, waxpõ (cunúria
spruceana, Baill.), totally devouring their leaves. As soon as
they perceive it, the Indians bring down the surrounding plants so
that the larvae will not move on to other trees, and they are thus
forced to go down by way of the trunk in search of food. At the
bottom part of the trunk they make a ring with the leaf of the
pocova sororoca (ohó pũrĩ), which is very smooth. The cater-
pillars, upon reaching there, slip and fall to the ground, being
collected with sticks or strings into strainers, and are later slowly
[251] roasted on a mat at a certain distance from the fire. The quantity
is so great that they can fill baskets, which are stored in the smoke
chamber, in order to be consumed little by little.

Even when they do not discover it until the chrysalis stage,
they cut off the branches loaded with cocoons, like a large ear of
maize, and they toast them, it thus being easier to open the
[226] cocoons, as if they were shells of roasted peanuts. The chrysalis
constitutes a greatly appreciated delicacy and is also used as bait
for the fishhook. These larvae are called in Tukano bá-tí-ỹa
(louse? of the japurá) and waxpõ-ỹa (louse of the cunurĩ).

b) Mẽ'rẽ-pãma is the Tukano name of a greenish-yellow larva similar to [illegible] silkworm, which feeds on the leaves of the inga tree (ingá edulis, Mimosáceae) and which is greatly appreciated, alive or roasted.

/222/ c) Besides the ones indicated, there are various other larvae sought for food, such as the ones called mẽ'rẽ-ka-pextorõá, likewise from the inga tree; nixtỹá, also from the cunurí; nextoá, which lives in the tree of the same name; suxpi-sõ, which feeds on the leaves of the acuaricuara (tiny red seeds); pixkõrõá, from the pupunheira; sitá, from the tree called uxpísikarã.

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3) Caba (wasps). The Tukano word uxtyá, as well as the one of Nheengatú origin, caba, indicates various species of wasps or hornets (parachartécus apículis and others of the family of the Vespidae and Pompilidae). They eat the larvae with flour (53).

> 53. The process that they use is curious. Whenever they discover a case of caba, they rub the hand in the armpit and approach the case. At the smell the hornets flee, they then seize the case with the larvae, and the vespiary itself serves as their plate, where they put flour, which they eat with the larvae (information of the Missionary agronomist Teotônio Ferreira.)

4) Coleoptera and other animal foods.

a) They also eat certain species of grasshoppers and beetles, alive or roasted. There are years in which some beetles called úkasya (Nheengatú moxíua) appear in such abundance that they manage to fill many baskets and even large canoes.

b) Going through the forest one often finds areas that look as if they had been turned up by swine. It is because the Makú have passed through there, with a piece of wood, or even the hand, looking for grubs to eat.

c) They value especially certain species of small arboreal frogs called omã̄. Without even cleaning them, they smoke them or cook them with pepper. They likewise greatly relish a large terrestrial frog called tõhõá.

d) A crab, sã̄'ã̄, from the igapós, or inundated areas, pleases them enormously. The Missionary Manoel Valério observed an interesting detail about this crab, that is: it makes its nest at the edge of the igapós, but at such a height that the fish do not eat its eggs. And so, by the height of the nests, one might foresee, year by year, the height of the water during the flood.

/222 cont./

147 Perhaps the Indian owes to the richness of Vitamin A, taken
262 in through the consumption of such a variety of insects and larvae,
the admirable night vision that he enjoys.

/223/ g) Fruits.

*192 If the native diet is lacking in green vegetables and legumes,
245 many are the fruits that they eat.

252 1) Among the fruit trees cultivated, there come first five or
262 six varieties of banana, ohó; and they eat them raw, baked, or
boiled and reduced to mingau. Even when they are still green,
they eat them roasted in the ashes.

They are also fond of pineapple, sẽ'rá (Uaupés sẽ'ná), biriba, pixká, cashew nuts, sõ'rá (U. sõ'ná), and, more recently, the orange, darãñõ, avocado, ñõmõ, abio /Lucuma caimito/, kã'rẽ.

*192 2) The wild fruits that they know and eat are very numer-
ous. We shall recall some: Õ'sé, cucura or mapatí (pouróuma
222 cecropiaefóliae, Mart.), one of the Moraceae very similar to the
252 imbauba, producing large bunches of fruits the size of a jabuticaba
/Mouriria pusa/, which, when ripe, are dark, sweet, and
262 mucilaginous, and, fermented, give a wine-like drink; mẽ'rẽ
[273] (U. mẽ'nẽ), wirí-mẽ'rẽ, various species of ingá (ingá cinamómea,
marginàta, édulis, etc., Mimosaceae); burukũña, maracujá
/species of Passiflora/; õxtã-ñĩmĩ, cumã (fruit of the service tree);
pãgá, another species of cucura; kenõ, jatobá /locust tree/;
simiõ, uacú /Monopterix uaucú/; teheõ and ehyú-pu, varieties
of piquia; thoá, yúa-pixuna; wamã, umarí; wĩhĩ, paricá
/Leguminosae/; extoá, cubio /Solanum sessiliflorum/; wextí,
umirí; wikasoró, small white fruit; tohoá-kaxperí, omã-karperí,
and ñerẽ, similar to the cumã.

3) And many species of palm nuts, more or less oily: ixkí, inajá; puxpyá, ucuquí; mĩx'pĩ, assai; ã'rẽ, pupunha, for which they are eager; bextá, tucumã, which they like very much, ñâmã (U. ñumũ), bacaba and patauá; etc.

/223 cont./

*192 Assai, patauá, and bacaba are small nuts, in bunches. Put
222 in hot water, the pulp that envelops them comes loose. This,
262 after being crushed and strained, is mixed into the chibé or into
the mingau, making it more nourishing and flavorful.

252 4) They also leave the umarí (paroquéiba /Poraqueiba/ paraénsis, Ducke) in water, after having sucked the sweetish yellow rind, in order for the stone to lose its bitter juice. They also customarily mix its yellow mass into the mingau.

245 5) The pupunha tree is an ornamental palm, straight, with
beautiful fronds, which they plant in all their povoados. Twice
252 a year it produces bunches of small red or orange nuts with a fari-
262 naceous and dry pulp. They eat them cooked in water. /224/
They like them so much that during this time they abstain from
245 other foods. Its pulp, diluted in water and left to ferment in
camotins for 24 hours, is transformed into a very tasty drink,
251 the pupunha caxirí, ɛ̃'rɛ̃-kó.
273 When there is a great abundance of this nut, they prepare
*[192] a large quantity of the mass, and, in order to keep it during the year without spoiling, they dig a hole in the vicinity of the house, line it well with banana leaves, and there they introduce the mass, pressing it well in order to expel all the air, and afterwards they cover it further with banana leaves and a layer of soil a span or more thick. This mass will be used for preparing the caxirí for months.

222 6) Among the most sought wild fruits is the japurá, a
252 dicotyledon, like an almond, inside of a soft involucre. They
262 subject it to boiling, in order to eliminate the thin and bitter
*[192] skin that covers it, and then crush it, producing a dark mass,
with a sharpness that reminds one of Gorgonzola cheese (54).

54. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha already reported that in 1759 in his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/," p. 114: "The Indians will have put the name of Japurá on it (on a

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> /footnote 54 cont./ river) because very common among the savages along it is a soft mass, black and with a very unpleasant smell, made from certain fruits called Yapurá (the name of the river is pronounced this way among the Indians) after they are spoiled, which is eaten with their bread or beijú, and with everything that they think suitable."

[263]
[251]

They eat it with beijú or as seasoning for fish. When they make it in large quantities, they keep it in holes in the ground, like the mass of pupunha.

[784]

It is to be noted that the woman must not go to the toilet or even drink water, while she is preparing the japurá. Otherwise the mass would all spoil, they say.

g) /sic/ The cunurí, waxpõ, is also eaten roasted or boiled. After it is cooked, however, it must be left immersed in running water in order to lose the bitter flavor.

h) Drinks.

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The various drinks that the Indian makes are called, with a term taken from the Língua Geral, caxirí, in Tukano pêru. The term caxirí, or pêru baxsasé, also designates their feasts, which are always held with drinking bouts. Without the latter the former cannot be conceived.

The caxirí is similar to a beer or a fruit wine with regard to the taste (55);

> 55. "From the palm trees the Indians make a delicious wine," says Pe. Alonso de Rojas in his account of the voyage of 1637 (in "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 118).

/224 cont./

*192 273 it is so thick, though, that it looks more like a mingau or /225/ thin, extended pap. They are fermented drinks, and in many cases, moreover, alcoholic fermentation takes place. The flavor is pleasant, especially when cane juice is added to it. It then becomes sweeter, but with greater alcoholic content and more inebriating.

They are prepared from manicuera, yõxhá, from beijú, ahũ-ga, from cará, ñõmõ, and from various kinds of fruits. The beijú for the caxirí must be well toasted, said precisely pêru-ahũã; afterwards being crumbled and mixed with the water, which is left to ferment for two days.

The principal types of drinks are:

1st. -- Ya'rákê. One waits until the beijú becomes half moldy, and then one adds the mandioca, grated without peeling, and plenty of warm cane juice. In order to activate the fermentation, the large vessel, called baxpá, that contains this mixture will stay on the hot ashes. At the end of a week, more or less, it will be ready for consumption.

2nd. -- Tu-sa'békê. It is also prepared with beijú broken into the manicuera, and later one adds cane juice. The fermentation is faster, in a cool place, covering the tub that contains it with banana leaf. At the end of three days it can be drunk. When it turns out stronger and more stupefying, they believe that it happens because Wãx-tĩ took a bath in the tub of drink when still covered with banana leaves (56).

56. Patrícia Vasconcelos told us that on a certain occasion in S. Luzia (river Papurí) a very weak old man was lying in his hammock near the tub of tu sabékê. From his hammock he could hear the noise of Wãx-tĩ, who tore open the banana leaf and bathed in the liquid and was drinking from it. He then called his grandson and told him: -- "My grandson, throw this drink away; I heard Wãx-tĩ taking a bath in it."

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3rd. -- Doxké dõxpoasé. More greatly esteemed, and lending opportunities for their greatest feasts and dances, is the "caxirí of pupunha," doxké dõxpoasé, for which all work. It falls to the man to collect the fruits in the forest. The women cook it in large pots, adding pupunha leaves to the water in order to facilitate the cooking, so they explained. The single girls are the ones who grate the cooked fruit, or pound it, if it is only crushed. A convenient grater, although not very durable, is what is called waxtá-ñõ-sa-ró, that is, an adventitious and aerial root, equipped with small, but numerous and resistant projections, which the paxiúba palm puts out. The oldest Indian women bring the maize, chew it, and add /226/ it to the mass, which is diluted in water and left to ferment for three days with cane juice.

These three types of drinks are the strongest ones that they originally knew how to prepare. They assert that, if the makers have a "good hand," the caxirís turn out very strong. They think, moreover, that the "blowings" of the Komũ (VII -- 2, e (3)) will lend even more inebriating strength to the drink.

4th. -- Pêru kaxtisé. It is the common caxirí, because it is prepared from day to day, with only fresh manicuera, without cane. It is consumed in a space of 24 hours, from midday to midday. If this caxirí were made in a small amount (a Taryãna native said, and we were able to verify it also among the Bará of the Tiquié), so that by midnight it was all gone, then perhaps they would remain seated, talking and playing the flutes /Port. flautas-de-pã, Panpipes/, but they would not dance. It is to be noted that outside the dances they play their music sitting down and stated that they always do so, without, however, indicating the reason for this custom.

5th. -- Duxtú-kó. It is the caxirí that is prepared with the potato duxtú (similar to the Japanese potato). The potato, already cooked, is pounded and mixed with mandioca and left to ferment with a sufficient amount of water.

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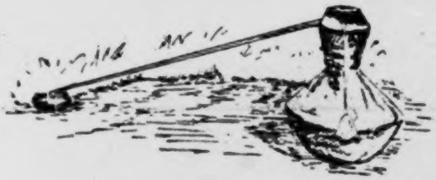
*192 273 6th. -- Ñomõ-kó. It is prepared by cooking the cará /Dioscorea/, ñõmõ, which is afterwards moistened with saliva and crushed in the mortar. Finally, it is mixed with the beijú or the manicuera and left to ferment.

7th. -- Sibeókê. It is true aguardiente. It is obtained by distilling cane juice (ã'rã-kó, Uaupés a'nã-kó) on the fire. Its use is more infrequent, the planting of the cane, ã'rã, being generally limited. It seems that at times the caxirís are also distilled.



Still (sibeóri-pá)

We know that sibeókê is also prepared on the Uaupés, although in a more limited way. In Ambaíba (river Içana) we saw one of these /227/ stills, sibeóri-pá (Nheengatú mutiquerepáua). It consisted of a large camotim, with a capacity of about one hundred liters, terminating in a narrower mouth, which was closed with a wooden plug to which was fitted a taquara /bamboo/ which carried the aguardiente to another smaller camotim. The orifices were plugged with clay. It has not been reported that there were stills or distillation of cachaça in this region northwest of the Amazon, and, noticing that the natives do not worry about the problem of cooling the distillation, some are led to believe that it is a matter of an indigenous invention. It might, however, be an imperfect imitation of the stills that existed on the lower Rio Negro as early as the eighteenth century. [177]

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*192 i) Stimulants and narcotics.

276 [178] 1) Tobacco. The planting of tobacco, mȭ'rō (Uaupés mȭnō) (nicotiana tabácum), is little and rare nowadays, and it is almost only seen in the povoados and malocas with little or no connection with the civilized. They prepare it in the following way: the men pick the leaves with the stem, reduce all of it to small bits, and put them on the fire in a very hot pot, stirring the contents until they become a dark mass. Afterwards the mass is pressed into small roundish molds. Under the effect of the sun and smoke these loaves of tobacco, mȭ'rō be'tó (Nh. mboti), harden. When they want to prepare the traditional cigar of the feasts, they crumble the tobacco and roll it in thin sheets of tauarí (see VI -- 2, f (5)) or of banana, producing the large cigar, utíkaro, 15 to 20 centimeters in length.

[177] The Indian greatly likes to smoke. The tobacco that is consumed nowadays (on the three rivers whose area we studied), however, is all obtained from the civilized. The latter customarily shows kindness to the adults, men and women, with some cigarettes, or a piece of tobacco in a roll or on a stick, in friendship. The tobacco in a roll is a product that is always sought on the part of the natives as payment for their work.

More infrequent is the inhaling of tobacco, in powder, through the nostrils. They then use two small tubes of taquara or bone, connected at a 45° angle with string and pitch. Introducing the powder into one of the tubes, the Indian places the end at one of the nostrils and the other end in the mouth and, with a puff, forces the powder to go up the nose.

*192 263 2) Pepper. The native consumes pepper, byá, in large doses, almost always as seasoning for the quinhapira.

Ordinarily he has already prepared his seasoning, called byá-uhá-pyosé (that is, pepper in a water infusion), for application to the fish. /228/ It is common today for the Indian, on journeys or even at home, to have a bottle with whole or ground peppers.

/228 cont./

263 *[192] In some cases they crush and chew the pure pepper: the Indian pepper (capsicum fructescens, Willd, of the Solanaceae) and many others, such as those called koró-byá, awí-byá, oxbó-byá, etc.

It is amazing how even children two years old or perhaps less take the beijú moistened in the quinhapira without showing that they feel the burning of the pepper, which is excessive for our taste.

The pepper is used by them as a stimulant for the appetite, due to the lack of salt or other seasonings.

276 *[192] 3) Kaxpí (Nheengatú: Caápi) (57).

> 57. As we observe below regarding the Ipadú, the word Kaxpí might be derived from the Nheengatú Caapí, or vice versa. It is certain, on the one hand, that the use of kaxpí is a very ancient one and is lost in the legends, and, on the other hand, that it is general among all the tribes of the region.

276 773 *[192] The origin and use of Kaxpí is lost in legend (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/" by the Author). At a feast that took place among the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), with the participation of the Kubẽwãna and Huhudẽne (from Uaupuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, trib. of the Içana) and elements from several other tribes, on the days of the 24th and 25th of April of 1955, a Tukano pajé, Henrique by name, from Japú-igarapé (trib. of the Uaupés), brought with much care a pair of instruments called eheõnõ (that is, catarrh, grippe), very old and religiously preserved by him as a fortunate heir of his ancestors. They were similar to a small wooden horn, reinforced with rolled tucum fiber and measuring about 25 centimeters. It was made to sound by blowing with force through the upper orifice, and simultaneously slowly opening the lower orifice, slightly wider than the upper one,

/228 cont./

276 and which was being obstructed by the palm of the hand. The
773 sound imitated a child's crying. The possessor of the instruments explained that the *eheõnõ* is the "*mother of the kaxpí.*" The unrestrained native imagination, excited by the drinks, especially by the Kaxpí, upon hearing this sound, relives the legend and perhaps even reproduces the legendary scene of the first components of the group, who fell upon the newborn and ate his bones, "*which were Kaxpí.*"

276 *Kaxpí* is a drink of bitter flavor, which is obtained from some vines, especially of the genus *banistéria*. I would not know whether it is more accurate to call it stimulant or narcotic, violent and almost /229/ instantaneous for the Indians (58).

> 58. Thus A. R. Wallace describes (*Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro* /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 381) the effect of the *kaxpí*: "An old Indian advanced toward the middle of the room, with a large (?) clay pot, which seemed recently painted, and which was put on the ground. Then, squatting, the old man stayed down, in front of the pot, and started to stir the contents. Then he filled with liquid two small cuias, and, rising, he extended his arms, holding, however, a cuia in each hand. After a short pause two Indians advanced in his direction, carrying their bows and arrows and their spears. Each one, holding the cuia offered, drank the amount that it contained. Because that drink was excessively bitter, each one made a very ugly face. For half a minute perhaps they remained motionless. Suddenly both gave a hard blow on the strings of their bows, making them vibrate; they shook their spears, stamped their feet on the ground, and then went to look for their seats.

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> /Footnote 58 cont./ The small cuias were again filled and in the same way were presented to two other Indians, who approached and behaved in an identical manner. And so, two at a time, they followed one another. Some, however, acted more excited. Brandishing the spears, they then ran around the house furiously, as if they wished to kill an enemy, stamped their feet on the ground, uttered yells, and jumped savagely, in a warlike and at the same time frightening attitude. And, as the others had done, they afterwards peacefully returned to occupy their seats. The greater part receives loud and frantic applause from those present, which is also done sometimes during the dances." This strange final scene is called "blow-to-the-white," pexká-sĩ-paasé, and we have also witnessed it (cf. VII, 4, e (2-8 /sic/), without any connection, however, with the taking of kaxpí. We think that it might be a mistake by Wallace, supposing it to be a mere effect of the kaxpí, when, in reality, it is a regular ritual of the Dabacurís, and one that can take place even before drinking the kaxpí.

on account of the alkaloid banisterina, however temporary in effect. The pajés Henrique from the Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), both from the Tukano tribe, said that they prepared the kaxpí with the bark of the following cipos: 1st) mẽrẽ-oẽ-kaxpí-dá (ingá cipo), 2nd) boxká-dá (joined cipo /Port. cipó encontrado/, of which there are two varieties); 3rd) kúri-kaxpí-dá (a noded cipo, which gives some of the strongest kaxpí), 4th) sẽi-pixkõrõ-dá (guariba-tail cipo), 5th) yehé-ñõxkã-dá (garça /heron/ leg cipo). Having extracted the bark from the cipos, they crush it well in a wooden tub and

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*192 276 dilute it in water. They also crumble the leaves of kaxpí-pũrĩ and of kĩna-pũrĩ, reducing them to a mass like tobacco, which is precisely called kaxpí-mõ'rõ (tobacco of kaxpí) and which is mixed with the previous liquid. They also mix in the leaves of doxké-morẽrĩ-dá and duxtú-sarẽnõ-dá.

[115] A seringueiro /rubber worker/ from Urânia (on the Colombian Uaupés /spelled Vaupés in Colombia/), with a Tukano mother and raised and living among the natives of the region, heard from the Taryana that, besides the above cipos, they also use the one /230/ called ma-kaxpí-dá, of which there are three varieties, which produce a very strong drink, hence the fame of the kaxpí of the Taryana as being stronger.

[415] A few hours of infusion in water, in an amphora of 8 or 10 liters in capacity, with the customary designs, called kaxpí-tõ, are enough for it to be in a condition to be consumed. Its use is reserved exclusively for persons of the masculine sex and mature age. They believe that the "ritual blowing" by the pajé or by some Komũ increases its imagination-exciting quality. It is served in small cuias, followed immediately by libations of caxirí.

Under the action of the kaxpí, the Indian is said to have pleasant visions. "He sees luminous signals" was the expression of our useful Tukano helper, Antônio Barreto. And it was also what Koch Grünberg saw (Zwei Iahre, 201), to whom it seemed that he saw marvelous bright sparkles when he turned his eyes toward the dark, or red flames when he ran them across the paper.

An official of the Colombian customs in Iauareté (river Uaupés) took it and saw images of objects with great brightness, and with all clarity he perceived geometrical figures, and even theorems of trigonometry came to his mind. A trader from the river Querarí revealed to us that on a certain occasion the kaxpí had caused in him a beautiful and pleasant distortion of the sensations. Thus the women seemed to be slithering snakes with very beautiful decorations; the flutes /flautas-de-pã, Panpipes/ gave him the impression of a large orchestra.

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276 Thus its effect is also a superexcitation of the imagination. Nevertheless he sometimes falls to the ground, unconscious. "With the fourth cuia," says the old Indian Antônio to Koch G. (*Zwei Iahre*, 201), "people fall violently and then have the most beautiful visions" (59).

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59. From our personal experience we can say that we have drunk *kaxpí* prepared by Makú, Wanãna and Taryana natives. At the great feast of the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés), which was discussed above, *kaxpí* of the Makú, Wanãna, and Taryãna tribes was served. That of the Makú tribe was prepared by one of the Makú who served as slaves to the Wanãna of the locality. That of the Taryana was made by the old Taryana Calisto from Iauareté, who brought with him from that locality, for this occasion, a bunch of thick cipo (one inch in diameter and 1.5 meters in length approximately). The *kaxpí* was distributed personally by the local tuxaua, Mandú by name, who simultaneously took two small cuias, one for each person. The Komũ, who "had blown" the drink before the cuias were filled, stirred the liquid, using a piece of thick cipo, with four intumescences, and which is one of the ingredients of the drink. It is taken without difficulty, since it has a bearable bitter taste. Nevertheless, several Indians made faces and some of them spit out the rest. Following that, three men, each /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ with two large cuias of caxirí, came in a line, zigzagging and making a noise with the mouth like the buzzing of an insect, and distributed the caxirí to those who had drunk kaxpí, in order to take away the unpleasant taste. Some Indians declared to us that they had seen luminous globes or flames. We did not preceive

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/footnote 59 cont./ anything; we experienced, then, only a slight excitation in the muscles of the legs and, at night, strong occipital pain in the head. We believe, however, that such sensations had nothing to do with the drink and were only the effects of tiredness, of the sun and the heat of the day. We later observed to the Taryana Indians who had accompanied us to the feast that the kaxpí was weak and we had felt nothing. They explained to us that one of the ingredients was missing, a cipo that was planted by an old man who had already died and they had not found such cipo upon undertaking the trip. They promised us to prepare later, with all the technique, a quite strong kaxpí. Actually they did it days later and offered it to us. With fear of a violent reaction caused by the drink, we did not want to take it in public, but in private, and not only a small cuia, but we drank quite a good cuia in three stages. Although, like Koch G., we had before our eyes a white paper on which we wrote down our notes, we did not get to perceive any luminous sensation or any other external feeling. Only the unpleasant taste made us indisposed, although without vomiting, forcing us to diet that day, and to use bitter drops and other stomach potions later. We are of the opinion that, for this reason, the effects indicated in the Indians must be explained by the easy excitability of their imaginations.

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4) Pátu (Nheengatú: Ipadú) (60).

60. The Tukano name pátu seems to be derived from the Nheengatú ipadú, making us suppose that the tribes of the Uaupés might have received from the tribes of the Rio Negro, of Nheengatú language, the use of the ipadú. It is true that nowadays the caboclos of the Rio Negro and the Indians of the Içana do not use ipadú.

It is the product of coca, a bush of the family of the Erythroxylaceae (erythróxylon coca, Lin.), which takes root easily from a branch. Although the adult women can also take ipadú, its planting falls to the men, and they do it in the clearing, and sometimes even close to the maloca, as a hedge. Daily the men pick the tender leaves, let them dry, and afterwards toast them in a special pot, called pátu-axtẽrĩ-tõ. As seasoning for the ipadú, pátu-mõá, they burn leaves of the embaúba /imbauba/ (Cecrópia) or of cucura in the interior (61)

61. We do not know whether the burning at the door of the maloca is a prescription of magical character or only for reasons of convenience. This second hypothesis is more probable, actually, they execute without any difficulty the various operations of the preparation of the ipadú outside the maloca as well, in order to be filmed.

of the maloca, although beside the door. Mixing the ashes with the toasted leaves of the ipadú, they pass slowly through a mortar of usual form the pátu-ahũ-gõ or pátu-doxké-khá, until everything is well crushed. Afterwards they place the powder in a tururĩ bag, which is called pátu-pa:rĩ-sutiro.

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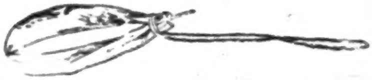
*192 276 Across this bag runs a stick, called /232/ pátu-pá:-ko. Introducing it in a tube of elongated pestle shape (of 1.80 meters and about 15 centimeters in diameter, and called pátu-pá:põ), they knock the bag against the walls of the tube with their two hands, until the powder is so finely pulverized that it passes through the bag and is deposited in the tube. In order to facilitate the work, they customarily tie this tube to one of the columns of the maloca, in such a way that the opening stays a meter in height from the ground, a comfortable position for the one who must "beat" the ipadú, and the closed end rests on the ground.

T [415] Finally the powder is taken out and kept in proper bags, also of tururí, called pátu-ahuró or pátu-waxsóro, the mouth of which has thrust in it a fine tube, pátu-baarí-oã, of taquara or of heron bone (yehé-oã), through which the powder is drawn in, just as a refreshment is sucked in our bars. This is done on trips, because in the house the ipadú is more commonly kept in a cuia, and they help themselves to it by taking a handful with a wooden spatula or even a leaf. They do it with care in order to keep the powder from falling into the windpipe.



Ipadú bag (patu ahuró)

M 276 The Makú prepare it in balls. The Indian uses ipadú especially when he goes hunting or fishing, because, narcotic that it is, it keeps him from feeling hunger or thirst, and in this way he dispenses with carrying food. They make it into a ball which they keep in a corner of the mouth, sucking on it little by little. T M [562] The women, except for very rare exceptions, do not eat the ipadú; only the adult men.

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Its consumption is almost unknown today on the lower Uaupés; it is quite general, however, among the tribes of the Papurí and Tiquié, even when they have their regular food. Perhaps the abuse of the ipadú is responsible for the organic depauperation in the elderly and many stomach ulcers. Besides, the individual becomes addicted and his children are born weak, silly, defective (62).

> 62. The Salesian Missionary, Padre João Marchesi, on a certain occasion showed a tuxaua how the son of an ipadú eater was slow in intelligence, did not learn how to read or write, did not have any manual skills, whereas the other children did this quickly.

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The young generation, which has gone through the Mission schools, scarcely consumes ipadú any longer.

/233/ 8) /sic: j)/ Conclusion.

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The natives of the Uaupés take only fruits and some insects raw. Never a piece of meat or fish (63);

> 63. It was not possible for us to investigate as to whether it is a question only of taste and custom, or if superstitious motives also enter in. It does not seem to us that they exist, although in one of their legends it is said that Wā̃x-tī̃ is the one who eats raw meat.

these foods ordinarily are moqueados /smoked/. And the fish is frequently boiled or reduced to a sauce with pepper, to accompany the ingestion of the beijú.

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*[192]
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Fire is obtained today with a match, "palito" /toothpick/, as they call it, and they try not to let it go out. Day and night one finds the fire burning inside the maloca, and they also take pots with live coals to the clearing and on trips.

/233 cont./

372 Formerly fire was obtained by turning rapidly between the
palms of the hands a small stick whose end was provided with a
match of kapok, and rubbing it in the small orifice of another
*[192] small stick that was very dry. The apparatus is called pexká-mẽ
wihyasé in Tukano.

The diet of these natives, although at first sight it does not
262 seem so, is quite varied, rich in vitamins of vegetable and animal
origin. As for the salts necessary to the organism, they get them
from roots and fruits; as a matter of fact, they have a strong
bone structure, and nevertheless the waters show a deficiency of
[273] calcareous salts. As for sugar, they only have that of the fruits
and of the fermentation of their drinks. The cultivation of sugar
[249] cane is insignificant and intended practically for the preparation
of the caxirís, although once in a while some Indian will be seen
sucking it.

The amount of food that the Indian consumes daily is large, when he has plenty of it; although on other days, due to a lack of food, he is forced into a very strict fast. Perhaps the caxirí itself, which he drinks in large portions on the occasion of feasts, plays the role of a periodic washing of the stomach, intestines, and kidneys. It is certain that thin persons are rarely found among them, if one excludes the older women, who generally are so, and the sick. They are, on the contrary, plump in figure or even fat, without obesity or deforming adiposities, strong and healthy.

It is to be noted that the Indian emits a characteristic smell, which makes us think that it is due to a diet predominantly of fish and pepper.

/234/ 5) Hunting and fishing.

a) Fishing.

226 Fish is an important element in the diet of the Indians, as
we have already seen. In the regimen of the family home, each
family head provides the fish: it is his habitual, although not
[462] exclusive, occupation. In the regimen of the collective dwelling

/234 cont./

226 [462] of several families, the maloca, the small-scale fishing still falls to the men, and they go out in groups of two or three or even alone, or accompanied by some child, perhaps very *[192] young, who rows and handles the canoe. All of the Indian's concern is to make his son a very good fisherman, a *marupiára*. *[192] "*Mõ'sigõ*" is the Tukano term for indicating the individual who is lucky in fishing and hunting.

*[192] There arrives, however, the piracema, the period when the fish gather in schools, *waĩ tũrĩrõ*, especially in the cachoeiras, trying to get past them in order to reach the headwaters. It is the opportunity for the Indian to prepare his reserves of fish for the fruitless days. It is the period of large-scale fishing. *[192] Or also, low water comes, and the fish that went up the igarapés and ígapós (64) will try to reach the river; this is also the time of joint fishing expeditions. These represent a social event that brings together the inhabitants of the maloca or povoado. Even more, it is a collective entertainment or sport, a time of celebration. If the distance to the fishing place is great, as it often is, they will stay overnight there for several days, and in this case they *[192] must take their hammocks. Not infrequently they improvise *tapirís* or huts in the surroundings conveniently beforehand. The [462] women will prepare the beijú and the flour. The men will take care of the nets and see that the canoes are in good condition. The complete preparation includes, besides the fishing gear, the panniers in which to keep the fish, the fire, etc.

64. *Igarapés* are the small tributaries of the rivers; *igapós* are the arms of water or pools that are formed during high water.

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The principal methods of fishing are:

1) *With poison* (65).

> 65. The harmfulness of the method is under discussion, and some condemn it as destructive of the fish, many of which cannot be used. The fact is that for many generations they have fished in the same places, and there is always fish. If at present they are not as large and as plentiful, perhaps one should attribute it, not to the method, but to the frequency of the fishing. It also seems that many fish only become stupefied and manage to escape. The actual difficult circumstance is that at times the igarapés are quite low and the amount of timbo quite large, and both the fish and the very water that they drink cause intestinal disorders among the Indians.

[164]

/235/ a) *Ehú* (timbo). The large-scale fishing (*Waí pu'asé*) is that which is done with *timbo* (66).

> 66. *Timbo* is the name of various Leguminosae of the genera *Tephrósia*, *Lonchocarpus* (*densiflorus*, *rufescens*, etc.).

A suitable spot was chosen beforehand, for example, a widening of the river like a small bay, or the mouth of an igarapé or igapó, and baited, *buxtú-kĩse*, that is, food was thrown there frequently for the fish (termites, *buxtw̃á*, hence the term *buxtú-kĩse*, or also pupunha, flour, fruits, mass of beijú, etc.). Afterwards, during the night, the site was surrounded with the *parí*, in Tukano *sũtérika*, or with a very tight fence of thin stakes of paxiúba, leaving only an opening through which the fish came in. Nowadays, in order to facilitate this work, they make the

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226 278 *[192] parí with a mat, not plaited, but with tightly connected vertical splints, which they set up with strong stakes at the chosen spot. On the night preceding the fishing, the opening is closed, so that the fish that have come in to eat cannot go back to the river. It is the siege of the fish, or waí-õõ. The timbo is beaten well, hitting it against the rocks or crushing it with a stick. The juice, which has a strong odor, spreads through the water, killing the small fish and stupefying the large ones, which will soon float. In order for the poison to reach the bottom layers of water, they also throw mud with the plant juice. Very early in the morning, then, the canoes leave (or they will have already left even earlier, if the spot is far away) with the whole family, men, women carrying the children, youngsters, the gear (67).

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> 67. Not, however, the pregnant women, because in this case the fishing would not have good results. If the dog goes in the water, they believe that the timbo will lose its stre[illegible]

On that day no one will eat mingau or anything sweet (68);

> 68. "I ate sweets and was lucky in fishing," objected Padre Afonso, a Montfortian Missionary from Teresita. -- "But the senhor is not one of us," the convinced Indian answered him.

*[192] they must go with an empty stomach; otherwise the fishing will be unfruitful. They will all try to enter the water simultaneously, advancing from upstream downward, yelling in unison (and anyone who does it late will be reprimanded), pwá-pwá-pwá, in order to frighten the fish. This act is called waí n̄ārā; it is the frightening of the fish to make them go into the poisoned water.

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226 278 *[192] The small fish come to the surface dead and are gathered with the puçá or with a strainer, or even with the hand; it is the waí wa'sá. The large ones, only stupefied, are caught with arrow or spear. Some fish manage to jump the pari barrier, if this has been /236/ set quite deep, but they fall into horizontal nets hanging along the barrier; it is the waí bu'pú-pearó.

The fishing is done with cries, laughter, falls, and finally great joy. And all participate, children, women, men... In the immediate vicinity of the fishing place they prepare the fish for eating and they also smoke it to preserve it.

*[192] b) Waí nimá (cunambí). Waí nimá means poison-of-fish. It is (in Nheengatú called Cunambí) Phyllanthus cunami, a bush with large leaves, of the family of the Euphorbiaceae, which they customarily have planted in the vicinity of their dwelling or in the clearing. When they crush the leaves and seeds, adding flour, ashes of caña brava, pepper, and japurá, they obtain a firm mass from which they make small balls that are thrown at the water. Before throwing one of these balls, however, they hold it between the index finger and the thumb, and, with the hand, describe around the head two circles to the right and one to the left. If one of these gestures is omitted, they say, no fish will be caught. They explain that the ashes being of cane, which floats, the fish will also float (69).

> 69. The explanation may be this: the potash from the ashes acts on the bladder of the fish, making it dilate, and the fish comes to the surface.

The fish, swallowing some of these small balls, after a few instants will come to the surface of the water, stunned, and the Indians, swimming or in canoes, gather them in baskets. The effect, however, is temporary. The woman, while she prepares the japurá for such fishing, must not eat anything, nor can she go to the toilet, in order for the poison to retain all its

226 /236 cont./

278 efficacy. They also use the poison-of-fish like timbo, mixing its juice with the mud.

*[192] Some tiny leaves known as "doé nimá," poison-of-taraíras, can be used in the same way as the poison-of-fish.

c) Ehú-pu. Piquiá (caryócar villósum, Aubl.) is the name of an edible chestnut, the pulp of which, nevertheless, is poisonous. Because of this, after it is crushed, there is produced a mass that, thrown into the water, acts even stronger than the timbó, that is, it stupefies the fish, which soon come to the surface, then being caught by hand or arrows.

These last two methods are used in small-scale fishing.

226 2) With traps.

There are several kinds of traps used for fishing: the principal ones are:

*[192] /237/ a) Bũxkõá-wõ (in Nheengatú matapí). It is a nassa /fishing basket/ or jequí like that of the fishermen in the south of Brazil. It consists of a cage of sticks of patauá, paxiuba, or even cipo, in the shape of a cone or elongated cylinder. The thin part is tied with cipo, and is untied at the moment of extracting, through there, the fish caught. In the wide part (base

*[192] of the cone) there is a funnel-shaped opening called in Tukano ỹe'ẽ-nẽ-pá, with flexible sticks that spread in order to let the fish pass through. The matapí is submerged in the small canals, being embedded among the rocks of the cachoeira, with the mouth toward the downstream side and the closed end toward the side of the current. The fish, which has a tendency to go upstream, comes in by way of the mouth, but it finds the bottom closed. Sometimes in this way they collect numerous and large fish daily.

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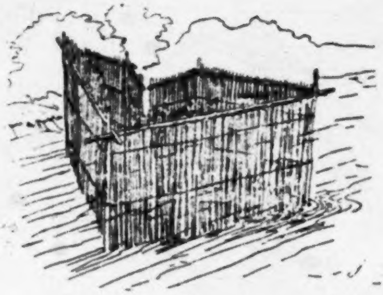

Cacurí (waí-ro)

b) Waí-ro (in Nheengatú cacurí). It consists of an enclosure of paxiúba or patauá sticks fastened to stakes that are very high and reinforced so that the river current will not destroy it, placed near the edge of the river or of islands, where they know that the fish are in the habit of passing during high water. The enclosure, almost always triangular in shape, is continued laterally by two cloths or pari barriers, which join at an obtuse angle, driving toward the enclosure the fish, which, following their instinct, always advance against the current. Upon reaching the angle of the barrier, this gives passage, because it is loose there, but it soon closes again through the action of the current. The fish advance, but find the bottom closed, and, not finding the way by which they came in, remain imprisoned, not infre-
*[192] quently in large numbers. This system is very practical, equivalent to a fishpond where the fish are kept alive and the /238/ fisherman dives in and catches the fish he wants with the puçá,
[843] waí wehẽ-kõ. The women, when pregnant, cannot eat fish from the cacurí. They think that the spirit of the child to be born goes to cry near the trap at night and scares away the fish. They attribute the failures to such a cause and remedy it by surrounding the barricade with a poisonous cipo. The child's spirit, upon noticing it, will run away, and the fish will come to enter the trap.

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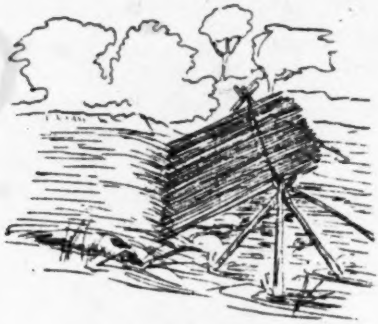
226 *[192] c) Imĩ-nõ. It is similar to the cacurí; it is, however, of small dimensions, generally a meter in length and the same in width. It is usually made of stakes and is embedded, like the nassa /Port. massa, "mass," evidently a misprint/, among the rocks of the stream.



Fish platform (ewá)

*[192] d) Ewá (in Nheengatú cajá or jirau /platform/. The Indian knows that the fish, at a certain time, tries to jump over the small falls of water. Knowing these places, he puts up there, during low water, a platform set on large pieces of wood, in such a way, however, that it will stay like an inclined plane, with the lower side corresponding to the point at which the fish try to pass. Sometimes one sees enormous and well-joined trunks that withstand the force of the current, representing perhaps the work of many days by all the men of the maloca or povoado. The fish jump, trying to reach the upper part of the cachoeira, and fall onto the platform, from where the fishermen collect them several times a day. Or also, such a rack is arranged so that it will receive the water from the current and retain the fish carried by it. *[192] The fish that they manage to catch this way are the sẽ'ẽ (in Nheengatú pirá-mirim), sometimes filling many panniers.

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3) With arrow and net.

a) With arrow. On the bank of the rivers there are often trees whose fruits or seeds are sought by the fish, as the japurá is by the aracú. The Indian then stations himself in the shade of these trees, in his canoe, and waits for the fish to come up to get these fruits, which are floating; at this moment he hits them with an accurate arrow-shot and collects them in the canoe. It is an exercise that is very diverting and is called waí bõé. Lacking fruits, they break open termite nests, full of larvae, which the fish are very fond of, and throw them into the water. When the fish jump to snap at these larvae, they are hit by the arrows.

b) With net. We saw the use of the funnel-shaped net puçá, wehẽ-kõ, and with the mouth always open, in order to collect the fish killed or stupefied by the poisons. They also use for the same purpose their sieves or baxti; it is the method that is called waí wa'sá.

[784]

It is to be noted that when the man prepares his puçá, he does it in secret, without smoking or eating, only with ipadú in his mouth, and abstains from talking or from going to the toilet, in order for the puçá to be efficient.

They also use it for direct fishing; it is the waí ñũũ. Standing at the mouth of the igarapé, he waits for the fish, frightened by those who are making noise above, to seek the river, and with a swift movement he brings in the puçá, almost always carrying some fish.

Also in the dark of night, especially on the shores, they surprise the fish and catch them with their puçás; it is what is called waí ẽõ.

Or also, with that larger type of puçá (VI -- 2, e (3)) called jereré in the Língua Geral, which is opened only at the moment of use, they dip it, and, when the fish is inside, they close the net, drawing it out very quickly. They are simple processes, but profitable, especially at the time of low water or during the piracemas.

/239 cont./

*192 226 They also use the following method: they surround with parí the mouth of an igarapé, leaving a small passage for the fish that come up to sleep. At a certain time of the night a man stations himself with his puçá beside this opening, while others, at the upper part of the stream, beat the water with sticks. The frightened fish, which try to return to the river, land in the puçá.

Piracema, waí turĩrõ, is the meeting of schools of fish in certain places at the time of spawning, during which, for this very reason, they are less timid. The piririca, that is, the rippling of the waters, and a characteristic noise, waí bõxsõrá, reveal these places. They then set out by canoe among the schools of fish, and, with the puçá or with the arrow, the Indians catch great quantities of fish.

/240/ 4) Fishing with hook, spear, and harpoon.

a) Skilled fishermen that they are, the Indians use still other fishing methods and implements, and also ways introduced by the civilized, giving them, however, characteristic applications.

Sometimes with a lighted torch, he stupefies the fish that is sleeping: it is what is called to dazzle or to blind the fish, and he captures it with his harpoon, yõxẽ-kõ. This method is called waí wĩ (tataitíca or muturisáua in Nheengatú). It is to be noted that the forest itself furnishes him this torch with the tree called mãxpãrí (turí) of the genus Licania, the wood of which is separated into fine strips (70) and, once lighted, maintains its light until the whole strip is consumed.

At the time of the piracema two or more canoes with some speed and with turí torches go out at night. The fish, even the large ones, awakened by the noise and stunned by the light, jump, and many fall into the canoes. It is what is called in Nheengatú piráquira, and in Tukano wai nãrã, that is, frightening the fish.

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70. These strips are also used as laths, because the resin makes it unattackable by termites.

/240 cont./

*192 226 b) *Bait*. There are various kinds of bait, *ahũñesé*, that they use, according to the nature of the fish they want and the habitat of which they seek and know. Sometimes they use the minhoca /an annelid worm/, *ahwã*, or larvae of insects, grasshoppers, etc.

Many of these minhocas live inside bromelias (called for this reason, by those of the Nheengatú language, mother of the minhoca, *šimwí mãña*). The fisherman indeed takes with him some of these bromelias, true deposits of live minhocas (71), called *darakubí* in the língua geral.

Other times, as bait, they use pieces of fish or even berries, fruits, or fruit pulp prepared as small balls. The *tambaquí*, for example, is very fond of the fruit of the jacitara of the igapós, known as *wai-tũ-dá* (in Nheengatú *Kamú-kamú*). The fisherman, without even a hook, ties the fruit at the end of the line and hits the water with it, as if the fruit were falling directly from the tree. /241/ The voracious fish advances and swallows the fruit. Then, with a rapid movement, the fisherman pulls it out of the water. Even with a simple ball of wood, *doxké-ñõ-weheká* (Nheengatú *ya-põga*), they manage to catch the tambaquí, acting as in the preceding.

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71. This type of minhoca, *darakubi*, is found in the bromelias of the igapós. A skilled fisherman, Mr. Manoel Valério, informed us that when the *darakubí* wants to migrate, it breaks off a piece of itself, the final rings of its own body, and lets them fall. If there is a fish in the vicinity, it will immediately jump to catch the bait, and the minhoca has knowledge of the danger because of the noise and remains still. When it does not hear noise any longer, it means that the fish have already migrated to the river, and it can leave without danger.

/241 cont./

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c) Hooks. Formerly they made their hook with two sturdy spines of tucum, bextá, joined at a wide angle by thread with pitch, with which kaxpó, a root similar to the Japanese potato, is crushed. They explain that the fish will smell the root and will come to bite the hook.

This, like the common metallic hook, tied to a string and covered with bait, becomes caught in the gills of the fish that has swallowed it.

Many times the hook is left tied to a rod, weherí wã'sõ, fixed on the bank of the river. It is the method called wai wehé-kũ.

Or the Indian holds it in his hand, fixed at the end of a rod; this is called wai wehẽ. Way-myõ-he is when the rod and the hook are dispensed with, because the mandí /Siluridae/ customarily swallows the line, even without any bait.

Sometimes the reed with the hook is ingeniously set, with the tip arched and constituting a trap, wai yuró. When the fish bites the bait, the reed comes up and the fish remains suspended in the air. This is the way they customarily catch the taraíra, which lives at the edge of lagoons and swamps.

The manner of catching the buu (tucunaré), a very tasty fish with scales, which during the day swims on the surface of the water hunting other fish, is very curious. The apparatus is called buú weherí wãsõ (Nheengatú pindá siriríka). It consists of a rod having at the end a string with a tuft of quite red feathers from the neck of the toucan, among which is hidden a hook. In the places in which the tucunaré is found, they describe rapid semicircular movements in the water with the tip of the rod. The fish follows the movement of the rod in order to catch the colored feathers and, when it is able to, makes a leap in order to bite them. At this moment the Indian, with a skillful pull of the rod, catches the fish, which might weigh up to three or four kilograms.

Sometimes they manage to catch them with the cord tied to the stem of the boat, during voyages, in such a way that the feathers skim over the surface of the water; it is the method called buú waharí-da (Nheengatú pindá wawaká).

/241 cont./

*192 226 d) Espinhel /line with many hooks/. Nowadays they acquire the metallic hooks from the civilized and, moreover, use them with very profitable and advantageous methods. One of these, for example, is the espinhel, a process called mõ-weheríkanõ.

/242/ The espinhel consists of a very strong line 50 to 100 meters in length, tied at one end to the bank of the river and, at the other, to a stone that is thrown to the bottom of the river. A piece of molongó /Apocynaceae/, as a float, poogõ dõxká or pa'sa-ká (in Nheengatú mututí), tied to the middle of the cord, keeps it at a suitable depth and serves for locating the espinhel. On this long cord, at an interval of 3 or 5 meters, are joined small strings, each one with its hook provided with bait. They set the espinhel late in the afternoon, and early in the morning, with their canoe, they take it out, starting to pull from the part with the stone, in the middle of the river. As the fish taken is brought close to the canoe, they kill it with a blow on the head, because not infrequently large surubis and piraíbas of 50 kilograms or even more are found. Frequently the fish are found already tired by the efforts made to free themselves, or even bitten and half-eaten by the piranhas.

[784] The first fish of the espinhel will be given to some dog or released in the water, or they bury it; it is essential that it should not be eaten by any person.

The pregnant woman (VII - 4, f (2 d)) cannot eat any of the fish caught on the espinhel, because otherwise no more fish will be caught.

During the time of high water, when the rivers flood their banks, invading the forests (these are the igapós), many fish migrate from the rivers, in order to eat the wild fruits. The native then takes advantage of this fact to tie lines with hooks to the bushes or to the branches of the trees in such a way that they stay a span more or less under the water. Upon inspecting them at dawn, he finds almost all the hooks with their fish. It is the fishing called wai poxtá-poó. In the first days of the high water they can perform this operation two or three times a night, with positive results, in order to keep the alligator from eating the fish.

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*[192] b) Hunting.

1) Hunting by pursuit (amã̄ siró-tú pexkayesé).

The fauna of the Amazonian northwest is poor, in quality and quantity, in animals for eating. But hunting, besides providing food, is an enjoyable sport for the Indian. Poor as it is, hunting in the dense virgin forest can only be practiced by groups of two or three Indians. Rarely will he go out alone, until very recently, when he obtained a shotgun from the civilized. With the shotgun or with the bow, the Indians are worthy /243/ hunters. He will also rarely go in large groups; this only when they locate in some zone a herd of wild pigs. Then they try to surround them, and with arrows and stabbing sticks /Port. paus terçados/ they kill a large number (72). [177]

> 72. Not infrequently it happens that the herd of pigs, starving or attacked, attacks the men, who save themselves by quickly climbing the trees.

A man's treasured helpers in hunting are the dogs, small, skinny, and often almost blind because of the stings of the ants, taxi, but, perhaps for this very reason, with a more acute sense of smell.

[171] The Makú are specialized hunters. When they go to track the animal chased by the dogs, they make a lot of noise, with characteristic cries, and nothing, neither the cipos, thorns, nor other obstacles, is able to stop them.

*[192] 2) Hunting by ambush (pexkáye du'tigȭ or pexkáye pe'sá-kȭ).

The animals have their drinking places (73)

> 73. On the upper Tiquié, near the Cachoeira Grande, one sees a stone that the antas come to lick. The ground or stone with natural salts, and for this reason sought by the antas, deer, and other animals, is called "anta sucker."

*192
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/243 cont./
where they go to drink water on hot days, just as they also have more or less customary places in the forest where they go to eat fruits. The footprints mark these spots, and they are accustomed to go to them at more or less regular times. Knowing this habit, the Indian builds kaxsá-wa (Nheengatú mutás (74) or platforms in the tree branches; this is the pexkaye pe'sá-kõ) in the vicinity of these places, and there they patiently stay in ambush without making any noise, or imitating the chirping of the birds that they want to kill. Or he will even stay on the ground hidden behind some tree; this is the pexkáye du'tyasé. As the animal approaches, he shoots a well-aimed arrow which will fatally hit the animal or at least will wound him, and, in this case, they pursue it until they kill it.

74. A small burned-over area near the mutá attracts some deer with a desire to lick the ashes.

If the animal retires into a cave, they light a small fire, almost always with the nest of some termite, at the mouth of the cavern, and the heat and the smoke force it to come out, then being caught by the hunters.

3) Hunting by mundéu (pexkáye-sĩ-kõ).

The animals, especially when they have a burrow, customarily follow the same paths or carreiros in search of their food or water. Upon discovering one of these carreiros, the Indian makes a /244/ narrow and deep hole, being careful to transport the excavated soil farther away. Afterwards he again covers the cavity well with sticks, leaves, and rubbish, in such a way that it does not differ from the remaining track, and the mundéu, koxpé, is made. During the first nights the animal does not pass by there; later, however, it comes to fall in, and the Indian kills it. It sometimes happens that he forgets to go to look at the mundéu again, and he will find the animal already dead of starvation.

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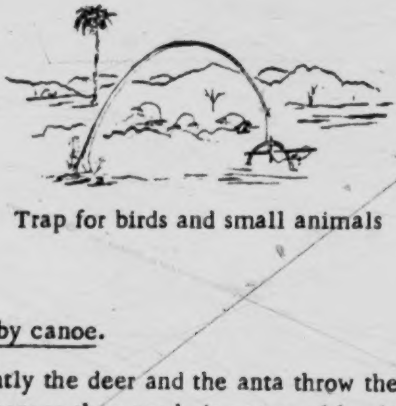
4) Hunting by trap (pexkáye-kṍ yuró).

The method that they use for small animals, such as the cutia /agouti/ is simple. A strong, but flexible pole is planted in the ground. Sometimes they use bushes that already exist in the chosen location. They bend the free end, to which they fit a snare, tying it to sticks in the place where they foresee that the animal might pass, and the trap, yuró (Nheengatú žuká), is ready. When the animal tries to eat the bait left there, or even simply to pass through the snare, the pole is released violently, and the animal remains hanging by the leg. And thus it will stay until it dies, or it will be killed with blows of sticks.

[177]

Nowadays, instead of the snare, there is often a loaded shotgun that fires and kills the animal; it is the trap called pexkáye-wṍ.



Trap for birds and small animals

5) Hunting by canoe.

Very frequently the deer and the anta throw themselves into the river, because they are being pursued by dogs or in order to look for food on the other bank. Then the hunters pursue them with their fast canoes, and they kill them with the oar, a stick, or machete. On some occasions they reach in this way large herds of queixadas /white-lipped peccary/ and kill them in large number.

/245/

224 373 During low water they also go hunting at night, drifting slowly and without making any noise, while one of the Indians brings a torch of turí. They thus surprise the pacas, which are blinded by the light, and the Indian kills them with arrows. [177] Nowadays they use a battery flashlight for night hunting.

6) Agriculture.

241 The mandioca is what provides the principal food of the Indians of the basin of the Uaupés. All these tribes are thus found in the phase of tillage, which is practiced, however, in a very primitive manner: it is the phase of the "cavouco" /digging, pit, hollow/ or of the "cova" /hole/.

They freely choose the land that pleases them the most, because of the proximity of their dwelling and because of the guarantee against theft (75), and which is a little sandy, as the "terras-firmes" of the entire region generally are, and suitable for mandioca. The act of *[423] [192] clearing, wexsé pá:kũrõ, is what gives them the ownership of the land while cultivating it.

Clearing is done in the periods of less rain, that is, from [462] June to August and from December to February. It is work exclusively for the men. They start by choosing an area con- *[192] venient as to distance and not subject to floods, with yellowish soil, semisandy, di'tá sõarã, or black and somewhat humous, nã̄xkã̄ di'tá ñyĩrõ.

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75. For this reason he will not do it at the edge of the river, unless it is beside his dwelling. If it is in the vicinity of the river, he will always leave a wedge of forest between the clearing and the river, in order to hide it from the view of those who are traveling on the water. And the landing place where he disembarks and ties his canoe will be at a certain distance from the clearing, in order not to reveal its location.

*192 /245 cont./

241 313 [412] [177] They "go around" the clearing (pũ-pé: it is the Tukano term that they use), that is, they mark off from the rest of the forest the area they want, with a small lane, cutting down the small plants and breaking branches. Formerly they did it only with the stone ax, õxtã komé; today clearing is done with the help of the machete, di-phĩ, and also at times with the iron ax, komé. The work consists essentially of breaking off the bushes and going around the large trunks with blows in such a way as to make the bark come off. With this the tree would dry and could then be burned. Once all the trees are dried in a more or less square area of about 50 or 100 meters on a side (according to the number of persons in the family), fire is set at various spots, and thus the gigantic trees either are incinerated or are reduced to a blackened trunk, which often falls to the ground. The clouds of smoke that rise here and there from the green /246/ forest reveal the places where a good burning, õhõá-dyakĩ-siri, is taking place.

If the burning was not very successful, because the sticks were not dry or because of a lack of wind, the work is done again, taking down branches, assembling them around the trees -- this is called coivara, in Tukano doxté-peosé, and burning is done anew.

[423] [476] Although the clearing is individual or, better, family property, for the work of clearing and burning the one interested will ask for the collaboration of his companions in the maloca or in the povoado; or, if he lives isolated, that of the closest inhabitants. And not only of his own tribe, but even of another nation. This collective work (cf. IX -- 2) is called neõsé (in Nheengatú ayurí). The immediate pay, that is, on the day or days of work, is a plentiful caxirí for all the workers; and more distantly his own help when solicited for identical work for the benefit of others. The ayurí is always practiced whenever the participation of many persons is needed for one job, for example, to cut and bring wood from the forest, to put in place the timberwork of a house roof, etc. The ayurí is a practice that is still in force even among the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

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*192 241 [462] After the operation of burning or the coivara, one proceeds with a rough cleaning, o'asé, removing to the sides one or another trunk and branch that might be on the ground.

Now begins the planting, which is reserved for the women, that is, the wife assisted by her daughters or women who live with her. Since this work might take a long time, if the clearing is very far from the house the man builds there a small hut or papirí, in Tukano wi'ykɨ́-pama. This is four stakes supporting a straw covering. His family will stay there during the cleaning and the planting. This is done, even today, in the simplest way, called wexsé bu'bé, with the help of the digging stick; that is, after a rainfall, when the ground is still soft, a hole is made in the ground with a pointed stick (more rarely, today, with a digging iron), sérí-phɨ́, a maniva (branch of manioc) is introduced obliquely, and a small heap of earth is piled up around it.

Nowadays, they plant in their clearings besides mandioca, joints of cane (saccharum officinale), shoots of the banana tree (Musa), of carás /Dioscorea/, of sweet potato (hypomoea batata), of pineapple (ananas satíva), seeds of papaya (papáya cárica). Ordinarily they do not plant all the cleared area at only one time, but in two stages or two clearings a year, in the two proper times; it is what they call dexkó bu'besé, half a planting. The planting is done in disorder, the /247/ shoots very close together and without a passage. For this reason, and also because of the impoverishment of the soil, the return is always scanty. Ordinarily they do not pull up mandioca for flour until after a year. The weeds that grow are pulled out by hand, taá kuresé, by the women. [462] [857] The woman will spend several hours a day in the clearing with her children and, upon returning, will carry on her back an aturá of mandioca, a bundle of wood for the fire, and a child or two hanging on at her waist.

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241 *[192] [251] The harvest, du'á, is done by pulling the plant by the stem and taking it out with the hands. They start the harvest at the periphery of the clearing, "in order to fool the cutia /agouti/." They say that upon finding the ground turned over at the edges, it will abandon the clearing, which it thinks is completely harvested. The Indian is not provident, nor does he think of accumulating food. Thus he has no storage place or warehouse. The circumstance of the climate favors him and leads him to this. Besides, due to the hot and humid climate, the mandioca starts to deteriorate a few hours after it has been pulled, and the fresh flour and beijú are tastier.

The man will go to see the clearing only periodically, especially when his participation becomes necessary in order to fight the ants or the animals that attack the planting. When the quantity of ants causes apprehension, they exterminate them by lighting a fire in the hole of the anthill with a termite nest, or by guiding there the waters of the frequent rains.

*[192] According to the fertility of the ground, planting will be done there for three or four years. At the second and third planting, when the roots and trunks begin to rot, the cleaning, O'á, is more thorough and is done by dragging the loose soil with a stick. All this process of burnings and cleanings impoverishes the clearing; forest will never be formed there any more. A clear space or barren land will remain, perpetuating the spot. At most a scrubby brush will emerge there.

Frequently there is a small clearing near the house, when the other one is very far away, for the days of rain or sickness.

The contingency of making a new clearing at short intervals, the native improvidence, which is a racial characteristic, the inconstancy of the climatic elements that exists in the region (76),

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76. On the one hand, the inconstancy of the climatic factors, which characterizes the whole basin of the Rio Negro, and, on the other, the almost general poverty of the soil and the

/247 cont./

241 /footnote 76 cont./ plagues (insects) of every kind incapacitate the region for sufficient and economical

[797] agricultural production. The problem of hunger, driving away the inhabitants of the Uaupés, has not yet set in (and will be still longer in coming, as we note elsewhere), because it is a matter of small human bands, with a minimum of demands and already partially /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ helped by the food supplies that the Salesian Missions send in monthly from Manáus and other points of the country.

241 161 167 [115] Pertinent here is a talk that we had on the morning of the eighth of March 1956 with the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, who since 1922 has toiled heroically in the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, and which is found summarized in 6 points in our "Diário," the last five of which have to do with the subject in focus. That is: "1st. -- This year a larger number of Brazilian Indians who worked in Colombia died, among them three from Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié); 2nd. -- The Caiarí (Uaupés) has fewer people today than before, and it is going to decrease even more; 3rd. -- The Indians tend to come down, and a good-sized group of them is already established in Tapurucuá (former S. Isabel, on the lower Rio Negro); 4th. -- Many of the Pirá-tapúya of Aracú-ponta (Uaupés) have already come down to the Rio Negro, and others want to come down to there (and actually in our company, and in the same launch, on November 14, 1956, about two dozen Pirá-tapúya came down to Tapurucuá; 5th. -- They are also coming down from S. Luzia (river Papurí); some have already /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ settled near Bela-Vista and Tauá (lower Uaupés), where there are good lands, and they devote themselves to gathering rubber, which they will sell to José Maria

241 /247 cont./

161 /footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of
167 Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the com-
[222] plaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The
[438] land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we
going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or
four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The
241 indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance,
and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory
731 by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits
797 that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season
of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so
close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It
[438] seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because
all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

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[524]

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There never were coins (77)

> 77. We have seen the children playing with flat and roundish beans, like chips or coins, and these children say that they are their coins. A large number of them nowadays know what a coin is. Perhaps calling such beans coins comes from the shape that they exhibit. It is nevertheless possible that the old ones used these beans as units to facilitate their calculations (see counting with the fingers, VII-2, b).

for the carrying out of their trade. Formerly, as well as nowadays, trade has taken place "in kind," that is, the exchange of one object for another. There has come to be stressed in modern times among the Indians, because of the relations with the civilized, the concept of an intrinsic value of the objects, not only because of their rarity, but also because of the laboriousness of their manufacture and the difficulty of obtaining the raw material. Nevertheless, still today, and much more intensely than formerly, they consider only the appreciative value, that is, the value depending upon the desire or the necessity for an object. It is easy to understand that, with one tribe being the exclusive producer of some objects, and another tribe, of others, it was not difficult to reach an agreement.

438 There is no information concerning the existence of intra or extra-tribal markets, that is, places for the display of the products intended for trade. The Indian formerly, as he still does today, under the necessity for an object, would undertake a trip (and they were always very much rovers, even seeming reminiscent of an ancestral nomadism) to the povoados of another tribe,

/249 cont./

438 [177] taking something for the exchange (78).

> 78. We have seen some Indians taking along on trips goods received from the civilized (salt, machete, mirror, etc.), with the intention of bringing back some native object in exchange (canoe, grater, puçá, etc.). In some cases it will happen that they will not find for exchange the object that they desire, or the objects offered do not interest those of the various povoados, and their owner returns from the trip with the goods that he took. We might think that the same would have happened in former times, perhaps more rarely than today.

This trade was more frequent with the tribes with which there were matrimonial relations.

Although the trade among the tribes is still being maintained today through the exchange of the products of their specialty or exclusivity, it has become much more intense due to the relations with the civilized, who, since the eighteenth century, have navigated those rivers with more or less frequency.

464 648 In the first place, the civilized needs the services of the native. They were always the oarsmen for the first travelers of the /250/ rivers (79),

> 79. We know, for example, that in the squadron of Pedro de Teixeira, in 1637, there were 1,200 Indians for the work of rowing and other services.

and today they are the "sailors," that is, pilots, mechanics, oarsmen, loaders of the launches. And not infrequently they are hired as guides and interpreters. All these services are paid for with goods. Since the time of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro

/250 cont./

464 and of that of the Amazon (80),

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[466] 80. See "Relatórios" /Reports/ on these Provinces. Unfortunately, instead of job contracts, there were deals between the latifundiários or traders of the Rio Negro and the tuxauas or those who, in a private or official manner, established relations with the Indians or lived among them in order to take advantage of the forest dwellers. [164] The latter would come down, deluded by promises that did not correspond to reality and were victims of malaria or other illnesses. The means to return to their povoados were not made easy for them to get. [273] Their weakness for alcohol was taken advantage of, and months of their services would be bought with some bottles of aguardiente. The documented exposure of these "descidas" /descents/ of the Indians will constitute quite dark chapters in the future History of the Indians of Brazil.

and on a smaller scale even today, more or less numerous Indians of different tribes irregularly come down to the lower Rio Negro for the most varied jobs, particularly the extraction of various products (rubber, piaçaba /piassava/, nuts, timber, etc.).

439 Objects of native industry for purchase are not only their artifacts for museum collections or decorations for private homes. Those who live or travel in these regions obtain from the Indians part of their food (81)

[797] 81. The Salesian Missions have brought great stimulus to the Indians for the production of the means of subsistence, because,

/250 cont./

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[797]

/footnote 81 cont./ in keeping more than a thousand native children in the regimen of the boarding school, they must buy from the Indian /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ flour, beijú, fish, fruits, game, etc., for their students. During the Second World War traders buying large quantities of flour for those who worked in the rubber plantations of Venezuela and Colombia came by regularly. American seaplanes would come periodically as far as the Papurí to collect and transport hundreds of panniers of flour.

in fruits (especially bananas, papayas, pineapples), flour, beijú, fish, game. It is also the forest dwellers who supply the civilized of those latitudes with canoes, material for the construction of residences (timber, cipo, palms for the roofing), benches, pottery, mats, baskets, strainers, etc. The Indians of the upper Rio Negro and the river Xié devote themselves nowadays to the production of piaçaba /piassava/ ropes, which are sold not only for towropes for the launches of those rivers, but also regularly for the ships of the Amazon River and even for the States.

Almost all the Indians today look to the civilized for hooks, matches, fabrics (and the accessories for the clothing), salt, tobacco, soap. There is less demand for gunpowder, lead, caps for guns, axes, machetes, shotguns. The mercantile practice has already more or less established the prices of the different articles. Nevertheless, the Indians, under the stimulus of self-interest and of certain prejudices against the whites, always want to sell dearly and to buy cheaply or to get something for nothing.

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439 The Indians who are in contact with the civilized obtain clothing and many objects from them in order later to resell these to other natives. It has been verified that in this trade they show economic judgment and know how to make large profits, not only among the Indians of a different tribe, but also among their own tribal "brothers" (82).

[437] 82. We know, for example, that the Tukano Indians residing in Melo Franco received flour from other Tukano from the mouth of the Áua in order to sell it to the Salesian Mission, and for this transaction alone they demanded from their "brothers" 50 per cent of the price of the flour.

8) Means of communication.

501 For their trade and social relations the means of communication are the rivers and igarapés; the canoe, then, is the primary means of transportation (83).

[171] 83. They never build rafts. The Makú, because they only live in the interior of the forests, do not know how to make canoes, nor do they possess them. They say that sometimes they improvise rafts in order to cross rivers or their branches. These are very rare events, however.

491 Since ordinarily these rivers are quite wide and subject to great differences in level and impetuousness of the waters during the time of high water, it is not possible to build bridges. As for passage across small brooks, they either do it by fording them or they take down trees without any concern except that they connect the two banks. This work, by the way, is very rare, because at every step one finds trees felled by storms, which serve as bridges.

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487 The Amazon forest, interlaced as it is by lianas (a little less, it is true, than appears to anyone who only sees it from the bank of the rivers), is crossed with some difficulty, and perhaps for this reason is not crisscrossed with trails. The custom of the Indians always to walk one behind the other, never side by side, is well known. It is what is called "Indian file," that is, one by one. The native does not go very far into the forest; he is afraid of Wĩx-tĩ (VII -- 4, d (5)). As for his clearing, it is even desirable that there is no path to reveal the site. In this way it will be better sheltered from thefts. For these reasons roads are not opened, except for those that lead from the maloca or povoado to the landing place, ordinarily a few dozen or, at most, one or two hundred meters in extent. [481] [241]

/252/ They discover, however, shorter routes than the interminable windings by way of the rivers or igarapés to go from one maloca to another. Such routes, as they are more frequented for the exchange of women, feasts, or trade, become better and constitute what is called varadouro (in Tukano ma'á) (84). *[192]

84. It seems that originally the Tukano term ma'á meant only the route that the canoe was to follow in the dangerous crossings of the cachoeiras. Today the term ma'á is used as an equivalent to the Portuguese words: varadouro, caminho, estrada, etc.

482 *[192] All the transportation of cargo by land is done by means of the aturás /carrying baskets/, or pi'í, which the woman carries on her back.

502 During the time of high water in the rivers canals navigable by canoes are formed within the forest, since the wilderness becomes a sea, and the native takes advantage of that in order to shorten the trips; his canoe takes a shortcut through the forest, instead of following all the sinuosity of the river. Their topographic memory of the rivers on which they live, going up and coming down, does not let them be led astray.

/253/

Chapter VII

Spiritual Culture

000 Man is always the rational animal, and proofs of his rational nature are innumerable and appear at every moment. But also true is the primum vívere, deínde philosophári, that is, one can only speculate after the pressing material needs have been satisfied. The intelligence needs a favorable environment in order to develop; but, even in the most adverse environment, it will always give manifestations of its presence. And these manifestations are many, which entitles us to say that, in a general way, the Indian is intelligent. The relative ease with which he adapts himself to our civilization, with which he learns and speaks several native languages and some ideas from the Portuguese that is taught him in the schools, the perspicacity with which he observes the white, listens to him, and talks to him, are proofs of our assertion concerning his intelligence. Up to now, however, no native from the Uaupés has acquired a secondary or higher education, nor has he shown an interest in acquiring it, in spite of the stimuli offered by the Salesian Missions (1).

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1. The Salesians count among their members, in the position of Coadjutor Brother, a Taryana Indian with an education higher than a primary one and who is a good teacher of tailoring, with a specialization course in Recife. The Montfortian Padres have recruited for their Instituto two Indians, a Desana and a Taryana. Young women of different tribes are found at present (1958) in Manaus, taking the course in nursing, supported by the Salesian Missions.

The failure of the first attempts is not surprising, because education assumes a civilization, that is, habits of life, of studies, which only a second or third native generation, raised in the civilized regimen, will be able to present.

/253 cont./

121 We shall indicate here the primitive manifestations of their culture (*Persönlichkeitkultur*), meaning by this expression what these forest dwellers exhibit from their own culture and not received from the white, and which is easily discovered from living with them.

212 /254/ 1. *Writing.*

A question that immediately arises is whether these tribes know how to write. One can answer that at present they do not

[797] know or use any kind of writing (2).

2. With the exception, naturally, of those who have passed through the Mission schools. One notices this peculiarity: they learn how to write the Portuguese language with some facility, but they write Tukano with difficulty. Actually the letters of the Latin alphabet, which we use and such as we pronounce in Portuguese, do not reproduce all the sounds of the Tukano language.

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532 It is a question open to discussion as to whether those signs that are found on many stones of the Rio Negro and tributaries, that is, the *petroglyphs* or *itacoatiaras* (*ō̃xtā* *ohoritirí-pa* in Tukano), are a *writing* of spoken language, or at least *ciphered language* (of which idiom? of which tribe? in which era?): or are only *designs*, perhaps *stylized* (sportive signs /Port. *sinais lúdicos*/) (3).

3. About the *itacoatiaras*, their antiquity and their interpretation, cf. the notable work by Bernardo da Silva Ramos, *Inscrições e tradições da América pré-histórica* /Inscriptions and traditions of Prehistoric America/. Koch Grünberg, going up the river Curicuriari (tributary of the right bank of the Rio Negro), on February 14, 1904, found on a stone designs with the figures

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172 532 /footnote 3 cont./ of a man, monkey, and decorative ones, still fresh, perhaps made weeks or days before. He then gives the opinion that an Indian makes the first stroke with some rock. Another, upon going by, makes the line deeper, and so on, until an indelible furrow results (Z. I. 144). The same Koch asked an Indian who served him as guide on the river Cuduiarí who might have made the petroglyphs that were seen. And the Indian answered him immediately: -- "The old people did with a rock" (Z. I. 304).

203 Would they not, however, have a language for signs or signs corresponding to some ideas? Many travelers who have gone up the Rio Negro were surprised to verify that their coming was already known beforehand, how many made up the retinue, the purpose of the latter, etc. (4).

4. We read, for example, in the "Participação Quinta /Fifth Communication/" (of the "Viagem Philosophica" of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, dated from Barcelos on March 30, 1789, upon his arrival in Ipanuré): -- "I immediately ordered an examination of the five malocas of the savages, located on top of the hill, and for the second time it was confirmed to me that they had already been warned of my ascent; the houses were found deserted, there being left behind all the gear of igaçabas /clay pots/, tipitis, hampers, etc., sufficient tapioca buried in the ground, the pineapples of the clearing freshly cut, and the Indians of the canoes informed me that they had left two days ago" (o. c.).

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203 It is reported to us that many times such information was furnished by word of mouth by Indians who went up faster, by way of igarapés and shortcuts, and one maloca undertook to send the news to the next maloca (cf. V, Note 9, about the curiosity of the natives).

202 *[192] 178 /255/ One of the principal means for these long-distance communications, however, was the Trocano, Twá-tõ, almost completely gone today, an instrument, moreover, without religious character and used only for social relations by the tuxáua.

*[192] It is a teleresonator consisting of a trunk of hard wood suspended by cipos to four stakes and hollowed by means of a narrow longitudinal cleft. Struck on the edge of the cleft with a wooden mallet, Twá-tõ pá-kõ, with a projection of rubber or of anta hide, it emits a deep sound, which, in the solitude of those forests and with the help of the winds, is heard many kilometers away (5).

5. Koch G. (Z. I. 171) tells that from Cucura-igarapé (one hour by canoe above S. José, river Tiquié) the Desana got in contact with the Tukano of Pari-cachoeira (cf. III, the Povoados) by means of the trocano.

[184] Each tribe or maloca had its instrument and its conventional signals. With this instrument the tuxauas communicated the date and offered invitations for the caxiris. With the trocanos, moreover, they would give information about the retinues that were coming up the rivers (6).

[115] [184]

6. Information by Plácido Rodrigues, descendant of the Baré. Cf. also "Notas sôbre os Trocanos /Notes about the Trocanos/," by Carlos Drummond, Boletim 58 of the Univ. de São Paulo. Koch G. (Z. I. 393) tells that among

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202 /footnote 6 cont./ the Witoto of Pirá-paraná (Colombia) the language of the Trocanos, made in pairs, that is, man and wife, according to the picturesque native expression, was quite well developed.

*192 202 534 [832] With some musical instruments they manage to emit sounds that are similar to words. For example, with the instrument called Ñamá dõxpoá (deer head, cf. VII, 3 c (3) /see VII, 3 c (10)/), we seemed to hear the syllables -- "Pêru wáatya" (bring caxiri) ... pêru... pêru... pêru" (quickly, quickly, quickly).

The young men direct amorous invitations to the young women with the sounds of some fifes. We were given on the Uaupés (and for this reason we recorded it with the pronunciation of this river) the following invitation, which they express on the fife -- "Yõõ-mẽna váya" (go with me), -- "Yõõ-mẽna vágo-tá" (you just go with me), "añunõ nĩgosa" (be good), "añũnõ nĩhosa" (it is going to be good). To send out such invitations with the sound of the flutes is what is called in Tukano puxtí-weresã (literally: to complain by playing the flute).

202 [123] They likewise know how to emit certain characteristic and various cries, sometimes similar to the voice of animals and chirping of the birds, and they orient themselves, call one another, give information, etc., with these signals (7).

7. On a trip to the great maloca of the Tuyuka, on the upper Tiquié, frontier with Colombia, the machete that one of our traveling companions had loaned to the Indians disappeared. At the time for the canoe to leave, he asked about the machete and no one could give any information as to where it might be. Impatient, he complained that it was a theft, and this was wicked. After the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ canoe

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/footnote 7 cont./ had gone about four hundred meters, a characteristic cry, which seemed to us more like the chirping of some bird, was heard. The Tukano who came along with us as oarsmen interpreted at once: "It is the tuxaua who is calling in order to return the machete." Truly the tuxaua was waiting for us with the machete, which was returned to its legitimate owner.

On several occasions, as we navigated the headwaters of the rivers or the igarapés, Indians who were in the interior of the forest and heard the noise of the oars exchanged whistles with our oarsmen, who afterwards would give us detailed information: who they were, if they were hunting, picking fruits, looking for caraná, or cutting lumber. It is to be noted that we never heard the Indian humming his songs or whistling for mere diversion. [533]

/256/ 2. Sciences.

a) Geography -- Topography.

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Their geographic notions of the region are not very numerous, but they are accurate. It is difficult to distinguish what they know through individual experience, through tribal tradition, or through the influence of the civilized whom they consult, because, endowed with an excellent memory, they retain the information that they receive, like that which they learn visually.

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823 They admit a legendary origin of many cachoeiras, rivers, streams, islands, canals, stones, mountains, forests, etc. As an example: for the ancients a legendary stone of the cachoeira of Uaracapá (river Papurí) was a banana tree, although it did not resemble such a plant in any way. In a stone called precisely Cabeça-de-anta /Head-of-tapir/ (cachoeira of Tapira-jirau, upper Uaupés) the natives see the snout of an anta and one of their legends explains its origin. They assert that from Piracuara, on the river Papurí, comes a subterranean canal that connects this river to the Tiquié, a little above the cachoeira of Pari. The legends say that it was through this canal that the first fish passed from the former river to the latter one. What is observed at that point of the Tiquié is a deep place where a small jet of waters of infiltration flows, as also happens in other places and rivers (cf. III, Note 17).

Their topographic memory is commendable; they not only identify by name the povoados and malocas that they pass, but also the rivers, igarapés, points, etc. Even more, they know how many turns and points of the rivers are to come before one arrives at a certain place. It seems, however, that this concept of turn (mahamßé), stretch (kusá), or point (ñõá) is different from ours, or, who knows, might be somewhat subjective. We verified many times that they did not correspond to the number that they indicated to us, a mistake perhaps attributable to their lack of knowledge of mathematics. *[192]

/Illustrations facing p. 256 in the original source./

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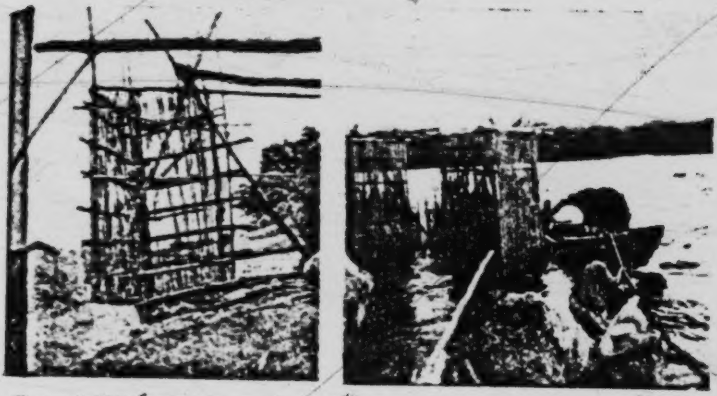
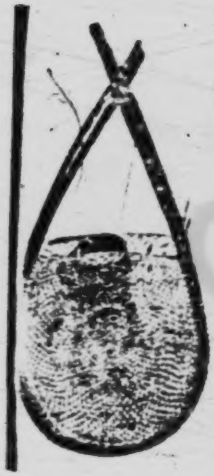


Cacuri (*Waí-ro*) set up during low water, but in the path used by the fish at high water

Small puça (*Wehẽ-kõ*)



Barrier in a stream for fishing

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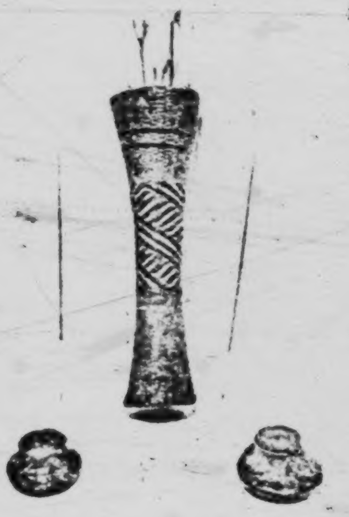
/Illustrations facing p. 257 in the original source./

Quiver of arrows (busá-sa), arrows for the sarabatana, and pot containing curare



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Preparation of the curare (nimá) by a Maku Indian

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484 823 As for the sharp sense of direction of the natives in the forest, or their topographic sense, which has been praised so much, it seems to be the fruit of poetic imagination, if it is generalized for the tribes of the Caiarí. They know very well the rivers and forests that they frequent; however, they do not risk going very far into the forest. They tell of various episodes in which they were lost in the forest. And, in order for this not to happen, they avail themselves of the expedient of breaking branches, all in the same direction, as they draw [171] away from the usual paths. The Makú live in the interior of the forests, are hunters, and therefore orient themselves better. It is to be pointed out, however, that they are seminomadic and always travel in groups.

b) Mathematics.

*192 802 The natives have different names for the first five numbers and distinguish the masculine, feminine, and neuter (thing), to wit:

Number	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1	nikâ, nikô	nikô	niká
2	poāra, poana	poāra, poana	poá, poáro
3	i'tyāra, i'tyāna	i'tyāra, i'tyāna	i'tyá, I'tyáro
4	ba'pári-tîra	ba'pari-tîra	ba'pári-tise
(Uaupes)	bapári-tina	ba'pári-tina	
5	niká-mūkora	niká-mūkora	niká-mūkose
(Uaupes)	niká-mūkona	niká-mūkona	

It should be noted that Niká-mūkōra, properly speaking, means one hand. And ordinarily they prefer to indicate the number of fingers (2, 3, etc.) rather than pronounce the numbers. From five on, all of them, practically, are content to show the corresponding number of fingers. The more intelligent ones know how to count up to twenty, using the fingers of the hands and the toes. They no longer know how to count numbers higher than twenty.

*192 804 Properly speaking they do not have measures of extension or length. They speak of sēērō (sēēnō), nikáti sēērō, the breadth of the arm-span or the two open arms, pōáti sēērō, two arm-spans, etc.; a step, yeraró, nikáti yeraró, one step; a handspan, wamū-ka keoró or wamū-pama-keoró, niká pama, one handspan, pōá wamū-ka-keoró, two handspans, ba'páritise wamū-ka-peosé, four handspans.

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804 As a practical means for their calculations, they will even make a small stick the size of an arm span or a handspan; they are, nevertheless, individual and casual measurements.

797 872 803 The arithmetic tables already consitute a serious difficulty for the school children, in spite of being a mere question of memory. Those of better progress do not manage to perform the four operations after /258/ three or four years of attending school. And one notices in all great difficulty in solving the simplest problem in mathematics.

804 805 It seems that it is equally difficult for them to estimate time, as well as distance and area; thus, they are apt to answer that the length of a room is three kilometers and the course of a river, one hundred meters.

c) Astronomy -- Cosmography.

1) The world.

*192 823 According to their conceptions, the earth, Di'tá, is a plain covered by a regular and solid spherical calotte, which is called Õ'mā̃-se (high thing), the sky, with four doors /Port. portas, doors, gates/ corresponding to the four cardinal points, through which the waters of the rivers escape. If these doors were to be closed, the waters would flood the lands and drown all humanity. (Cf. the Legend of the snake Sẽ̄, p.)

[821] They differentiate the clouds into oxkó-kururí, the nimbi, and o'mẽ̄-kurúri, cirri.

They call the cardinal points "porta" /door, gate/, Soxpé, and designate them as follows: East, Síro-ká-soxpé (back door); West, Pó'té-ká-soxpé (front door, to wit, of the river); South, Kũ̄'pé-ká-soxpé (left door, from which the Uaupés rises); North, Dyakȭ-ká-soxpé (right door).

2) Heavenly bodies and stars.

*192 821 They do not know how to explain how the stars, Yõxkõá, were formed. All the constellations, however, have a legendary origin. They even assert that the sun, the moon, and the stars are people, Maxsã̄, according to their legends. As confirmation, it is to be

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*192 821 noted that, while all the inanimate beings belong to the neuter gender in the Tukano language (and, it seems to us, in all the indigenous languages of the region), sun, moon, star, thunder, and the sacred instrument miri (cf. VII - 3, c (3c)) are of the masculine gender.

There is only one name to designate the sun and the moon, Muhĩ-pũ. They originally imagined them as only one and the same being, which illuminated the world, and it was always day. Until night appeared, in the form of dark dust scattered through space.

*822 192 The echo, Axká-keoãra, is owed to Wãx-tĩ (see VII - 4, d (5a)), who, from amidst the forest, amuses himself by imitating some noise. And many of the noises of the forest (the whispering of the wind, the murmuring of the breeze among the /259/ leaves, branches falling) seem to them to be imitations of the music and sounds of the dances that Wãx-tĩ performs.

*192 821 The thunderclap is the aborted children, Paxkó-mãrĩrá-khãra (that is, orphans without a mother), who cry, because it is going to be very hot. "These poor children go around alone, because nobody takes care of them" (Patrícia Vasconcelos).

3) The constellations.

They distinguish the constellations with names of animals or things that they seem to see represented by the stars, Yõxkõá. The knowledge of the constellations is more generalized among the natives than among the civilized. Thus, [115] upon asking a group of young men of 16 to 20 years of age the names of the constellations, all showed that they knew them, and one would recall the name when another had forgotten it, and they pointed to them in the sky.

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They distinguish the following constellations, whose principal figures we give according to the design and in the same order in which they were given to us by an old Pirá-tapuya, Antônio Goes, from the povoado of S. Paulo on the river Papurí.

1. Ãña, ray (batoid fish; ãña is also the name of the planet Venus);
2. Pamõ desté-ke or Pamõ dõxká or Pamõ dõxká sũxtéke (piece of tatu /armadillo/);
3. Kaĩ sĩ'rĩ-rõ (parakeet enclosure);
4. Daxsyĩ (shrimp);
5. Yai or yai pwê-ro (high water of the onça /jaguar/);
6. Syó-a yaxpú (adze handle);
7. Wai kaxsá (fish platform, VI - 5, a (2c) /see a (2d)/);
8. Yehé (garça /heron/);
9. Dya-yó (otter);
10. Bõõ (the piranha fish);
11. Yõxkwãtéro (legendary personage);
12. Yõkwãtéro maxkõ (son of Yõxkwãtéro);
13. Aña pixkõ-rõ (tail of the ray);
14. Koxtí-pa (scorpion);
15. Ko dyéri me'sĩ (pile of their eggs);
16. Yai õxsé-ka poarí (hairs from the whiskers of the onça /jaguar/);
17. Mãhõã (the jacundá fish);
18. Ñamákurú (a small deer of legend).

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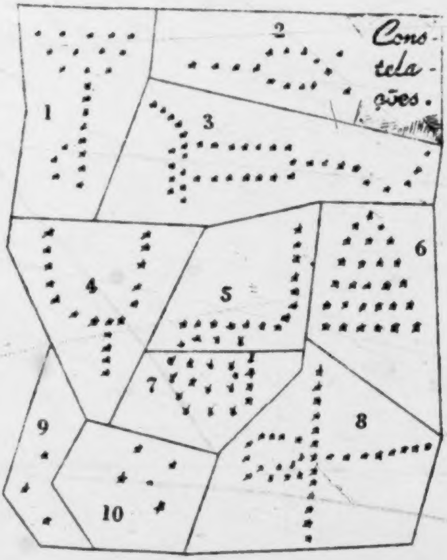

/Constellations/

1. Aña, ray; 2. Pamõ dõxká, piece of tatu /armadillo/; 3. Yaí pwé-ro, high water of the onça /jaguar/; 4. Daxsyã, shrimp; 5. Syó-a yaxpú, adze handle; 6. Waí kaxsá, fish platform; 7. Kaĩ sãriĩrõ, parakeet enclosure; 8. Yehé, garça /heron/; 9. Dyayó, otter; 10. Bõõ, piranha.

4) Time and the seasons.

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Today they have a term to indicate the year, Kõmá (plural Kõmãrĩ) (8).

8. According to what some of our informants have stated, the term Kõmá originally indicated only the time of the less abundant rains, which runs from September to March. The period of high water, which ordinarily extends from March to September, is called Pwé-kõ. That period of 10 to 15 drier days, with little or no rain (which is truly rare), an appropriate

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/footnote 8 cont./ time for the burning of the clearings, is called *Kõmã-rõ* (Uaupés *kõmã-nõ*), summer, maturity.

which is the interval between one period of low water and another in the rivers. Perhaps by the physiological reactions, but especially by the phases of the moon, they distinguish the period of the lunar cycles or months, and they call it /*261*/ by the term *Muhĩ*-pũ (9),

9. It also seems, according to some information obtained, that more remotely they did not distinguish lunar cycles or periods corresponding to the *months*. It is certain that the term *muhĩ-pũ* (plural *muhĩ-pũrĩ*; on the Uaupés *muhĭ-pũnĩ*), as corresponding to the word month, is not only of recent usage, but is also not very generalized.

which applies to both the sun and the moon, as we have said. The latter, when one wants to distinguish it from the sun, is called *Yamĩ-ka* *muhĩ*-pũ, sun-of-the-night. There does not exist, however, a term to indicate the week (10). 805

10. On the rivers Içana and Aiari we saw a denticulated ruler with transverse strokes serving as a calendar to mark the days of the week and of the month. A slip-knot of tucum would be moved day by day from one denticulation to another. Koch G. (*Z. I.* 298) reports that the *Jurití* also had a stick with grooves for their calculations: on one of the flattened ends the grooves marked the days of travel as far as the Lago-do-espelho /Lake of the mirror/ (Uaruá-lake), on the other, the days of the return trip.

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* 192 805 They only know two seasons, those that really exist, that is, the summer (dry season or low water of the rivers), Wextíro or kõmĩ-rõ, and the winter (high water), Pwé-kõ.

The year starts, according to the way they formerly reckoned, in the summer or low water of the Uaupés, when they devoted themselves to felling the trees and the clearings.

The 1st month corresponds to half of August to the middle of September and is called Pĩrĩ Pwé-ro (which means high water of the leaves).

The 2nd, ã̄'rẽ puxtiró (blossoming of the pupunha tree), time of felling the trees and burning.

The 3rd, ãña pwé-ro (high water of the ray or of Venus /final parenthesis is missing/, because one notices an increase of water in the rivers. It is what is called on the Amazon "repiquete /oscillation of the waters immediately after the low water in the great rivers/ of the dead."

The 4th, aña pwé-ro pityá (the high water of the ray ends), the dry season starts.

The 5th, mẽ'rẽ kõmá (time of the ingá).

The 6th, Kõmá wáaro (the year goes), time for planting mandioca.

The 7th, ã̄'rẽ kõmá (time of the pupunha), the time for the big caxiris.

The 8th, mã'mã kõmá (new year).

The 9th, Wamã petiró (end of the time of the umarí).

The 10th, Yaí õxsé-ka pwé-ro (high water of the whiskers of the onça /jaguar/).

The 11th, Yõxkwãtéro pwé-ro (high water of Yõxkwãtéro).

The 12th, Yõxkwãtéro pwé-ro pitiró (end of the high water of Yõxkwãtéro).

/262/ We were unable to learn whether these divisions of the months correspond /the line that follows these words in the original source belongs in the next paragraph; the one that belongs here is missing/.

/262 cont./

805 [115] A Tukano by the name of Dorotéia Brito, with decades of contact with the schools of the Salesian Sisters, furnished us a list of 12 months, with the corresponding names in Portuguese. As it will be seen, there is only partial correspondence of the names with the preceding list, which was obtained for us by Padre Antonio Giacone. Dorotéia explained the origin of the names as being that of the figures which they seem to see in the clouds (sic). *192 805 821 It is to be noted that it coincides with the names of the constellations, precisely as the ancients used to divide the months by the constellations.

These are the names of the months:

January -- Ma'mɨ̃ bahwarí muhɨ̃-pũ (new month appeared)
February -- Daxsyɨ̃ pixkõ-rõ (shrimp tail)
March -- Dyá-yó (otter)
April -- Yaí pwé-ro (high water of the onça)
May -- wãrã (animal-sloth)
June -- Axpã kaxsá (crab platform)
July -- Pamõ pwé-ro (high water of the tatu)
August -- Wai kaxsá (fish platform)
September -- Syó-a yaxpú (adze handle)
October -- Yõxkwãtéro (morning star)
November -- Aña (ray)
December -- Yaí õxpõ (body of the onça)

5) The day.

They know, with enough approximation, how to calculate the hour of the day by the height of the sun. They do not, however, have calculations of years, months, weeks, and days; nor do they know how to tell what date we are at.

They distinguish the following hours of the day:

boreá-mãhõátise -- (literally, before the light or dawn rises), around four in the morning
Boré-kease -- dawn
/263/ Boréke-yõrõáse -- more light
muhɨ̃-pũ mãhõá-tyase -- (sunrise), six in the morning

/263 cont./

*192 Axsí mãhõá:ti wá:ró -- (the heat begins to rise), around nine in the morning

805

821 Axsí mãhõá:ti daharítero twa'tá nõ'kã-nĩmĩ -- (the heat increases, the time of returning draws near), around ten o'clock

Daharí-tero -- (time to return, let us say, from the clearing), around 11-12 o'clock

õmã-ko dexkó -- (midday), around 12 o'clock

Daharítero mãhõá-nĩmĩ dõhõagõ --(the sun rose and sank after the time to return), around one o'clock

Tõreáro dexkó -- (half the descent of the sun), around 2-3 o'clock

Sahãgõ wemĩ-məhã -- (the sun is going in), around 4 o'clock

Sahã-wá:pi-məhã -- (the sun went in), around 6 o'clock

Nai-kea wá: -- (it is getting dark), around 7 o'clock

Nãyá wá:məhã -- (it got a little darker), around 7 or 8 o'clock

Yamĩ nĩ-məhã -- (the night advanced), around 9 o'clock

Yamĩ-ka bwí -- (above the night, late at night), around 10 o'clock

Yamĩ dexkó -- (midnight), around 12 o'clock

d) Natural Sciences.

1) Ideas about nature.

*192 a) There are reminiscences of an old belief, according to which they judged that all the animals were "people," maxsã.

825 Some stated to us categorically that the animals are "people." Confirmation of this belief perhaps is the fact that in the Tukano language all the animals are of the masculine gender; whereas all the inanimate beings are of the neuter gender.

When they catch an animal or group of animals, for example, deer, anta, etc., tarrying to drink water or to lick a stone (cf. anta sucker, VI -- 5, b (2), Note 73), they think that these animals are besotted because they have spent a night of dances and orgies.

They likewise explain that the piracema /school of fish/ is a large concentration of fish solemnizing a caxirí.

/264/ There is a species of white vulpídeos with some black feathers and called "baaró" (known also by the regional name of "tesoura" /Muscivora tyrannus/), which at certain times appear in flocks looking for worms. Being light in weight and having abundant

/264 cont./

X192 825 plumage, they are graceful and light in flight. They believe that it is a group of spirits or "people," who dance in the air. They call them ĩ'rĩ nõ'myã (girls of the sierra) and assert that they do not make nests, because nobody has ever found them sitting in the nest.

b) They admit the transformation of the animals. They believe, for example, that some worms that proliferate in the bacaba tree become transformed, on the occasion of eclipses, into the fish bũxkõá-wi (or matapí, of the Siluridae), because they find a certain likeness with such worms. Confirmation of this origin seems to them to be disclosed in the fact that such fish are found still alive in the forest after the lezírias (igapós) dry out. They say that, because of having been worms, they flee to the forest when timbo is put in the streams.

We point out (VII -- 4, j (1)/see 4, f (1)/) that they admit the possibility of human persons being transformed, temporarily or permanently, into animals; and vice versa.

They assert that the parrots are "children of the forest," nãxkã wimĩrá. Actually they are children of Boraró (see VII -- 4, d (56) /see 4, d (5b)/) or Curupira. They live naked, playing; whenever they want to go about, they put on feathers and fly.

They tell interesting stories about the origin of certain animals; for example, Ahĩ, inambú /bird/, was previously a very pretty girl. The parrots veú arose through the transformation of two sisters, wives of a handsome Baré youth.

262 773 c) We have pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, e (1)) their belief in immortality itself. They say that formerly they did not eat animal flesh. It was permitted to add worms and insects to the exclusively vegetable diet. During this time of a vegetarian regimen, there were no sicknesses, they say. Those appeared after their parents started to eat the flesh of fish and of animals. During certain illnesses the pajé will immediately prescribe that they abstain from the meat of large animals (anta, deer, monkey, etc.). [755]

They assert, moreover, that in the beginning the Tukano not only did not die, but did not even grow old. After they had lived many, many years, always strong, they ended their life when someone cast a malefice, dohasé, on them. *[192]

/265/ 2) Human physiology.

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*[192]

They have quite precise notions about human anatomy and physiology, both of the external functions and something of the internal ones, and a very rich nomenclature for the different parts of the organism. By way of documentation, these terms run:

õxpõ, body (Plural õxpõ-ri)
döxpo-á (pl. döxpo-pá), head
poá (pl. poá-ri), hair
dyápo-a (pl. dyápo-pá), front, face
dyápo-a-sero (pl. seri), brow
dyápo-a-tõrõ (pl. tõri), forehead
dõxpo-pe'toro (pl. pe'tori), cranium
kaxpé-a (pl. kaxpé-ri), eye
kaxpé-poa (pl. poari), eyelash
kaxpé-wẽ (pl. wẽri), eyebrows
kaxpé-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), eyelid
waxsu-poro (pl. pori), cheek
waxsú-di-a (pl. waxsú-di-pá), zygoma
ẽ'ké-a (pl. ẽ'ké-pá), nose
ẽ'ké-a-pé (pl. peri), nostril, naris
c'mẽ-pero (pl. peri), ear
töori-pe (pl. töosé-peri), orifice
wamâ-ta (pl. wamâ-tari), neck
wamâ-pé (pl. wamâ-peri), throat
u-khá (pl. usé-pá), hyoid body (Adam's apple)
héri-mirõ (pl. héri-misé), larynx
meõrõ (pl. meõsé), pharynx
meõri-da (pl. meõsé-dari), pharynx, esophagus
õx'sé-ro (pl. õx'sé-ri), mouth
õx'sé-be'to (pl. be'tori), lip
õx'sé-ka (pl. kari), jaw
õx'sé-ka-poa (pl. poari), chin
õx'sé-be'to-poa (pl. poari), whiskers
õx'sé-ko (pl. inus kori), saliva
kuxti-ro (pl. kuxti-ri), chest
uxpí-ka (pl. uxpi-kari), tooth
uxpi-mõ (p. mõri), gums
duri-khã (pl. duri-khãsé pikari), molar tooth
ye'mẽ-ro (pl. ye'mẽ-ri), tongue
kãtõ ou kãtõ-a (pl. kãtõ-ri), nape

*192 **axkõ-poro** (pl. pori), shoulder
sẽ'éma (pl. sẽ'émãri), back
826 **sẽ'éma-o'ã** (pl. o'ãri), vertebral column
pati-pãma (pl. pãmãri), rib
oxpẽ-rõ (pl. oxpẽ-ri), breast (woman)
oxpẽ-kõ (pl. inus. kõri), milk
oxpẽ-yõxkõri (pl. yõxkõri), nipple
oxpẽ-ro-tõ (pl. tõri), scrotum
oxpẽ-ro-tõ dyé (pl. dyé-ri), sperm
súmũ-a (Uaupés sõmõ-a) (pl. súmũ-pá; Uaupés sõmõ-pá), navel
héri-põra (pl. põrãri), heart, liver
héri-mise (inv.), breath
ye'mẽ-turi (só pl.), bronchiae, lungs
nimã-ga (pl. nimã-pá), biliary vesicle, gall bladder
si'sẽrẽ (pl. si' sẽrẽri), trochanter
wa'té-ro (pl. wa'té-ri), groin
nihi-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), uterus
nihi-koro (pl. korori), vagina
yaxpé or **yaxpẽ** (pl. yaxpẽ-ri), vulva
kõrẽ-tuxturo (pl. tuxturi), clitoris
so'mũri-phi (pl. phiri), labia of the vulva
nũ'ri-gõ (pl. nũ'ri-paõ), penis
õ'rẽ (inv.), urine
õ'rẽ-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), bladder
sõ'kõã (pl. sõ'kõãri), waist, lumbar region
si-á (pl. si-pá), buttocks
si-á-pé (pl. si-á-peri), anus
kaxsé-ro (pl. kaxsé-ri), skin
o'ã (pl. o'ãri), bone
axsi-busu (pl. bususé), heat, fever
axsi-thúase (inv.), sweat
keká-doxká (pl. doxkari), axilla
wamũ-kã (pl. kãri), arm, hand
wamũ-ka-mipero (pl. mipese), groove opposite the elbow
sa'ã-ga (pl. sa'ã-pá), apophysis of the elbow
wamũ-ka-o'ã (pl. o'ãri), elbow
wamũ-ka-kuxtiro (pl. kuxtiri), palm without the fingers
wamũ-pãma (pl. pãmãri), hand
wamũ-pa (pl. pari), palm with fingers close together
wamũ-ka dõ'po-ka (pl. kari), shoulder blade
wamũ-pika (pl. pikari), finger
wamũ-sero (pl. seri), fingernail
wamũ-ka-doxká (pl. doxkari), forearm

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*192 826
õx'só (pl. õx'só-ri), thigh
õx'sé-peko-a (pl. peko-ri), knee
kũ-ñarõ (pl. kũ-ñãsé), knee
ñõxkã (pl. ñõxkã-ri), leg, shinbone
ñõxkã-di-a (pl. ñõxkã-di-pá), calf
ñõxkã-ga-phi (pl. phiri), shin
dõ'pó-kã (pl. dõ'pó-kãri), leg, foot, base
dõ'pó-di-a (pl. dõ'po-dipá), heel
dõ'pó-pãma (pl. pãmãri), sole of the foot
dõ'pó-pika (pl. pikari), toe
dõ'pó-sero (pl. seri), toenail
ã'ñaya-gá (pl. ã'ñaya-pá), ankle
õ'tá or ã'tá (inv.), feces
õ'tá-mi'si (pl. mi'siri or mi'si-dari), intestines, entrails, viscera
õ'tá-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), stomach
ya'ko-kó or Yá'kó (inv.), tears
di (inv.), blood
di'i or di'iró (inv.), flesh
di-wá:-da (pl. di-wá:-dari), vein, artery
di-wa:sé (pl. di-wa:sé-dari), vein, artery

3) Classification of the animals.

*192 825
Among the animals they admit the following distinction:

1st. -- Ya'ãrá (Uaupés ña'ãná) (that is, bad, ferocious) -- they are the beasts and harmful animals, such as the onça /jaguar/, gambá /opossum/, etc.

2nd. -- Nã̄xkã̄-khãrá (U. khãná) (that is, inhabitants of the forest) -- they are the edible wild animals, such as the cutia /agouti/, the paca, etc.

3rd. -- Ex'kãrá (U. ex'kãná) (that is, those that they feed) -- they are the domestic ones, such as the chicken, pig, etc.

4th. -- Bããrá (U. baãná) (that is, those that they eat) -- under this name come the fish, caterpillars, insects, etc., which they usually eat.

5th. -- Bwĩrá (U. bwíná) (bwí, up above) -- they are the ones that fly.

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e) Medicine.

755 1) Origin of the sicknesses.

*[192] Their knowledge in this sector has been hurt by magic and superstition. Although the nature that surrounds him is prodigal, the native scarcely uses home remedies, because of his concept of the sicknesses, under the influence of the xamĩ /shaman/ or pajé (11).

11. In the account of the voyage of 1637 by Pe. Alonso de Rojas ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas /Discoveries of the Amazon River/," p. 110), we find: -- "They fear /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ the sorcerers, whom they consult, and the latter fear the devil, from whom they receive oracles, and, with lies, they fool the miserable Indians."

753 /268/ They hide their sicknesses as much as possible. They do not know of the existence of pathogenic germs or of the chemical-biological action of the organism and the poisons that act upon it. Their logical mind, on the other hand, demands an explanation for the facts, it is certain that the effects demand a proportional cause. As the obvious forces of nature exist, they admit that there are, moreover, occult forces capable of producing the most varied and strange phenomena. Nor can the meteorological and astronomical phenomena fail to impress them. The Indian, besides, is a convinced animist, as we shall see later. *[192] All the sicknesses, for him, have only one cause, however varied their manifestations may be, to wit, the dohasé, which we could translate as malefice (12).

[754] 12. Like many among the civilized, they believe in witchcraft, evil eye, charms, enchantment, voodoo. A consequence of

/268 cont./

753 /footnote 12 cont./ this opinion about the sicknesses will be no hygiene or preventive measures at all, hence the spread, for example, of malaria, grippe, tuberculosis, etc., as is reported for various occasions and places.

That is, the sicknesses are caused by the malevolent spirit of the men who, by envying (one of the weak points of the forest-dweller's psyche) their fellow men, endeavor to do them some harm. For that, they can use the most varied objects turned malefic by magic: a lock of hair, a piece of cloth, wood, stone, metal, bone, thorn, very commonly a cigar butt (13),

13. Every time that, upon digging in a spot, a cigar butt is found, the Indian immediately thinks that it is a matter of a malefice.

and even the mere thought. The malefic objects will act when placed on the individual's path, inside his house, buried in his yard, or thrown on his landing place or his canoe.

*[192] [115] They believe that (information from the tuxaua Júlio from Pari-cachoeira, river Tiquié) mysterious beings, whom they call *Waí maxsã* (fish people) might have spread germs of sickness under the stones of the rivers; thus they talk about *seré-pá* (stone of purú-puru /skin disease/), *yohá-pá* (stone of dysentery). For this reason, they oppose breaking these stones, because such sicknesses would spread and decimate the population. They assert concerning some stones of Pari-cachoeira that even the fish die when they lie against them (14).

[115] 14. One of the Missionary Brothers gave a likely explanation for the fact: the existence there of numerous piranhas, which attack the other fish.

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753 The cause of a local pain, inflammation or fever can also
755 be one of those malefic objects which has been introduced into the organism. The cure, naturally, is only to be obtained with the elimination of the object located in the sick part or the elimination of the malefice. Since it reached the organism mysteriously, by a magic process, only another magic process will be
*[192] able to bring about the cure. And here the "sorcerer" or "xamã" /shaman/, called in Tukano Yaí (pajé), comes into action (15).

15. Yaí also means onça /jaguar/. Might there perhaps be some connection between the two concepts? The Indians could not tell us. The Ethnologists grant it.

753 They also think that the civilized, in order to do them harm, send them malefice (grippe, etc.) inside the boxes of merchan-
829 dise, which, upon being opened, will infect many people or the whole povoado (16).

16. In the Tukano povoado of S. Luzia (river Papuri) the daughter of the tuxaua had died
[648] of whooping cough (1947). Envying the Makú, who were well paid for the curare acquired in order to be studied in the south of Brazil, there was immediately a rumor that the sicknesses were prepared by the civilized with the curare of the Makú and sent to S. Luzia with the merchandise.

761 From this persuasion concerning the malevolent and magic origin of the sicknesses is born the conviction that every death has as its author an inimical person. It is, therefore, violent; man by nature is immortal. It is a vain effort to try to convince a feeble old man that he is going to die and it is advisable to prepare himself. Such a mental attitude, obviously, is not favorable to suicide, although one might perhaps find some old

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761 person who longs for death (17).

17. "I want to die," said one of these old
men to Pe. Antônio Giacone, "because my
teeth are tired of chewing." Pe. João Marchesi
related to us the details of the only case of
159 suicide that he had heard of. A Taryana
682 Indian from the povoado called Cigarro, river
762 Uaupés, violently inebriated by the caxirí,
threw his own wife down on the ground and
761 ill-treated her until he killed her. Afterwards
he lay in the hammock and fell asleep. While
he slept, the relatives and other persons buried
the body. The murderer, upon awakening in
the morning, called for his wife to prepare
the mingau for him. They then told him
how he himself had killed her the night before.
The murderer, without saying anything to
anyone, took his canoe and went to a nearby
igarapé. Some hours later the canoe was found
bubuiando (floating at the mercy of the stream)
and, inside, some pieces of timbo and a cuia
still dirty with timbo juice. The poor man
squeezed and drank the poisonous juice of that
plant and, perhaps in the convulsions of the
agony, fell in the water and drowned.

756 *[192] [562]

2) The Xamã /shaman/ or Yaí.

The pajé or Yaí is, therefore, the doctor and at the same time Xamã /shaman/ (that is, a magician or sorcerer). Only men can be pajé.

/270/ a) His powers.

His powers are many. In the first place, to neutralize the malefice cast upon a sick person and thus cure him. He can even make individuals invulnerable to sicknesses.

/270 cont./

756 On the other hand, he will cast a malefice and will cause sickness in others, and even death. They also attribute to him power over the winds, rains, storms, lightning. And it is also he who will make the children grow, or, on the contrary, make them rachitic. He knows how to predict the future.

He is able to discover criminals when a crime is suspected and nobody was caught in the act.

As a result of his ceremonies, the individuals will be lucky in hunting or fishing.

It is also by the act of the pajé, they say, that the curare has its formidable toxic power; that the drinks become more inebriating or lose this quality of theirs.

From this is to be deduced all the social importance of the pajé and the respect and fear that surround him on the part of all the Indians, not only from his own tribe, but also from other [797] tribes. The renunciation of the belief in the power of the pajé is perhaps the greatest sacrifice that the Catholic catechesis imposes on the Christian natives. In some cases, it is only partially achieved.

b) Means of cure.

755 The means of cure that the pajé uses correspond, in turn, to the magic concept of the sicknesses. He knows and applies medicinal plants, with which he makes potions, prepares powder, *[192] fumigation. They also apply the ablution (Oxkó-pyó-peasé), sprinkling (Oxkó-stáse-peasé), massages (Pá-pwĩsé or Tu-bõrosé), suction (Põ-ĩseasé). But, besides this, he has the whole apparatus *[192] of magic power kept ordinarily in a small basket, which is called Wamõ axká-ro (18).

18. To designate this medical kit of the pajé we have also heard the expression Pi'í-kamõ, if it is a basket, and Wĩhyõ-sáku when it is a bag made out of tururí.

/270 cont./

755 *[192] his medical kit, where there are small calabashes containing powders, and also thorns, pieces of bone and of cylindrical sticks, small pebbles, polished stones of crystal for the vision, and, especially, the painted maracá (Yaxsī-ga), considered a magic instrument, and the cigar (Baxséke mōrō-rō, Uaupés mōnō-nō).

[787] He smokes it and disperses the smoke over the body, or the sore part of the body, with the force to drive away the dohasé and to effect the cure. By means of the smoke he is able to forecast the patient's death; and the direction /271/ that it takes or the figure that it describes in the air will indicate who caused that malefice.

756 When the pajé blows into the closed left hand and, opening it afterwards, releases the smoke in a given direction, or with a wide and slow gesture of the right hand drives the smoke from the left axilla toward a certain direction, he is sending toward there sicknesses and misfortunes. The simple blowing, slowly closing the left hand, will drive away the clouds, making the rain stop. If, instead, he opens the fingers, he will send winds, storms, lightning flashes. The lightning flashes always originate with some pajé. (Cf. Ermano Stradelli, o. c., entry Payé.)

*[192] There is a deeply rooted belief in the mysterious force of the "Sôpro" /blowing/, "Baxsesé," of the pajé, because the blowing comes from deep inside the person, from his Héripōra /heart, liver/ (19).

[829] 19. They also admit this mysterious force in the sôpro of the whites, especially if one is a doctor (whom they judge to be a pajé). We know that Koch Grünberg himself (Z. I. 101) practiced the blowings among the natives.

It clearly cannot be said that the Indians admit a natural magnetic force in the pajé. They regard him, then, as the possessor of an extraordinary spiritual virtue.

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278 c) Some plants of the shamanistic therapeutics.

In a small herbarium arranged in the "Centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté, in 1955, there were the following plants of the native therapeutics, collected by some pajés who indicated to us for each of them the name, application, utility, method of preparation, and posology. Because of the native custom of naming the plants according to their application, different plants received the same name, as it was verified in the herbarium and will be indicated below, and sometimes with the process of preparation and posology identical or almost so.

*192 278 1. Dyápoa pũṛɨ̃sé-ko (for headaches). The bark is scraped and left for some time in water, a cuia of which will be taken later.

2. Me'rẽ-dá (Uaupés Me'nẽ-dá̃) (eye medicine). The sap is extracted and applied in drops to the eyes.

3. Kaxpé-ri soɨ̃sé-kó (eye medicine). Scrapings of the root and bark are left for some time in water, which is dripped into the eye five times a day and upon going to bed.

4. Kaxpéri soɨ̃sé-kó (eye medicine). Some of the water in which there were scrapings of the bark and the root in infusion is dripped into the eye several times a day, especially before going to bed.

/272/ 5. Pixkõ-kó (against toothache). The bark is left in infusion in water, which afterwards is dripped on the aching tooth and the nose.

6. Pá-purɨ̃sé-kó (for stomach pains). The bark is left in infusion in water, half a cup of which is drunk. It also has an emetic effect.

7. Pápwa-kó-dá (against dysentery). The bark is grated, boiled in water, filtered, and half a cup is taken three times a day. The liber of this plant makes a foam and is used to wash the hair.

8. Waxkarɨ́-kó (in the hepatic colics). One uses the scrapings from the root left in water, a cuia of which is taken.

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/272 cont./

9. *Waxkarí-kó* (in the hepatic colics). One takes a cuia of the water in which the bark of this plant has been in infusion for some time.

10. *Pirõ-pũrɨ-kó* (Uaupés *pinõ-pũnɨ-kó*) (vermifuge). The scrapings from the bark are left in water, half a cuia of which is taken.

11. *Pĩrõ pũrɨ-kó* (variety used as vermifuge). One takes a cuia of the water in which the bark of this plant has been in infusion.

12. *Pĩrõ pũrɨ-kó* (another variety of vermifuge). Scrapings from the root, placed in infusion, produce a wine-colored liquid, one cuia of which is taken.

13. *Wãx-tɨ poári-kó* (for coughing and pulmonary affections). Scrapings from the bark are macerated in water, of which three cuias a day are taken.

14. *Wãx-tɨ poári-kó* (another variety for tuberculosis). The bark is left in infusion, and three cuias of this water is taken daily for a period of ten days.

15. *Seré-kó-dá* (in purú-purú (20) or vitiligo). One grates the bark, which is boiled in water until it acquires the wine-red color. One takes three spoonfuls of this water a day until the spots disappear.

16. *Dyápoa-ñyɨ̃sé-kó* (for the black spots on the face). The leaves are left in infusion in water, with which the face is washed.

20. The *purú-purú* consists of a discoloration of the epidermis, and more rarely of black spots, caused by a spirochete such as the *Treponema pallidum*. The Centro de Pesquisas of the Salesian Mission of the Rio Negro has promoted studies of this sickness, very widespread among the Arwake of the Içana, by Prof. Dr. Emilio Biocca and others.

*115 /Illustrations facing p. 272 in the original source./
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Cesário (Tukano octogenarian shaman)

The shamans:
(right) Marcelino (Wanana from Jacaré, river Uaupés)
(left) Eduardo (Huhúdeni from Uapuim-cachoeira, river Siari, trib. of the Içana)

*[192]
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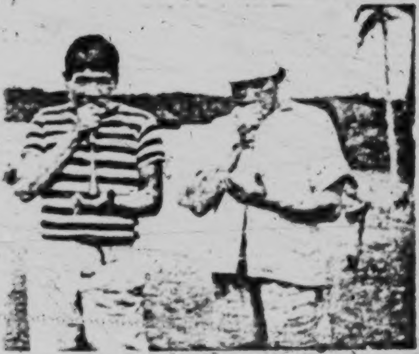

Tukano shamans:
Marcelino from Juquira (right)
Henrique from the Japú igarapé (left), playing the chõ

/Illustrations facing p. 273 in the original source./

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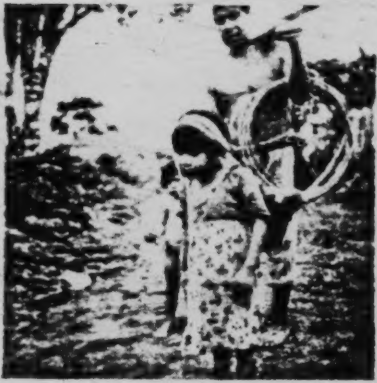

From early childhood the little girls are used to chores (manner of carrying the py:)

One of the feminine occupations

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/273/

*192
278

17. Aña-kó (against snake bite). The bark and roots of this plant are eaten and also applied to the spot of the bite.

18. Mehẽka-nĩtisé-kó (regulator). The scrapings from the root are left in infusion in water, which the woman is to take until the menstrual period is regulated.

19. Põrá-ti-tõokó sĩrĩ-kó (Uaupés põnã-tí-tõokó sinĩ-kó) (in order to have children). Scrapings from the root are left in infusion in water, which the woman is to drink until she conceives.

20. Õmõá-di-tá (in order to have a male child). The woman must drink some of the water in which scrapings from the root of this plant have been in infusion.

21. Õmõá-nũ'myá-põrãtisé (in order to have alternately children of both sexes). The woman must periodically drink some of the water in which scrapings from the root of this plant have been in infusion.

22. Põrá-tyogó sẽrĩgõ-kó-sẽrĩtako (Uaupés põná-tyogó sẽnĩgõ-kó-sẽnĩtako) (sterilizer). One drinks the water in which scrapings from the root were left in infusion. Its very prolonged use can bring to the woman absolute and definitive sterility.

23. Põrá-tisé sẽrĩtá-kó (Uaupés põná-tisé sẽnĩtá-kó) (sterilizer). The woman must drink some of the water in which scrapings from the root of this plant have been macerated. It is preferable to mix it with the abortive kind.

24. Põrá mãrĩsé-kó (Uaupés põná manĩsé-kó) (sterilizer). Scrapings from the root in infusion in water, which the woman drinks to avoid fecundation.

25. Sĩrĩtá-kó (abortive). Scrapings from the root in infusion in water, which the woman drinks until she achieves the result.

26. Sĩrĩ-vesé-kó (abortive). Scrapings from the root in infusion in water, of which the woman will take three or four cuias a day until she achieves the desired result.

/273 cont./

d) His curing processes.

755 The curing process, even in cases of the use of adequate remedies, of plants of recognized therapeutic virtue, is based on suggestion, or at least it is helped by it. As a matter of fact, from the massages or suction of the ailing part, or from making water fall there from a cuia, they later show the patient (having recourse to prestidigitation, as Koch Grünberg, Z. I. 99 was able to observe) the object (bone, /274/ stone, thorn, insects, scales, etc.) that has been extracted from the painful member and caused him the pains, Waxkarí.

With the help of narcotics or stimulants, he will induce in himself states of crisis or of nervous excitation, during which he sees the causes of the sickness, or those who have caused the malefice. He will be able to make the patient see it too. He will prefer to bring the patient to his hut; or he will go to that of the patient during the night. He will demand the absence of other persons, and, alone with the patient, he will start his practices in an atmosphere of darkness and mystery, muttering very rapidly (21)

[797] 21. For this reason they like the Missionary to say the prayers more quickly.

unintelligible words, sung in a peculiar tone and alternated with loud sighs and groans. They know and perform a series of songs, each one with its efficacy for a given type of infirmity (22),

[533]
[534]
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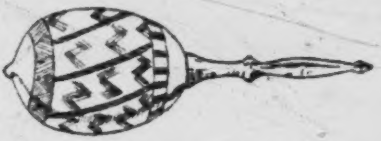
22. We have managed to record some of those songs of the pajés from the Tukano, Wanana, Taryana, and Huhúdeni tribes, which can be heard in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" of the Centro de Pesquisas of Iauareté. Address: P. Alcionilio Brüzzi, Largo C. de Jesus, 154, S. Paulo, Brazil.

/274 cont./

755 [533] [534] often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsã-ga), regarded as a magic instrument.



*[192] Maracá (yaxsã-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

[797] [753] 23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the foundation of the church was buried a malefic cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirá-tapúya Pajé of Umurutinga.

756 731 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses, epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

/275 cont./

e) His psychic qualities.

Formerly each maloca or povoado had its xamã /shaman/ and, at times, even more than one. Today there are not so many. He appears to be an Indian like the others, he will have his family, his house, his clearing, like the others, or even an apartment in the common maloca. He participates in the social gatherings: fishing, caxirís, dabacurís (24).

> 24. At times they fail to appear at such gatherings in order not to encounter other pajés. They are craftsmen in the same trade...

He is, however, an individual who must possess a particular temperament and be endowed with special qualities: broader intelligence, a tenacious memory in order to retain the necessary or useful knowledge, knowledge of the plants and of the curing processes, power of suggestion, capacity for autosuggestion, to produce in himself lively emotions, or even nervous crises which will cause contortions and even loss of the senses; and also to stir his patient emotionally with these manifestations.

He must, moreover, show a love of solitude. Some prefer to live in remote huts, farther in the interior of the forest or on the headwaters of the igarapés.

These are the principal qualities which the pajé must exhibit. Such qualities, according to what they think, come to him from a special spirit, which he can pass on to his son. Therefore the latter is the one designated to succeed his father. The office of pajé is not, however, necessarily hereditary, and another person, with suitable qualities, might become established as pajé.

Besides the qualities, adequate preparation, which will last for years, is required. It consists of solitude, fasts, dreams and excitations, and many other practices in order to develop, or even to create, the suggestive qualities. In order to achieve this end, the candidate will place himself under the training of

/275 cont./

756 another pajé, as though serving as an apprentice. It is not rare for a more famous pajé to attract more students to his school and to give them collective training (25).

25. Near Taracuá-ponta, in the maloca of Sussuaca, according to what Mons. Lourenço Giordano attests, around 1917, there lived a famous pajé who always had numerous students, so that they constituted something like a "Faculty of Native Medicine" in his hut. We also heard about a prestigious pajé from Iauareté, João by name, who on one occasion prepared five pajés in Melo Franco (river Papurí).

/276/ f) Preparation of the xamã /shaman/ (26).

[115] 26. Report by the Taryana Indian from Iauareté, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who took the course for pajé training.

*[192] [778] The preparation of a pajé is a long one. Besides the theoretical instruction they receive, they also use various magic substances and instruments, called Wĩhĩõ (27),

27. Wĩhĩõ is probably derived from Wĩhĩ, to smell, and, properly speaking, designates the substances that they inhale or smell, like the paricá /Leguminosae/, almost all of them of intense odor, some capable of going so far as to stupefy. Perhaps, by an extension of the meaning, the term Wĩhĩõ came to indicate also the container of these substances.

all of them of legendary origin, some of which are supposed to have appeared mysteriously, and passed on from pajé to pajé.

*192 /276 cont./

278 756 778 [262] When an old pajé wants to prepare a son of his to practice as pajé, he initiates the preparation during the first months, putting on him, for three months, a Wīhīō applied to the navel, Wīhyō̄ peomī kā̃ max-kō̃-ré. This Wīhiō̄ is roundish in shape, of a hardened substance, the origin of which is lost in legend, according to what they asserted to us. During these three months the pajé must also have a light diet, as precaution, almost exclusively mingau and chibé.

Later, after removing the first Wīhī /sic/, he fits to the navel, for some five months, the Axpá--khwī́-re Wīhīō, which consists of a small and roundish stone of quartz some two to three centimeters in diameter.

Later on he will apply to him the Wīhīō of tucumā nut, well painted with carajurú /carajura/, called Ōnōñá Wīhīō (in Taryana Enúki).

There is a Wīhīō in the form of rappee, which the pajé and the apprentice inhale; this is the Kaxséri Wīhīō, obtained from the sap of some plants (uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/ and others), subjected to evaporation until it is reduced to a very fine powder.

The most marvelous one is the Wīhīō-phī (in Taryana Kerá-yúki). It is a small stone of crystal, with a cavity and its cover. According to native belief, this apparatus goes back to the origin of the tribe and, mysteriously, contains a substance with a delicate and pleasant perfume. The pajé, once in a while during his lectures, uncovers the Kerá-yúki, in order for this to give off that perfume, which contributes to enlightening the intelligence of his disciples, placed in a semicircle in front of him.

They say that at a certain time of the year, around April, this substance dries up and almost disappears, and by the months of June-August it begins to give off scent by itself.

756 [582] /277/ At 15 years of age the intensive course for the office of pajé begins, and it lasts for 15 years more or less. The candidate may not marry until after finishing the course.

/277 cont./

756 During all this time he lives at the side of the master-pajé, and under his orders. He does not have to worry about preparing his clearing or participating in the fishing, because, like the pajé, he too will be supported by the donations from the patients.

It is a rigorous course. He gets up two hours before the break of day and his activities extend far into the night. Beside teaching the apprentices the legends of the origins of each tribe and their feats, he teaches them, moreover, the use of the remedies and their application. It is a practical course, and the apprentice accompanies the pajé in his work with each patient.

The old pajé tries to develop in the candidates the power of suggestion. Solemnly, standing in front of his disciples (so one of them testifies), with an impressive gesture, he invokes the *[192] elements causing the sicknesses. There are three in particular: Õxtã (stone), Waxkarí (fragments of paxiúba), and Uhá-phĩ (tree bark). The apprentices perceive these elements coming from the air, in the form of fragments of stone, paxiúba, or bark. The more agile ones pounce on them immediately, others let them fall on the ground.

The candidate must know how to swallow and later to vomit these fragments. In order to vomit them, according to the narrator, they are not in the habit of introducing the finger into the throat; they press on the stomach, the bust is leaned forward, and, with the effort of the stomach, the fragment is vomited. They must do such exercises many times, and thus they wash (?) the fragment that was vomited in order to swallow it again and expel it soon afterwards.

The apprentice's insufficient skill in this exercise, as well as his inability to keep the legends and theoretical teachings in his memory, brings about his exclusion. And thus the master reduces the number of apprentices.

Much of his knowledge comes to the pajé from dreams, which he must know how to interpret. With the passing of time, in full daylight, he is able to fall into a torpor, standing up, in front of the students, and he then sees at a distance the patients who will come to consult him and the cause of the sicknesses.

/277 cont./

755 756 [821] He believes that the clouds reveal the sicknesses to him, as well as other facts which are of interest to the group or to the individuals. He subjects the students to tests of ability. He sends them to observe the clouds and to give the interpretation, and he corrects them. -- "That form of cloud represents a woman and not a man, it represents a child and not an adult. It is not this part that is sick, but that other one."

/278/ He already sees beforehand that the sickness is incurable, and, thus, when he is called, he refuses to go, and he will say to his disciples: --"Let us not go to give treatments, it is useless, he is going to die."

When he foresees the cure, he then goes to the patient's house and makes the diagnosis, saying whether the cause of the pains is Oxtĩ, Waxkarĩ, or Uhá-phĩ. The elimination of these foreign bodies that cause the pains is the first condition for the cure. He achieves it with deep suctions, repeated three or four times, done directly over the ailing organ, intermingled also with singing, groaning, and exorcisms.

He does not fail to give advice to the patient, for a prompt recovery or in order to avoid a relapse. Among these counsels the informant cited: "to abstain from the abuse of sexual relations."

The rest of the treatment is under the care of the Kõmũ (about whom we shall speak later), according to the prescriptions of the pajé. It is done with blowings, invocations, or conjurations. These are old formulas, whose meaning they do not know nowadays, and they vary according to the cause of the sickness. The Komũ, having between his hands the cuia [illegible] mingau which the patient is going to drink, when the sickness is caused by Waxkarĩ located in the organism, utters a conjuration that begins with the words -- "Yára-páruri-yĩvi."

Minutes afterwards the patient begins to feel better, and the cure will come later.

/278 cont./

g) His influence.

756 The fame of a pajé will depend on favorable events. There are therefore superior or Strong pajés and inferior ones (28),

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756 28. It is reported to us that at present (1954) there are five pajés regarded as strong on the Tiquié River in the following localities: Uira-poço, S. João, Matapi, Cabari, and Carurú-cachoeira.

In the distant past they were even more famous, because, according to native tradition, they performed extraordinary things. Already in 1900 one of them, the old Taracuá, complained to Stradelli (o.c. p. 595, entry Paié) -- "Today there are no longer pajés, we are all curers." "And there were complaints," explains Stradelli, "from colleague to colleague, because I have always passed as a very good pajé, thanks to the photography, to the microscope, and to the collections of plants, species of Calladiums, which I would make during the time that I spent among the natives on the Uaupés River." The same Stradelli puts forth this idea in his Vocabulário: -- "Pajé is not anyone, only those strong of heart, those who know how to surmount the initiation tests, who have the breath necessary to aspire to

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756 be pajé. With less than five breaths there is no pajé who can face with impunity the poisonous snakes; it is necessary to have more than five breaths in order to be able to cure the sicknesses with the simple laying on of hands, and, with the saliva, the bites of the poisonous snakes. The pajés who have from seven breaths upwards clearly read the future, cure at a distance, can change at will into the animal that suits him, become invisible, and transport himself from one place to another with the simple effort of his own will."

/278 cont./

756 according to the cures or /279/ other extraordinary deeds that they managed to achieve. The more famous ones will attract a clientele from great distances and even from other tribes. Even some of the civilized who have settled in those regions let themselves be influenced, and they too avail themselves of the services of the pajé.

755 The influence of the pajé is such that the very foods of the
756 sick person will be subjected to his blowing, Baxséke. Even the
*[192] remedies given by the civilized are presented to the pajé, who will blow on them in order to give them efficacy. If the sick person gets better, the merit will naturally belong to the pajé. If he does not happen to improve and dies, he will explain that it is a matter of a malefice of another "stronger pajé," or because of having taken a remedy of the whites, or food "not blown," or, finally, of having been overcome by a new and unexpected malefice before the pajé could be called.

And if it is declared that nothing more can be done, the patient will be abandoned as somebody fatally condemned to death; and not infrequently the relatives will deny him any assistance, and even food itself.

[763] The patient, many times, after such a verdict from the pajé, will hasten his own death, refusing other medicines from the civilized and any food or drink (see V 23, stoicism).

167 It has happened that the pajé might declare the maloca or the
756 povoado irremediably dangerous, and then the Indians will not have any hesitation about abandoning it and will move to another place, in spite of all the difficulties (29).

[164] 29. It has likewise happened that after a few years they return to the same place. In 1932 an outbreak of malaria killed about 70 Indians in Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés. Although none of the students of the missionary school fell victim to it, the Indians, in fear, abandoned the locality. In 1947 they started to return.

/279 cont./

755 756 The Indians have been seen digging up a wide and deep yard under the orders of the pajé, in order to uncover the cigar buried there and cause of the sicknesses, and which the pajé will make appear at the opportune moment. On a certain occasion a pajé ordered, and was faithfully obeyed, that the whole floor of the maloca be dug up and replaced with other soil, in order to stop the sicknesses of the maloca.

756 4) /sic; h)/ His position.

With the pajé enjoying the maximum influence (30),

> 30. Several Indians, after their confidence had been gained, told us that they did not like, but only feared and, at times, hated the pajé. Ordinarily, however, out of fear of the pajé's vengeance, they are silent when questioned about him, about his curing processes, etc.

because, according to the belief of the natives, the life or death of the people, from his and from other tribes, as well as the storms /280/ and all of nature, depends on him, it is understandable that his position is privileged. Although lacking political power, the tuxaua himself and the entire population respect him and fear him (31).

> 31. Padre Antonio Giacone confirms it -- "By the authority that he enjoys among the Indians and by the fear that all have of his fatal blowings, he becomes extremely proud and conceited, some even reaching the point of being nicknamed Uáque bukque, old God" (o.c. 38).

[766] [797] They fear him even after death, because his spirit is also able to do harm. In Iauareté they asked the Missionary not to bury the pajé in the common cemetery, "because he will frighten our little children" buried there. A Montfortian

756 /280 cont./

797 /footnote 31 cont./ Missionary, Pe. Umberto Limpens (known as Pe. Clemente, the name of his predecessor), found himself obliged to order a pajé to make his hut farther away. In September or October of 1947 a boy was bitten by a snake in the vicinity of Montfort, Colombia, on the left bank of the Papurí. The child's father wanted to take him to the Mission, but the pajé would not allow it, saying that he "would blow" the poison away. He did this, but the child died. The child's father rebelled against the pajé, who directed his blowing against the father, and the latter died soon afterwards. The local population became angry at the pajé. The latter judged it more prudent to flee to the headwaters of the stream Cuiú-cuiú (tributary of the Papuri), where the *Desana* were in the habit of doing their large-scale fishing, threatening to blow on everyone who went there. The *Desana*, naturally, became frightened and started the rumor that the Montfortian Missionaries were also afraid of the blowing of the pajé.

756 In order not to have him as an enemy, they satisfy his wishes; in order to have him as a friend and profit from his good services, they give him gifts, even before he has performed any cure. Since his reputation grows with the deeds and cures attributed to him, it likewise wanes with his failures. In view of their being the ones who know the malefices (which they prepare as an instrument of vengeance), the misfortunes and the mysterious and rapid deaths in impressive circumstances are attributed to the pajés; and

/280 cont./

756 the vengeance is likewise wreaked against them (32).

> 32. Some assert that poison cannot be administered to the pajé. "He sees even from far away." This belief is advantageous to the pajés. It seems, nevertheless, that, at least nowadays, not everyone endorses it. In October of 1946, [753] a native from Ipanuré died of pneumonia. They attributed the sickness and death to the pajé from the neighboring povoado of Cigarro. When this pajé, with some persons from his povoado, were given the job of transporting some of our luggage through the varadouro /open passage through the forest/ of the cachoeira of Ipanuré, the Indians of this locality abandoned the work, hid in the forest, and, when the pajé passed by on the road, one of the men from Ipanuré gave him a blow with a stick, which he avoided, turning his head and covering it with his arm, which was broken at the elbow and forearm.

His presence in the vicinity of a povoado at night, when he goes to do his fishing, is always suspicious. If after one of his visits to /281/ some maloca (especially of another tribe) some death or misfortune happens there, the pajé will be blamed (33).

> 33. In a maloca of Jandú, on the igarapé Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié, shortly before our passing through there (December of 1947), [821] lightning had struck. The pajé, who had threatened to hurl a bolt of lightning there, was blamed for the misfortune.

[627] Some pajés have found themselves obliged to abandon the povoados and stay away for a long time, until the anger against them had lessened.

/281 cont./

i) His social role.

756 626 The pajé represents the highest intellectual level of the native povoado, and, not only that, but he is also the stickler for the observance of the tribal laws. He knows them, teaches them, and demands their fulfillment, being able to punish (34), with sicknesses, lightning, and, finally, malefices, disrespect toward traditional practices.

756 [852] [844] He presides over all social life, that of the family as well as of the group. When a child is born, the one who will blow on it, exorcise it, and paint it with carajurú /carajura/, in order that it will grow up strong and free from sicknesses, is the pajé; and he will also give the medicines to the woman in labor.

[553] In some tribes the giving of the name is done in the presence of the pajé. Covering the child with smoke with his indispensable cigar, under the inspiration of the moment, he will give or will suggest the name to the father, who is about to choose a name indicated by any circumstance whatsoever, perhaps even an indecent name.

[881] When the girl reaches puberty, the pajé will spend some time with her, giving her timely theoretical and practical instructions about maternity and obligations inherent in it.

At the time of the masculine initiation, it falls to him to teach the young men the traditional legends, their rights and duties as members of the group, the ritual practices, and to verify their ability by means of interrogations, punishments, flagellations, fasts, etc.

He is also the principal instructor of the Komũ (see VII - 2, e (3)), on whose capacity he will pass judgment, and of whom he will always be the supervisor, gathering them together periodically in assembly and giving them opportune directions for every circumstance.

34. He is, then, the major opponent of the assimilation of our culture on the part of the forest dweller.

/281 cont./

j) Consequences.

755 A first one is that in many cases the sickness is aggravated by the lack of adequate treatment; or the very processes of the pajé /282/ aggravate the ailment and hasten death. In several cases of pneumonia and laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis the catastrophe was precipitated by the effect of the ablutions of the pajé (35).

[797] 35. In Acuricuara, Colombian bank of the Papurí, an individual became sick and let himself be treated by the pajé. He was Christian, however, and, seeing that the treatments were useless, he asked that the Missionary, Pe. Clemente, be called and even went so far as to ask him not to let the pajé come to his house. It was, however, already a hopeless case, and the cure would have been possible if he had put himself under the care of the Missionary earlier.

756 Another very grave consequence of this belief in magic power is the endless vengeance and numerous crimes. Every sickness, death, or misfortune had as its cause some malefice. The pajé will not only try to neutralize this malefice, but, moreover, he will designate someone as its cause, and he will prepare poisons (36)

*[192] 36. As for the poisoning by the caxirí or mingau, they say Nimá tõãsé (nimá, poison; tõãsé, act of giving a drink).

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628 and counterpoisons for revenge. Or he will urge the victim to take revenge after the cure; and if he died, his relatives. Hence the animus of tribe against tribe, and, within the same tribe, of one povoado against another, or of family of the same povoado or maloca, is always stirred up. From which there is even more submission of all to the pajé, on whom everyone depends, and this

/282 cont./

756 is an obstacle to the development of the Indian's spirit. On the
627 other hand, this same belief has the effect of linking the individ-
628 ual even closer to his own family or group, as a guarantee that
he will be avenged for the malefices, and this is already a preventive, because his enemies, fearing the vendetta, will refrain from doing him harm.

k) The xamĩ /shaman/, convinced or an impostor?

755 There are unsophisticated acts, in which the pajé, for example, takes in his mouth a piece of bone which he will claim to have sucked from the painful organ, or, through prestidigitation, he will show the stub of the poisonous cigar. Koch Grünberg was likewise able to observe this (Z.I. 99).

756 In addition he occupies a position of distinction and very
[115] advantageous, thus apt to arouse envy and greediness. For exam-
[797] ple, a very ugly individual, almost deformed, becomes pajé,
and a father, out of fear, gives him one of his daughters as a wife (37).

37. This is one of the episodes that was narrated to us by Padre Clemente, a Montfortian of Acuaricuara, river Paca. There came to this Missionary an Indian who for eight years had attended the Montfort school and afterwards had become pajé, "so that the others would be afraid of him, and thus he could make good buys," he declared later. The pajé who had trained him gave him something to breathe, which stupefied one and "made one see many things." He also declared that he had breathed too much of it and became ill, asking that the Padre cure him. In this case, however, a mental disturbance, perhaps aggravated by the pajé's treatment, was verified.

/283/

756 As compensation for services, the pajés are always well paid to the point of having what they need for their maintenance without any more work.

Might he only be a slicker taking advantage of the credulity of his brothers (38)?

[797] 38. Padre João Francisco Biggiaretti, doctor and Missionary of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, tried several times, but in vain, to listen and to talk to pajés about sicknesses and cures. Once he went so far as to invite them to a gathering in Pari-cachoeira, with a promise of gifts as well, but none of them appeared.

It does not seem so. Although intelligent and perhaps even endowed with greater culture than the rest of the natives, one cannot believe that he has freed himself from the general belief in the spirits, in the occult forces of nature, which he believes bound up with the processes and ceremonies that the ancestors always used. Perhaps it is from his great power of suggestion that he gets the power to transfer to others his suggestion and the cure.

One cannot exclude, as we have already said, a certain magnetic power or natural hypnotism. Who knows, in some circumstances spontaneous acts of telepathy might take place, all the more mysterious for the protagonists themselves, the more ignorant they are. Even the cures effected by the herbs used, or by the baths applied, and the totally fortuitous coincidences will contribute toward rooting in the thought of the pajé a deep conviction concerning the efficacy of his ceremonies and his own magic power.

[797] The events revealing this conviction in the pajés are numerous. One of them had a son in the boarding school of Taracuá-ponta and, knowing that he was sick, came to visit him and found him being tended by the Missionaries and under medication. He, then, could do nothing. Shortly afterwards, taking advantage of the moment when everyone had gathered in the church for a religious function, he hurriedly went to his son's side and was caught there, beside his hammock, applying his curing processes to him.

/283 cont./

756 In the same way they manage to convince themselves of their
821 power over nature and often threaten to make lightning strike.
They will attribute their failures to the disturbing act of another,
[797] stronger pajé. The Salesians had built in Iauareté the first large
pavilion of the seat of the Mission, when, on the occasion of a
storm, a bolt of lightning struck the newly built section, with great
fright and alarm for all, without victims, however. Days later
the Taryana pajé of the locality appeared, very troubled, assuring
the Superior of the Mission that /284/ it absolutely was not he who
had made that lightning strike. It was a more distant pajé, and
his enemy, who had done that, in order to draw the odiosness upon
the one who lived in Iauareté.

755 Some information by Patrícia Vasconcelos (October of 1955)
makes us understand that at least some pajés are aware of their
756 own responsibility and have the idea of professional duty. Her
[115] uncle Marco is a strong pajé from the povoado of S. Luzia, Brazilian
bank of the river Papurí. "He blows a lot, but he does not pour
water," said Patrícia, that is, he does not use the process of the
ablutions. I would not know whether this is a spontaneous defense
made by the young woman; perhaps she has heard some Missionary
criticize this therapeutic process, responsible for some deaths of
pneumonic patients. On one occasion he said to Patricia: --"My
niece, it is a serious thing to be pajé. He must blow right (that
is, perform his rites with exactitude). If he does not blow right,
[177] he will be punished." Would this be the concept of a judgment
after death? And repeating what she had heard from her uncle,
the young woman added: -- "When the patient has a headache,
the pajé must invoke (?) all the thorns that went into the head of
Jesus. All the sicknesses were the sicknesses of Jesus." This, once
again, is evidence of how even in the beliefs and the rites of the
xamã /shaman/ interculturation of Christian elements is realized.

3) The Komũ, an initiate.

One understands the easy association between the "smoke" and the "blowing," the two important magic resources in the curing process of the pajés.

/*284 cont.*/

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It is not only the pajé, however, who uses the cigar for its magic power and applies "*blowings*." They believe, moreover, that the smoke spread by some persons, particularly certain old men, have the same virtue as the smoke of the pajé, or almost. The same is said of the "blowings." This is the reason why in some circumstances (*giving the name*, VIII - 1, b (6) /see 1, b (4)/, puberty initiation, VIII - 1 b (7), etc.) these persons intervene, "blowing" smoke. [881]

We learned of episodes of individuals who bragged about the force of their own "blowing," capable of sending sicknesses and misfortunes, and they would terrify the others with this.

These "*blowers*" are called *Komũá* (plural *Komũ*), corresponding, it seems, to the ethnological concept of "initiate."

We have witnessed the long theoretical preparation, in the form of evening lectures, which the older *Komũá* gives to those who aspire to the same position. The old *Komũ* /*sic*/, squatting, or seated on a stool, having before him the aspirant, also squatting or seated, starts developing his program of instruction. When it seems /*285*/ proper to him, perhaps after one or two hours of explanation, he ends his lesson, saying farewell to his pupil with the salutation *nĩka-nĩya* (U. *nĩka-niña*), *adios!* (*lit*. you remain behind). *[192]

Seated at a certain distance, in pleasant conversation among themselves, are other *Komũ* and the tuxáua. When the first one has finished his lesson on the histories, legends, beliefs, traditions, customs, origin of things and of sicknesses, etc., a second one will come to instruct the pupil, who patiently waits for the new lesson and shows his interest and improvement by carrying on a dialogue with the master, according to the native custom. And the lessons extend until late hours of the night, ended by a general farewell. Masters and students, during these hours of lectures, generously help themselves to *ipadú* (cf. VI - 4, i (3) /see 4, i (4)/).

One of the more expert Taryana natives, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who had also taken the course to become a pajé, told us that the pajé has periodic meetings, once or twice a month, with the various *Komũá*. He forewarns them of sicknesses that

276 /285 cont./

756 are going to appear and gives them instructions on what they are to do in order to conjure away these and other evils.

*[192] There are, besides these, other more solemn meetings, approximately each semester, when he gives his wĩhĩõ to the Komĩá to sniff ("wĩhĩõ wĩhỹõti kã axkawerẽra-ré peókamĩ": he sniffs and gives all his relatives his "rappee" to sniff).

4) Sicknesses and cures.

164 There are various sicknesses that attack that forest dwellers and often prostrate them. The principal ones, according to the frequency and the greater number of victims, are:

*[192] a) Verminosis -- Pirõ pĩrĩbé (Uaupés Pinõ punĩbé). The verminous diseases attack them even when they are old, but especially the children from two to ten years old, almost 50 per cent of whom fall victim to them (39).

[797] 39. This seriously alarming proportion was pointed out to us by the Missionary Pe. João Marchesi. Naturally this happened and perhaps still happens to those tribes and native localities unprovided with any sanitary assistance. Thanks to the hospitals of the Salesian Mission and the ambulatory-launches which monthly come up the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri, taking to the Indians the sanitary resources and provisions, and transporting the more gravely ill persons to the hospitals, this figure has decreased ten times or even more. Truly /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ impressive episodes of victims of verminosis are mentioned. From the cadaver of the son of the tuxaua of Taracuá in 1934, vermin came out through the mouth, through the nose, etc. In Urubucuara the vermin perforated the abdomen of a boy, who would take them out with the fingers.

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Or they would become so weak that they would succumb to the attack of any other ailment whatsoever.

b) Grippe and pneumonia -- Ehõ. They indicate them with a general term Ehõ, catarrh. We think that the organism of the native who /286/ spends, not only the night, but also several hours of the day in the smoky environment of the maloca (or houses), with fires lighted and without any vent for the smoke, might be a propitious field for grippe and pneumonia. Nevertheless, asserting that the "catarrh" comes inside the boxes of merchandise, we have seen them flee from the povoado of Paricachoeira at the simple alarm that on this trip of the launch the boxes were bringing "catarrh."

c) Anemia -- Dí-petisé. One observes it especially in the children, due to the ingestion of the soil, and in the women, after a certain age, due to the excess of work and organic depauperation with the raising of the children.

d) Buba or framboesia tropicalis -- Maxsã̄ dihyã̄rá. It consists of painful sores over the entire body.

e) Impaludism -- Uháke. In general the native povoados are located in salubrious places, since they are high lands and, very frequently, neighbor the cachoeiras. Nevertheless paludic outbreaks have appeared, either because of the waters that form pools in the potholes among the rocks during low water, or because of the inundated places (the igapós), which the Indian visits during his fishing trips.

f) Laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis -- Wã̄x-tĩ poarí. They call them Wã̄x-tĩ poa-rí, that is, hairs of Wã̄x-tĩ, which they suppose are stuck in the patient's throat. Several cases have been found on the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri, with a tendency to spread (cf. III - 4).

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*192 164 [136] g) Eye trouble -- Kaxpé-ri pũrĩbé. Ophthalmia is frequent in all the tribes, from simple irritation by rubbing the eyes with the dirty hands, up to cases of conjunctivitis and trachoma. There are yellow ants, called taxi or fire ants, which live in some woods and bushes and whose bite is painful and poisonous, even causing a degenerescence of the cornea. The Makú, especially, are often bitten by these ants and suffer in their vision.

*192 164 h) Dysentery, Yohá -- Diarrhea, Di-yohá -- Intestinal fevers, Uháke. Dysentery, diarrhea, and intestinal fevers are frequent and /287/ caused by spoiled food, waters polluted (40) or with a high dosage of timboina (at the time of fishing with timbo). Dysentery is frequent, moreover, on the occasion of the native feasts, caused by excessive drinking.

164 i) Venereal diseases. In the legends, it seems to us, there is a reference to venereal diseases. Nevertheless, there are few

40. Rivers and streams (igarapés) are made up in long stretches by stagnate waters, in which not infrequently are seen, on the whole liquid surface, pollen, petals, leaves, and other organic elements in decomposition. Ordinarily these same watercourses, at least during the months of high water or even during the entire year, are found in communication with swamps and putrefactive waters, as will easily be verified by anyone who crosses some stretch of the Uaupés forest. If we exclude perhaps the stretches with cachoeiras in the great rivers, it is possible that a meticulous analysis would condemn as unhealthy all the remaining and vast aqueous surface of the region.

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verified cases of syphilis (41).

> 41. "A veteran Sister of nursing revealed to us that in her 25 years of nursing there had appeared only one case of a young man afflicted with venereal disease; and, since it was the case of a man already engaged, she thought it was her duty to warn the girl that she should not get married before he had had suitable treatment. She was not heeded, however, with the foreseen lamentable consequences for the wife.

Proving, however, that it is not a matter of any special resistance of the organism to the treponema, the few facts known on the Uaupés and the infection presented by some young men who had just arrived in Manaos looking for work are sufficient. Perhaps they know and use vegetable remedies. And it is also probable that the immunization or cure against syphilis is the result of a spontaneous malaria-therapy, since it is known that the natives are many times afflicted with malaria.

j) Epileptiform attacks. We know cases of epileptiform attacks in persons of both sexes and of various ages. They fall down struck with loss of the senses, almost always spasms and convulsions, followed by sleep and complete amnesia of the event, about which they were informed by witnesses (42).

> 42. For one of the cases we heard the origin of the attacks. It is the case of the Bayá (dance master) Henrique, Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, now (1955) a septuagenarian with gray hair and clear eyes. Some years ago a bolt of lightning struck his house, burning him severely and leaving him unconscious for some hours. Since that

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164 /footnote 42 cont./ time he suffers periodic attacks, and for this reason he is afraid of painting himself for the dances, although he participates in them as Bayá (cf. VII-6, a (2)) that he is. We have watched him, in spite of his years, direct the ritual dances valiantly for 24 hours without interruption.

751 /288/ The magic concept of the origin of sicknesses do not allow them to take the minimum precautions. They will not avoid contact with a person afflicted with tuberculosis or grippe, or skin infection; they will sleep at his side, lie in the same hammock, sit on the same seat, drink from the same cuia, help themselves from the same pot, into which they dip their fingers with the beijú.

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The Missionary tries to persuade them, for example, of the danger of contagion in tuberculosis. In spite of this, they do not stop taking caxiri perhaps masticated by a tubercular person.

They do not resolve, unless watched and forced, to take a remedy according to the medical prescriptions, in so many doses repeated at such-and-such intervals (43).

[756] 43. The belief in the pajé is suffering a lingering shock from the hospitals and ambulatories of the Mission and the trips of the Missionary distributing remedies. Many of them, at present, not only accept, but even ask for the remedies of the civilized, especially when they prove to have prompt efficacy, for example, the antimalarial remedies, analgesics, etc. They do not submit, however, to subjecting themselves to the prolonged treatment that various ailments demand and do not hesitate to run away from the hospital.

/288 cont./

757 Scorning all precautions, they will not hesitate to pour out the remedy that displeases them; if, on the other hand, it has a pleasing flavor, they will take it all at once, or divide it between the sick and the healthy. A bottle of syrup will be consumed with flour in a few minutes.

5) Home remedies.

753 In some cases some means of cure for certain sicknesses, or means of preventing them, are indicated without recourse to the pajé. It is not so much a weakening of his prestige, as, it seems
*[192] to us, medicinal magic. They teach, for instance, that the fish surubi harms anyone who has a wound; and the fruit cubiú, anyone who has impaludism. If someone eats the fish piraiba, his vision will suffer, etc.

*192 The best-known home remedies are (44):

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> 44. We obtained this list from the Hungarian Ladislau Auer, who has lived for several years among the tribes of the Uaupés.

a) For wounds: Recent ones. They boil the bark of the cipo dyĩ-dá (cipo of blood) and apply the water to the wound. Or they also apply to wounds scrapings from the potato known as Kamĩ bũxkõ-Ro-kó (remedy against sores).

Old ones. They wash them many times with the water in which has been boiled the water-edge cipo called Mõõ δx'sé-kapoarĩ (paraiba whiskers).

/289/ b) Against snake bite. 1st. Of jararaca: they crush the leaves and the yellowish root of a shrub called precisely Añakó, jararaca remedy, and for this reason they cultivate it in the clearings. They apply them to the bites, and the sap or infusion of these leaves is also given as a drink. A variety of black root has an even more vigorous action. They also use the infusion of the sororoca root against the poison of the jararaca.

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752 *[192] For snake bites in general, they drink the sap of a cipo called Pĩrõ-dá (snake cipo), with a thick stem and abundant and pleasing sap, which they likewise use to quench their thirst when walking through the forest.

In spite of these remedies of theirs, every year there is a certain number of victims of the snakes, and if this number is not larger they owe it to the remedies and serums obtained from the Mission.

*192 757 c) For toothache. They use a plant that burns like pepper, Pixkõ-kó, remedy-for-teeth. They burn the leaves and apply the ashes to the aching tooth.

d) For sore eyes. 1st. If it is a matter of children, they scrape the bark of the minhoca cipo, Ahwĩ-da, leave it in infusion in mother's milk or, lacking this, in water, and afterwards they put some drops in the ailing eye, using a small funnel made out of arumã leaf. For an identical purpose, and with the same process, they also use the guapuí, a parasitic plant with long aerial roots.

When the patient is an adult person, they apply to the eye, in drops, an infusion made from the root of the cipo Waxsyĩ-dá, after it has been washed well and grated. They also apply salt to the ailing eyes, pure or mixed with well-pulverized chicken manure. Probably the use of salt would be a suggestion from the civilized, applied, however, according to the native concept.

e) For dysentery. They mix the latex of the plant Yoá-motõ with water and take it warm. Or they eat tapioca mixed with the latex of the cipo Pixkõ-sẽ-dá (cipo of the bird "tesoura" /Muscivora tyrannus/).

f) For stomach-ache. They grate a potato called Bará and leave the mass in cold water, and take it in small doses. Before taking it, however, they must transfer it from one cuia to another, always blowing on the substance. Without this precaution, they affirm, the remedy will kill the patient.

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757 g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant

*[192] called Taá-dõxká (45),

45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b)): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

[178] [764] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead were buried in the maloca itself.

[164] [354] The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

[356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

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356 [136] [231] Not infrequently, however, because of the dogs that also live there (and we have at times seen dogs sick and covered with sores), the ground is dusty, favoring the procreation of the bichos-de-pé /foot fleas/ (cullex pénetrans) and fleas.

[514] Not infrequently the fruit rinds are thrown into a corner to rot, producing an unpleasant odor. This is unbearable, due to the vomitings and defecations in the maloca itself during the dabacuris. One can sometimes perceive a peculiar odor in the native povoados.

b) On the person.

515 The body hygiene is also deficient. They take a bath every morning, and more during the day. It is a bath to refresh, however, rather than to clean. Not having soap available to eliminate the grease from the body and hair, one not infrequently sees layers of dirt on some parts of the epidermis, especially in the folds of the skin and in the hairy parts. Even those who use /291/ soap, such as the school pupils, give off an unpleasant and characteristic odor.

296 Although they know how to wash clothes, and some of them do it well, in the majority of cases they keep the clothes on the body until they are very dirty, or even until they rot. Precisely the following custom is to be noted: they wash their own clothes with certain frequency when new. When they consider them old, they will not wash them any more. If they get wet, they let the clothes dry on the body.

356 515 Their primitive hammocks of tucum are never washed as a rule, and in a little while they are darkened by the sweat, smoke, and grime. They climb into the hammock with the body dirty. The only care will be, perhaps, to rub the soles of the feet, one against the other, in order to clean them of soil.

574 With all freedom, an Indian, even a strange one passing by the maloca (we have seen this even in the case of Indians of different tribes), will lie down during the day in the first hammock that he finds vacant, while he rests and converses.

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c) In the food.

264 The practice of preparing and eating food with clean hands is not in force among the natives. They break off the pieces of beijú with the hands, and, one after the other, each person dips it with the fingers into the quinhapira. If this, by chance, is too hot, he will use a stick, casually found on the ground, to take out the fragment of beijú that slipped from his fingers into the pot.

The beijú and other foods are not only held in dirty hands, but they are also deposited on the hammock or some other filthy object.

[271] [276] They drink from the same cuia, which goes from mouth to mouth. In the same way, the cigar or a ball of candy will pass from one mouth to another.

They have been seen taking and eating some food, perhaps even spoiled, placed in the garbage container or in the feed for the pigs. And even going so far as to compete with some animal for the ration that it is eating, even though it is on the ground or in a trough.

d) In the acts.

515 They likewise practice certain very repugnant acts. By way of an example, there is that of the mother who, with her own tongue, cleans the nose of her little child; or who eats the parasites as she finds them on the head of her children. This, by the way, is a general custom when one woman "searches" another. Perhaps, in lieu of payment, whoever has the /292/ job of searching also eats the lice. More rarely she will give the parasite to its legitimate owner (46).

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46. Although it is a general custom, and they always observe it when a woman searches for parasites on the head of another person, they refuse to say whether there is any magic meaning in this practice. Whenever they perceive that they are being watched, or fear that they are, they interrupt the act and go so far as to try to disguise it.

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515 They are ignorant of the use of handkerchiefs, cleaning the nose with the fingers, which afterwards are rubbed against some part of the body.

[854] The mother, or another woman, with her own hands, attends to the cleaning of her baby, and afterwards, in order to clean herself, is satisfied with shaking her hand to one side and rubbing it on the ground or against some plant.

3. The arts.

157 In the complex of works that the forest dwellers execute, they not only reveal splendid aptitudes, rare ability, and other qualities already mentioned elsewhere, but also particular artistic tendencies which are begging our civilization for more opportunities to develop (47).

[857] 47. With a knife improvised out of a piece of the metallic binding that goes around the crates of merchandise, the child produces canoes, and now even small airplanes, in wood.

The house that he builds, with all its furnishings, -- stools, ceramics, woven goods, canoes, weapons, hunting and fishing gear, baskets, -- reveal, besides the stability and sturdiness required for the purpose for which they are intended, an over-all harmony, a proportion of the parts, a finish in the details, which give a pleasing impression. In all there is revealed a notable artistic sense which should be considered in detail in its threefold manifestation: woven products, designs, music.

a) Woven products.

286 Among the works of weaving, we have already called to mind the nets /Port. rede, net, hammock/ for sleeping and for fishing. But particularly in the rede batida /beaten hammock/ (which seems to be of European origin) and in the puericuelo /a covering that hangs from the waist/, Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro (see below - d (1)), the native woman shows her artistic taste and skill. In the Yaxkẽ

/292 cont./ In the Yaxkẽ

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Waxsó-ro there is a beautiful combination of the woven and the strung, using colorful glass beads. One admires in it a pleasing combination of colors, proportion and regularity in the design, and a perfect finishing of the piece. In the woven part the mesh is diagonal. It also presents a combination of colored fibers for the design effect. In the choice of colors, as well as in the finishing, there is revealed good /293/ taste, which makes this weaving a beautiful adornment for the women in the dances. With beads or with colored fibers, the designs are the Greek frets /Port. gregas/ characteristic of these tribes.

6) /sic: b)/ Designs.

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4) /sic: 1)/ Mural designs. The designs painted on the bark that makes up the walls of the houses do not reveal artistic taste (48).

48. For example, the representation of human figures with the disproportional and shapeless trunk, the neck represented by a vertical stroke, etc.

It is probable that what seems to us scrawling or caricature is the stylization of legendary representations. Accepting this possibility, however, one does not perceive any skill in the strokes. The circumferences are made with perfection. Perhaps through the influence of the civilized, they use a string for this, fixing one of the ends and tying to the other a wooden point which will leave a regular mark, like the point of a compass.

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For the mural paintings, they use clay of different colors (principally white, yellow, reddish, bluish), diluted in the latex of Ōxtā̄-fiĩmĩ (that is, the sorva, Couma utilis, Mell., and other species), which, after having dried, acquires great stability and resistance to the inclemencies and does not change colors.

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302 531 2) Designs on the body. They also execute various designs on the body. They might have their magic meaning, but they undoubtedly reveal an artistic tendency and, in some cases, are done with care and mastery (49).

> 49. We do not believe that painting on the body is an indication of a period of nomadism: "not having any place to execute their drawings, they did them on their own body." We venture the opinion, instead, that they have a decorative character (they are, thus, an indication of artistic tendency), besides supposing them endowed with magic powers (prophylactic virtues, etc.).

? Notice 1st. -- The paintings do not bear clear totemic representations, unless it is only a matter of a stylization, the meaning of which the present-day natives seem not to know (50).

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> 50. Koch Grünberg (Z.I. 349) found numerous anthropomorphic drawings and drawings of plants and animals, sometimes more or less stylized, among the Arwake of the Içana and the Wanana and Kubewana of the upper Uaupés. And he also states that figures the same as those on the bark walls and posts of the maloca appear, during the feasts, on the bodies of the Indians, as well as on their pots and dance objects. He moreover points out the sculpture of "attractive figures," anthropomorphic and of animals, not only in wood, but also executed in ears of maize and hung on the beams and posts of the maloca by means of a string.

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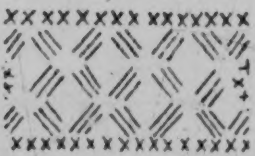
2nd. -- What is called *Nõ'õsé* or face painting is semicircles with the concave part upwards, on the forehead, and straight lines in a V on the side of the zygomata and on the face. Ordinarily, to execute these designs they use the *Mumíkha*, that is, a small stick, like a lipstick, having on one of the tips a ball of wax to which adheres the colored powder, which is taken out of the small cuia in which it is kept and is applied to the face.

3rd. -- On the trunk and limb they execute various designs, *We'é ohasé*, all, however, consisting of straight lines. In some cases, at the great dances of the dabacurí, the whole body is painted as if it were a robe, with lengthwise and transverse strokes. The process for these paintings is that called *We-oharí-tyĩ*, that is, they take a small cylinder of a very light wood, called *molongó* (in Tukano *Poó-gõ*; it is the *ambelânia grandíflora*, of the family of the Apocynaceae), with carvings corresponding to the lines that one wishes, and, while the color is fresh, they roll it against the skin where it leaves quite regular traces. They likewise use fine splints of arumĩ, not infrequently two or three tied together as a paint brush, leaving a double or triple stroke. There are also coarse strokes executed with the index finger moistened in the color.



Design imprinted with the molongó cylinder

[184] There are not, at present, marks that characterize the tribes, as the first explorers suggest. The same designs are observed in the various tribes.

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4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé, known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/295/ b) The color red from the Ōnōñá or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

[881] [755] [756] [852]

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or parirí, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

and from the Mō'sī or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

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302 All these colors are quite resistant, since they last many days, in spite of their frequent baths.

386 *[192] Very frequently one finds women with the face more or less powdered with red: it is the painting called Tu-dyó-kũsé. They explained that it is only in order not to feel the heat of the sun so much during the work in the clearing. These powders are prepared with the urucú and carajurú.

304 They do not use true tattooing, and the natives of the present generation do not even seem to know about it (53).

53. Wallace, however, stated a century ago (o. c.): -- "These Indians (of the Uaupés) make tattoos, but on a small scale: for this they practice along the arms a row of pricks of circular shape. The Tucanos are distinguished from the other tribes by three vertical blue lines that they draw on the upper lip in place of mustaches." Through the ancient explorers we know of the tattoos of other tribes of the Amazon, for example, the Yavarí, Urupá, Suarirana, Periquita, all located on the river Tapajoz (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of 1759, n. 54). As for the tribes of the Rio Negro (without specifying whether the natives of the Uaupés are included), Cônego /Canon/ Andre Fernandes de Souza writes (o. c. 455): "Some pierce the ears, lips, and nose, into which they introduce feathers and sticks, these operations costing them unbearable pain; others draw on the skin many permanent black lines, using these industrious deformities, not so much for distinction of their tribe, as in order to cause an imposturous terror in their enemies." Concerning the Desana, 50 years ago Koch G. (Z. I. 264) stated that they are the only ones of the Caiarí who use tattooing executed with the palm thorn. This is two parallel blue lines, from the lower lip to the chin.

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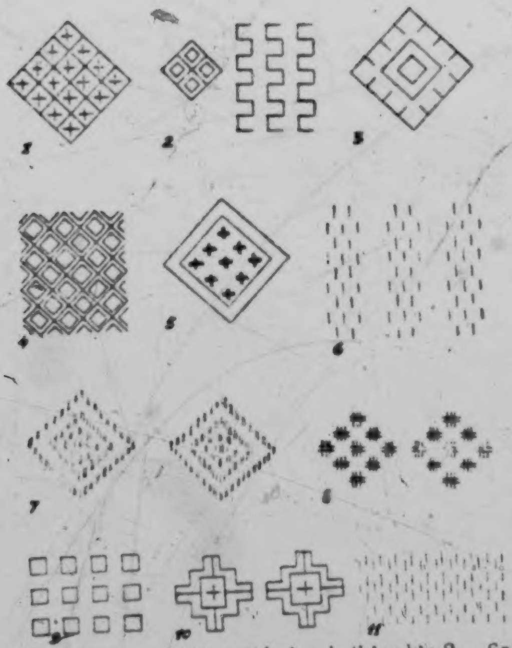

1. Yóãsõ paxkõ sẽ'ẽma -- alligator's back (black); 2. Soxkõ-rõ ó:ri -- flower (design) of the grater (black and white); 3. Sẽ'rá -- pineapple (green and yellow); 4. Ahũ-dõxkarí -- pieces of beijú (black and white); 5. Buwahá-ro -- cuia of cutia /agouti/ (green); 6. Neé ó:ri -- flower of the miriti (yellow); 7. Sirí-pía ó:rí -- flower (design) of the swallow (green and purple); 8. Uhuri sẽ'ẽma -- back of the land turtle (black and white); 9. Ó:ri mãrĩ -- design without flowers (black and white); 10. Sakú dõ'pó-ka -- leg of saracura /Rallidae/ (white and black); 11. Yóãsõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of calango /small lizard/ (green).

3) Designs on objects.

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[184]

The Baniva customarily execute designs on the camutins or pots, and the other tribes, on the cuias used, especially on the maracá. These are vegetable colors with a predominance of white, and the designs are always Greek frets. We have already mentioned the designs on the small stools that the Tukano make.

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There are eight more common principal ornamental motifs that appear on the woven and plaited work of the hammocks and strainers:

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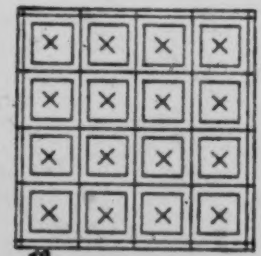
1. Soxkõrõ-ó:ri (flowers of the grater), that is, similar to the arrangement of the small stones in the graters.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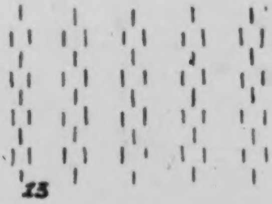
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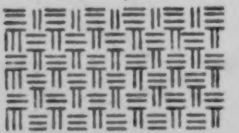
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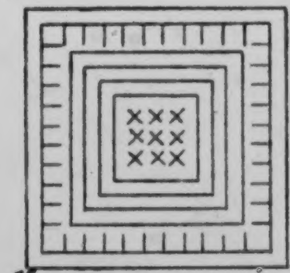
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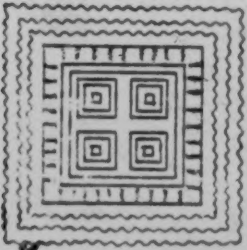
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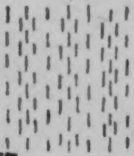
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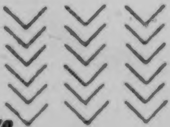
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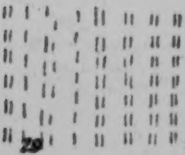
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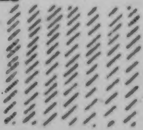
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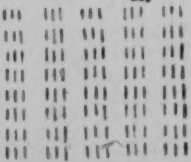
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12. Yuxkõ-dõxká -- fruit; 13. Mixpĩ ó:ri -- flower of the açaí /assai/ (red and white); 14. Poxtá-da -- thorny branch; 15. Piã ó:ri -- flower (design) of the piã (bird); 16. Piã ó:ri -- flower (design) of the piã (bird); 17. Soxkõ-sero -- surucucu (ophidian) (yellow); 18. Ã'rẽ-pũrí -- leaf of the pupunha tree (green); 19. Sẽ'ã ma'á -- path of the piramirim (fish) (red and white); 20. Nixtiã ó:ri -- flower (design of the spotted snake); 21. Dõxpõri-tẽrõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of the lambari /a fish/ (white).

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2. *Mixpĩ pũrĩ* (açai /assai/ leaves), designs like the leaves of the açai palm.
3. *Byá-põrá ma'á* (path of the saúva /leaf-cutting ant/)
4. *Neé óori* (flower of the miriti)
5. *Yóãsõ sẽ'ẽma* (back of calango /small lizard/)
6. *Pamõ sẽ'ẽma* (back of tatu /armadillo/)
7. *Dõxpõrí-tẽrõ sẽ'ẽma* (back of lambari /a fish/)
8. *Wãx-tĩ õx'sé-pekuri* (knees of Wãx-tĩ), similar to the gammadioncross or swastika.

The Uaupés Indians take pleasure in combining these motifs and obtain numerous designs. By chance, in 24 strainers acquired by us in 1947 in different places on the Uaupés, there were 23 different combinations.

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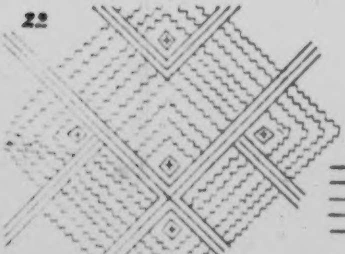

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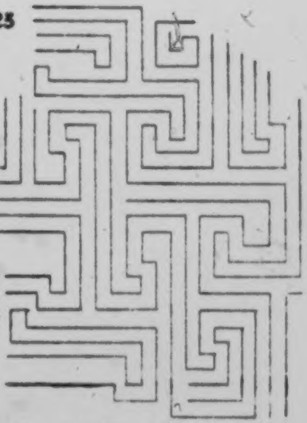

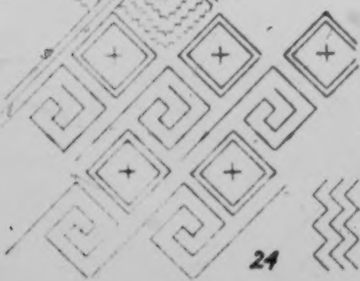

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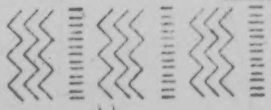

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22. Oxsõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of the two-headed snake; 23. Wãx-tĩ õxsé-pekuri -- knee of Wãx-tĩ; 24. Wãx-tĩ-ke-õ -- tipiti; 25. Bya-põrá -- path of the saúva /leaf-cutting ant/ (yellow).

/299/

c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is
the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or caríço, with the notes succeeding one another with the
same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale,
*[192] as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture
it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto
/countersong/ to the other.

They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear: for this
533 reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs,
even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly
enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly
[177] appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very
[194] many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of
[147] the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice
has little elasticity (54),

54. The voice has so little elasticity that
perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give
[562] a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and
dances the men never sing: the women do it
infrequently, for example, when they work in
the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however,
that the men's songs are religious hymns, where-
as those of the women are bacchic compositions
that they render when they distribute the drink.
[797] Among the alumni, and especially among the
alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a
greater elasticity, and one hears humming more
frequently. This, however, is usually the
religious or secular songs learned at school.

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[147]
[194]
is metallic and unpleasant when he speaks, and it is even more metallic in conjunction, when they speak or sing.

2) Songs.

The native likes to sing, although he appears bashful about doing it, outside the feasts, in front of the civilized. He has a repertoire of songs for the ritual dances (religious songs), and others for his amusement (secular songs). The former are always in choir, without solos and in only one voice. The latter are sung by one or more singers simultaneously or alternately, repeating the same theme or not.

a) Religious songs.

[178] They are sung exclusively by the men. They are slow, monotonous, with many repetitions. As for the rhythm, inspiration, and /300/ movement, they can be classified or grouped among the Gregorian compositions. Since the only process of apprenticeship is by hearing and the memory, it follows that the music is preserved more or less faithfully (55);

[178] the lyrics, however, have been corrupted. Nowadays in many of these songs there are only sounds without meaning, and the forest dwellers themselves confess that they do not understand the meaning of the articulations that they utter (56).

55. As is verified by watching their feasts in different circumstances and places or among different tribes.

56. As happens, incidentally, in the popular songs of the civilized. (Cf. also VII-6, a (2) /see a (3)/.)

/300 cont./

533 Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí /a plant/," the "defoliation of the açaí /assai/," song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

797 The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

533 Pe. Antônio Giacone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very [276] melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the tuxáua sings as follows:

*(192) "mãrĩ bũxkȭrá, mãrĩ paxkõ-s'õmȭá baxsesé duhí-wé:pãra,
[539] yõõ ná põrá uhú duhí, uhú duhí we:yá, mã̄xsã yõõ põra";
that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

533 [562] [273] [535] The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the men. They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule, the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning: they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

/301 cont./

533 As for the execution, one must point out that beautiful voices are sometimes found. Among the Baniva and the Kubêwãna one also observes piano or even pianissimo passages and forte ones, a consideration that we did not notice among other tribes. There is no preoccupation, however, with the breathing; especially when, already temulent, the woman will sing while she has any breath, then suddenly interrupts the verse or the melody in order to breathe noisily.

Some of these songs of the dances of the women, as well as of the pajés, end with laughing or a characteristic cry.

c) Songs of the xamã /shaman/.

533 756 [184] There is a repertoire belonging exclusively to the pajés. Since one pajé is trained in the school of another, perhaps of a different tribe (cf. VII -- 2, e (2 f)), this explains the fact of hearing the same song rendered by pajés of different tribes. Nevertheless the melodies of the songs of the Tukano pajés of the Tiquie are quite different from those of the Wanana and Arwáke pajés that we were able to record (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/").

[534] [755] The pajés almost always sing to the sound of the maracá. Their songs constitute one of the curing processes and thus will vary according to the sickness. The musical theme is a Greek-Gregorian canon, melodious, slow, solemn. In some songs the words are already found adulterated; they are articulated sounds without meaning. At times laughs are also inserted.

3) Musical instruments.

534 R. G. Izikowitz (Musical and other sound instruments of the South American Indians -- A comparative ethnical study, 1935) presents four groups of musical instruments: 1st) idiophones, 2nd) membranophones, 3rd) chordophones, and 4th) aerophones. We do not find any example of the third group among the tribes of the

/301 cont./

534 Uaupés (55) /*sic*; (57)/.

[177]

55 /57/. During these past years some natives who came down to the Rio Negro for work became so enamored of the guitar that they heard there at the feasts of the caboclos that the possession of one of them constituted the dreamed-of fruit of their labor. And, upon returning to their povoados, they spend long hours of the day and the night strumming monotonously on the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ poor instrument. Perhaps for them the charm is not derived from the auditory pleasure which they experience as much as appearing, with this, more advanced or civilized than their other brothers. One also already sees some harmonica /Port. *gaita*/ or accordion or victrola among the alumni of the Mission.

Of the others, there are various instruments, all obviously of native origin.

/302/ a) *Idiophones*.

534 As rhythm instruments for the dances they have:

535 1st. -- *Rhythm tube*. In the Tukano idiom it is called *ahũ-wõ*, plural *ahũ-pawõ*. It is a cylinder of imbauba a meter long and 10 centimeters in diameter, hollow, with the lower end touching the ground, obstructed because it corresponds to the node. The upper one is open and ends with a rectangular extension by which it is held with the right hand. Each dancer takes his instrument, and they go all together, marking the rhythm of the step with a stroke against the ground. Frequently these instruments are painted with white, with the latex from the sorva, and with designs of Greek frets in red or black color.

* [192]

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534 535 *[192] 2nd. -- Rhythm stick. Sometimes the dancers carry in their right hand a simple stick, of any kind of wood, which in Tukano is called yuxkõ, also for the purpose of marking the rhythm.

*[192] [531] 3rd. -- Murucú. Murucú is the term from the Nheengatú language; in Tukano it is called yaígõ, that is, "stick of the onça /jaguar/" (Gonçalves Dias calls them "murucús-maracás" (cf. "Relatório da Província do Amazonas," Vol. I, p. 760). It consists of a stick of brazilwood (mira-piranga) with beautiful paintings and adorned with colorful feathers, some 2 meters in length and about 3 centimeters in diameter, and the upper end in the shape of a fork. Almost in the center there is an intumescence with slits and, inside, some pebbles. Once the slits are made, the spot is exposed to the fire, and, after it is heated, they enlarge the intumescence and introduce the pebbles.

The tuxáua who presides at the dances holds it with the right hand and hits it against the biceps of the same arm, producing a noise like that of a rattle, while the whole stick starts to vibrate. It is used to mark the beginning of the dances.

*[192] 4th. -- Snappers. In Tukano they are called kixtyó and sound like castanets. They are small tucumã nuts, strung on a cord, which are tied to the right ankle in some dance numbers, in order for them to mark the rhythm.

5th. -- Maracá. In Tukano it is called yaxsã or yaxsã-ga; plural, yaxsã-pá. It is a rattle prepared with a calabash, in which /303/ an orifice was made in the lower part, through which were introduced some seeds or pebbles, and it is fitted with a handle of about 10 or 15 centimeters by which it is held and shaken. Some are painted with the common designs already seen. In some dance numbers all the men shake the maracá.

[755] Besides this, it is a magic instrument, which the pajés use in their curing processes, and with which they also keep time during their therapeutic songs.

/303 cont./

534 We have already talked about the trocano /signal drum/ (VII -- 1).

b) Membranophones.

*[192] They only know one, which they use to announce the time of the caxirí, the drum, in Tukano twá-tṍ, plural twáthe-pawṍ. It is a small drum about 20 centimeters in diameter and 20 in height. The cylindrical part is made out of louro /laurel/ bark, and it is closed at both ends with monkey skin, without the fur and well stretched. It is played with a small wooden drumstick, twá-tṍ pa:-kṍ.

c) Aerophones.

In this group is included the largest number of the native instruments, their various types of flutes and whistles. Some of these instruments emit different sounds, permitting the playing of varied and pleasing musical themes. Others, instead, only one sound, which is always made to yield sound rhythmically. It is to be observed that, in general, the playing starts with a small exercise of tuning the instruments and ends with a fortissimo of the entire instrumental assemblage.

*[192] 1st. -- Panpipe /flauta-de-pã/. It is the syrinx of the Greeks, known regionally by the name of cariço, and in Tukano wéõ, pl. wéõ-pari. It consists of 6 to 10 tubes of taboca /a wild cane/ of different length and thickness, tied together, with the orifices in the same plane, as in a mouth organ. They always make them in pairs so that the two players are in tune and, with a third or fifth of difference, one can play the canto, and the other, the accompaniment, or contracanto. *[192] They are classified in several types, according to the number of tubes and their tonality: yõrõrí-pa, wéõ-pa, puxtirí-pa, wanỹã-pa, yõtirí-pa.

[883] The Panpipe is, par excellence, the instrument of the young men; we have never seen it played by mature men. To the sound of the cariços are developed pleasant dance numbers (see VII -- 6, [535] a (4)) with varied melodies and with a recreational character in

/303 cont./

534 the interval between the ritual dances. The young women also
535 participate as partners to each young musician. The musicians at times dance in a row, holding /304/ the flute with the right hand, and with the left one the shoulder of the companion beside him; in this case the ladies position themselves in between, holding by the waist the two men whom one is between, one in each arm. At other times the players, in a column, go around in a circle or on a winding path, now to the right, now to the left, and then, with the left hand above their own shoulder, hold the hand of their lady.

534 2nd. -- Long flute. In Tukano at times it is called buxpú-wõ, pl. buxpú-pawõ, which, properly speaking, indicates the
*[192] sarabatana /blowpipe/. Announcing its foreign origin, however, the more common name is yapúrutu (yapurutú in the Língua Geral). It is a flute of paxiúba, without registers, measuring approximately 1.50 meters in length, with a diameter of 3 to 5 centimeters. It is blown by the upper end, having, at about 10 centimeters below, an orifice that is regulated with a thin sheet of palm leaflet, as if it were the reed of a clarinet. They are also combined in pairs, canto and contracanto.

[184] They are of various sizes and each with its name of a bird or animal, thus among the Wanãna and Kubêwana. The Tuxáua Julio of Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié) asserted that these names are given by other tribes, not by the Tukano.

Beautiful and varied musical themes are played with this
[535] flute. It is certainly the most pleasing of the native instruments. After a short rehearsal, in order to verify the tuning of the instruments (canto and contracanto), two or four men start the dance: they hold the instrument with the right hand, while the left hand rests on the shoulder of the companion beside them. They thus move to the end of the maloca, being careful that the instrument of one does not hit that of the other as they change position to march in the opposite direction. The women who enter for the dance place themselves between two men, holding them by the waist.

/304 cont./

*192 534 3rd. -- Bone flute. In Nheengatú it is known as membí, and in Tukano as way-kõ o'ĩ, or also puxtirí o'ĩ. It is a flute 15 to 20 centimeters long, made out of the bone of an animal's tibia, with three orifices longitudinally, similar to our flutes, and one upper one, vertically, through which it is blown, this orifice being partially plugged with breu /a substance like pitch/, so that the air enters in suitable intensity and direction. It takes different names, according to the name of the animal whose tibia was used: nĩmá o'ĩ (deer bone), yaí o'ĩ (onça /jaguar/ bone), etc.

[535] During the dances this flute will always be decorated with a string of Coleoptera carapaces of different colors. The men hold the instrument with the right hand in some /305/ dance numbers and make it sound intermittently, like a whistle, in the intervals of the songs.

4th. -- Cutia /agouti/ flute. This would be the translation of the Tukano name bwá-wõ, pl. bwá-pawõ, because bwá means cutia (small rodent, dasyprócta agutí). It is a small fife of taboca, 20 to 30 centimeters long, decorated with colorful feathers.

[535] There is a dance that is called bwá-baxsá, in which all the men carry this fife in their right hands. At given moments the singing stops, and each one makes his own instrument sound, like a simple whistle, but rhythmically. At a certain point some fling their fife to the ground, but recover it afterwards, making it sound anew. The dance is concluded with a stronger and more prolonged whistle.

5th. -- Caramujo. In Tukano it is called sĩ'ĩ. It is a whistle that is obtained from the caramujo /a snail/. An old native stated that this same name formerly also designated a fife of taquara or taboca, with an orifice in the center that is applied to the nose in order to emit the sound, and the extremities are obturated with the fingers. This is an instrument that many of the new generation do not know.

/305 cont./

*192 534 6th. -- Varejeira. In Tukano it is called mõxtẽ-poro, which means precisely mosca-varejeira /blowfly/. It is a small flute of imbauba about 30 centimeters long, with a vertical orifice, as in general among the flutes. They play it in the intervals between the dances. The sounds imitate articulations of words, [832] and thus the young men address sexual invitations to the young women. It is what is called puxtí-weresã, to complain playing the flute (cf. VII -- 1).

7th. -- Mawáko. Under this name come two different types of flutes: 1st) an imbauba fife, may reach up to a meter in length; 2nd) a small flute 12 to 15 centimeters long, with a side orifice, in the center, also of imbauba.

[835] 8th. -- There are various types of pipes or whistles that they use in the dances, whistling rhythmically in the intervals between the songs. One of them is of taboca, has the shape of a common pipe about 10 centimeters long, with the hole for blowing at the upper end, and it is used in the dance called wá'wa-ri baxsá (dance of the arumã head-piece).

Another, also of taboca, and of the size of the preceding one, but with the orifice in the center.

[835] In other dances, instead of a whistle, each man carries a piece of cipo 20 or 30 centimeters in length, the bark of which comes off very easily, remaining as a sheath. Holding this sheath tightly with the left hand, and with the right one pulling the pith of /306/ the cipo, there results from the attrition a very shrill whistling. This whistle is called simiõ-mi.

9th. -- Jabutí. It is prepared from the carapace of the jabutí /land turtle/, from which comes the name, ũhuri in Tukano, dug out in such a way that the shell remains intact. Afterwards the holes are in part obturated with breu. The instrument is held tightly under the left arm, while the open right hand goes to rubbing with force the lip of the upper orifice; it will then emit a hoarse sound similar to that of the cuica /an amphibious rat/.

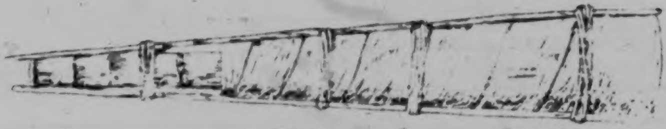
/306 cont./

534 We saw that the man, upon sounding this instrument,
522 would go backwards until, as a joke, he bumped against the women, who went away amidst laughter.

*192 10th. -- Deer head. In Tukano it is called ñamá dõxpõ-á.
534 It consists precisely of the head of a deer, the various orifices having been obturated with breu, except one, on the upper part between the horns, through which one blows. They use this instrument to announce the caxirí, and the sound tries to imitate precisely the words: pẽru wá:tya (bring caxirí), which is repeated several times, and ends with the repetition: kero, kero, kero (quickly, quickly, quickly).

11th. -- Ocarina. In Nheengatú toré; in Tukano uxpítu, pl. uxpítu-pá. It is an instrument of baked clay, which resembles the ocarina, and which they blow on the road, when they are going to the dabacurí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2)).

12th. -- Juruparí. In Tukano it is called mĩrĩ (Uaupés mĩnĩ). It is the mysterious instrument. This is tubes of paxiúba covered by the liber of chibarú (epérua grandíflora), rolled up in a spiral, with two sticks that emerge like horns from the upper end and by which it is held to be blown. According to the length, which varies from 80 centimeters to 1.50 meters, and the diameter from 6 to 10 centimeters, the sound will be like that of a trombone or, deeper, like that of a bass.



mĩrĩ (juruparí)

/306 cont./

534 There [illegible] four different ones; since, however, they always make them in pairs, canto and contracanto, they constitute a musical band of eight instruments that sound simultaneously in a hoarse, loud, but well-harmonized ensemble which is very pleasing to the Indian. In the picturesque /307/ native nomenclature, instead of canto and contracanto, the instruments are called husband and wife. We have already pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, c (2)) the belief that the mĩría are "people," and perhaps the denomination of husband and wife is derived from this belief.

Each instrument has its name, according to size; they could not explain to us the reason for the names, however.

Starting with the largest ones, the order that the tuxáua-bayá Júlio of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) gave us in 1953 was the following:

*192 534 1st. -- baaró (a bird of prey); 2nd. -- mahĩ (arara); 3rd. -- dẽ'tõ (squirrel); 4th. -- kixtyó boxká (bunch of snappers); 5th. -- arũtõ (assarí, a small toucan); 6th. -- mẽrẽ-ĩ'sĩ (a small monkey, perhaps the marmoset); 7th. -- doé (taraira, fish); 8th. -- pextoá (kingfisher, aquatic bird, Caradriídea).

[115] [126] In April of 1955 two pajés of the Tukano tribe, Marcelino of Iuquira and Henrique of Japú-igarapé (Uaupés) also indicated the names of the instruments, with an alteration in the order, however, to wit (we have recorded their defective pronunciation), starting with the largest: 1st pair: kixtyó-boxká (ensemble of rattles), its wife is anõnõ (assarí); 2nd pair: ĩ'tšĩ or mẽ'nẽ-ĩ'sĩ (small white monkey with a yellow back), its wife is pusõ (they pronounce it this

/307 cont./

*192 way, instead of poxsõ, makú: and they explained why,
534 that is, it serves as a servant, it is the makú of the juruparí);
3rd pair: doé (taraira), its wife is pextoá (kingfisher);
4th pair: dẽ'tõ (squirrel), its wife is also pusõ.

[184] It seems that each tribe has its peculiar way of preparing the mĩríá, so that, without previous practicing, those of one tribe do not know how to play properly the instruments of another tribe. At least the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira (Uaupés) apologized for having only one man among them who knew how to play the mĩriá loaned for the occasion by the neighboring Huhudẽne of Uaupúim-cachoeira (river Aiarí, trib. of the Içana).

13th. -- Eheõnõ. It is not properly speaking a musical instrument, but a legendary object and for commemoration of the legends. We have already described this small horn above (cf. VI -- 4, i (3)).

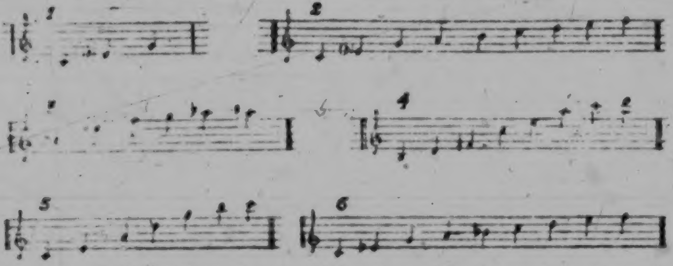
4) Musical themes of the Panpipes.

533 [115] The Salesian Missionary, Pe. Eduardo Lagório, admirer of the native music (58), provided the following notes about the Panpipes /flautas-de-pã/ and their musical themes.

58. And who has already been inspired by the native musical themes for the composition of religious and secular songs.

/308/

*192 533 "The first three tubes (of the Panpipe) always give a chord most of the time major and once in a while minor, the first three tubes giving the result:



1. Notes of the first three tubes; 2. wã̄nyã̄-pa (of nine tubes);
3. yōrōrí-pa (of six tubes); 4. puxtirí-pa (of eight tubes);
5. wéō-pa (of seven tubes); 6. yōtirí-pa (of nine tubes).

*192 533 534 The other tubes will follow with more variety. There is a small flute, which they call wã̄nȳã̄-pa, with nine tubes, the notes of which are the following (2 supra):

The other one with which they answer the thicker tubes, or vice versa, takes the name of yōtiri-pa (yōti, they answer).

The tonalities will of course vary with the variation of the measurements. These will depend on the measurement adopted for the largest tube, and also on its manufacturer, because they are measured by the phalanges of their fingers. The difference in size between the first and second tube corresponds to the first two phalanges of the index finger; between the second and third tube, and between the latter and the fourth, to the first phalanx of the index finger; between the fourth and the fifth, only a half a phalanx; between the other tubes only the tip of the index finger.

It should be noted that, starting with the third tube, the diameter decreases. This rule holds for the small type wanyã̄-pa.

They prepare, moreover, a small flute of six tubes, which they call yōrōrí-pa and is played alone, that is, without contracanto.

One of them gave the following notes (3 supra):

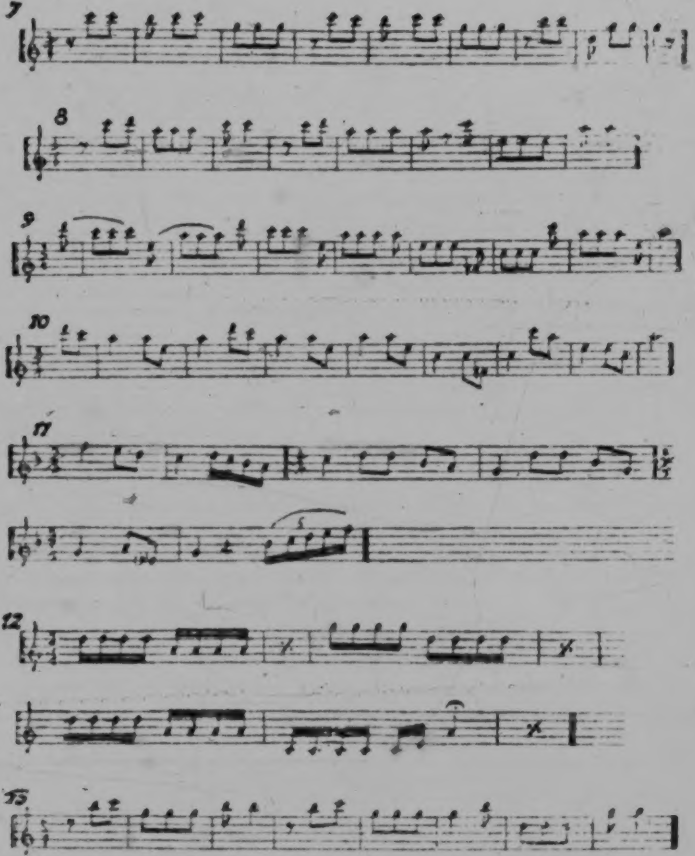
With longer tubes they manufacture various types of flutes, one called wéō-pa, another, puxtirí-pa.

The same ones blown in the thicker tubes, or vice versa, serve as contracanto and in this case are also called yōtirí-pa.

/308 cont./

533 Two of them, compared with the harmonium, and which were used for playing the melodies below, gave the following notes (4 534 and 5 supra): /The final quotation marks for the quotation that begins at the top of p. 451 are missing in the original source./

533 /309/ The same informant furnished the following melodies, chosen among the easiest ones of the native repertoire, to be adapted to the bar:



*[192] 7. melody with wéō-pa (7 tubes); 8. melodic variation with the instrument of 8 tubes; 9. melody with puxtirí-pa (8 tubes); 10. another melody with that of 8 tubes; 11. melody with the yōtirí-pa (9 tubes); 12. melody with wéō-pa (7 tubes); 13. another melody with wéō-pa.

/310/

d) Plumage and adornment.

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The native ornaments are many: the most striking ones are for the men (59),

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> 59. This assemblage of ornaments (earrings, bracelets, necklaces, combs), the long hair in a braid, carefully combed, the depilation of the beard and the mustache, gave the Indian, according to Wallace's testimony, an appearance so effeminate, especially in the dance, when they even protected the chest with the shield of cipo and the lower part of the body with the long waxsó-ro of hanging tururí, that the English scientist thought he was in front of a woman. Wallace's opinion is that the legend of the Amazons or women warriors arose from this mistake (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 630).

but their use on the latter is exclusively for the dances (60),

[184]

> 60. In the Roéra and Ihwãna tribes, even outside of the dances, we have seen the men, especially the young ones, with paintings on the face, bracelets on the arms, and earrings made up of a plug of colored or white feathers.

at least nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

The ancient travelers speak (61)

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> 61. Pe. Cristovão de Acuña, referring to the journey of Pedro Teixeira in 1639, concerning the nation of the Curizaris, which started 28 leagues below the mouth of the river Juruá,

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> /footnote 61 cont./ says: "The Portuguese called the first aldeia of this nation, coming down the river, "aldeia de ouro" /aldeia of gold/, because in it they found and bought some, which, in small sheets, the Indians wear hanging from their noses and ears and which was examined in Quito and found to be of 21 carats" ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," trans. of C. Melo Leitão, p. 236). [316] [325] According to these first explorers, such plates were obtained by beating "this gold, all in bits and grains of good size," which they extracted from a mountain range watered by the river Iquiarí.

of gold and silver ornaments. There are no such metals in these regions, and they do not know how to work them. From their relations with other tribes of Colombia (62)

> 62. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha, in his "Roteiro" /Logbook/, states that the Taryana obtained such sheets from the Colombian Panẽnõá Indians (see above, p. 47). -- Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of the Governador of the Rio Negro, João Pereira Caldas, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador as follows (cf. Artur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, 1st ed., Manaos, 1940, p. 82): "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn as earrings by certain Indians of the Uaupés River;

/310 cont./

> 301 175 /footnote 62 cont./ it is something about which I could not discover the least news, although I did question many and different Nations with whom I talked, inhabitants of the same River. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing more than a chimeric illusion originating from there being seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, the Wings of which, after having dried, appear to be a metallic kind because of their thickness and shine.
>
> "Finally I think that this News of such little [135] Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is as Fabulous as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, taken or /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ brought from the Tiquié River in 1749, when melted, appeared to be of silver; when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already planning to present them as such."

and Venezuela they might have been /311/ obtained in barter. At the present time one only finds some women with triangular sheets of beaten silver, of varied size, strung on a cord, and used as a *[192] necklace around the neck. They are called, due to their appearance, mo'mȭ-rõ khwɨ́ri, that is, pieces of butterfly.

/311 cont./

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1) Feminine adornment.

Besides the paintings on the face, breasts, and body as decoration (and not as clothing), as they declare, the women own few objects of adornment:

[178] a) Necklaces. They are of different size, shape, and material. They are made from various seeds, especially a tiny nut, threaded on a tucum fiber, the parakẽ-dá; or also little glass beads, the yax'kẽ-dá; or beads obtained from the civilized, the different shapes, sizes, and colors being combined in various ways. They wear them even outside the dances; they are not, however, of general use, and in Wallace's time they were not used at all (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro, p. 630).

b) Bracelets. They are of beads or seeds, like the necklaces, and are called in Tukano, yax'kẽ wã-yãsé.

c) Knee bands (63).

63. Among the Ide-masã of the stream Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, we also saw young men using knee bands. Among the rest of the tribes the men only wear them as ornaments for the dances.

[286] In Nheengatú they are called tapacúra, and in Tukano yuxtá-seri. It is a band of delicate and curious weave, made of caroá fiber, most of the time, colored yellow or red. One is applied on each leg, a little below the knee. In many cases it is woven without any pieces added, and, thus, when, due to the person's growth, it starts to be too tight, they cut it off.

They assert that its purpose is to thicken the legs.

[177] d) Earrings. Nowadays one only sees earrings (in Nheengatú nambí-purá, in Tukano yoxsasé) obtained from the civilized, or, in place of them, small necklaces of glass beads.

/312/

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e) Puericueio. It is the feminine tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ that we discussed before (VI -- 3, a), in Tukano yax'kẽ waxsó-ro. Nowadays they only use it in the dances and very rarely (65) /sic: 64/.

> 64. "In their festivals, when they dance, the women then put on a small tanga or apron, made of beads arranged in regular patterns, with much taste and much caprice. This tanga is about six square inches in size. It is never worn on other occasions, so that, once the feast is over, the women take it off immediately" (Wallace -- "Viagens," etc., p. 630).

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f) Wreath. At times during the dances the women fit to their heads a wreath of branches from that shrub of pleasant and intense aroma called bará. It is what is called bará pu'sasé in Tukano.

[177]

g) Many women and girls habitually wear curved combs of striking colors, i'ĩ be'tó or i'ĩ-ro be'tó, obtained from the civilized. A century ago, according to Wallace, they did not wear any comb.

2) Masculine adornment.

[302]

For the dances the men paint the face and the body, as was said above.

[178]

a) Stone of command. We call it this because it is actually a badge of the tuxauas, who wear it hanging at the neck on solemn occasions (dances, reception for some civilized, etc.). Nowadays it is a rare ornament, and few own it. The ouvidor /auditor/ Xavier Sampaio (cf. above, II -- 3), following Pe. José Noronha, mentions the existence of this ornament and gives it as an indicator and classifier, by its size, of the nobleness of the wearer. In Tukano it is called õxtĩ bohá, that is, clear stone. It is a piece of amorphous quartz, quite smooth, cylindrical in shape, and about 15 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 in diameter.

/312 cont./

301 562 The quartz is not found on the banks of the Uaupés. Koch Grünberg states that these stones come from a place in the interior of the forest on the left bank of the Tiquié, near the headwaters. They are pierced by a regular orifice of some millimeters in diameter, in the transversal direction (and in some stones also in the longitudinal direction), through which it is hung at the neck. This orifice constitutes one of the best documentations of the native patience in his work, since it is done with the help of fine sand and water, using a thin stick, which is rolled between the palms of the hands while the feet hold the stone on the ground.

*192 237 301 562 /313/ b) Acangatara. In Tukano it is designated by various names: mahā̃ poá-ri baxsarí-be'tó, or mahā̃ poá-ri pe'saró, or simply mahā̃ poá-ri (arara feathers). It is a wide wreath of about 10 or 15 centimeters, which is fitted by being tied behind the head. It is woven out of tucum, to which the feathers are attached by using the milk of the sorva. They customarily arrange the feathers in such a way that on the lower edge (the one that covers the forehead) there is a band of 3 to 4 centimeters of delicate white garça /heron/ feathers, yehé poá-ri; then a band, more or less of the same width, of red feathers of the harpy eagle, a:-paxkō̃ wĩxtō, and an upper band, wider, of yellow arara feathers, mahā̃ poá-ri.

The young men wear their wi'mā̃rā̃ pe'saró. It consists of a crown, or, rather, of a visor of straw, 2 or 3 centimeters in width, to which is applied a twist densely embellished with striking ~~red and~~ yellow arara plumes. Sometimes, instead of the arara feathers, there are the red ones from the toucan; it is then called daxsé be'tó.

c) Braids. 1st) Emõ poá boxka-rí consists of three double braids about 40 centimeters long, made of monkey fur, and tied at the nape of the neck to let them hang down the back. Emõ is the Tukano name of the guariba /howler/ monkey.

/313 cont./

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2nd) At the time of the dance they fit to the preceding braids, and in the horizontal direction, over the nape, another plaiting of onça /jaguar/ fur, which is called poa-ri dõ'terí-dá (dõ'terí-dá means: string for tying).

3rd) They add to the preceding a small onça /jaguar/ bone, yai o'ĩ dõxká, and a small disk of tatu /armadillo/ shell, pamõ pe'toró, with a feather in the central hole. This decoration is called tu-si'ti-óoro.

d) Feather crests. 1st. -- Over these braids are also fitted various crests. The first consists of a rectangular plaiting of arumã and tucum, uká-pãma, topped by long and tapered tail feathers from the garça /heron/, yehé si-á uhaú, and, on the base, red arara feathers and white ones from the harpy eagle (si-á uhaú, uropygium).
/The following paragraph is confused in the original source. The three lines from the original text, the first of which is repeated at the end of the following paragraph, are marked with slant lines in the translation./ This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck. / some of these crests that, instead of tucum, they introduced into the woven/ colored threads obtained from the civilized, and monkey fur.

The rest of the men wear a simpler crest, in which, over the uká-pãma, are found plumes of the harpy eagle, a:--paxkõ si-á uhaú. This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck.

2nd. -- The second crest is called a:--paxkõ wĩxtõ-põ. It consists of a stem around which is fixed with sorva a /314/ layer of very fine white down (wĩxtõ) from the harpy eagle (a:--paxkõ). It is adjusted perpendicularly over the nape, forming a right angle with the first one.

3rd. -- They further add one or two long red tail feathers from the arara, mahã pixkõ-rõ, likewise in a position perpendicular to the nape.

/314 cont./

*192 291 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-ri baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá ií-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

[177] h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkí-phe patá-dá. Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá.

[237] 2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirí-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrĩ-dá.

[534] 3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps.

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururí, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

/314 cont./

*192 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings,
301 possibly of gilded metal, àxpõá-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of earrings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that
[177] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer
[304] pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-a yaxpú, for work
554 in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komĩ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192
534 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain [illegible]nce numbers they
535 carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical
237 Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahĩ-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

/315 cont./

*192 2nd. -- Umũ-ka-iti. It is a crest of white garça /heron/
237 feathers (yehé) and yellow ones, from the japú /Icteridae/ (umũ),
534 used like the preceding one.

535 3rd. -- Pexká pixkõrõá petorí, or, abbreviated, pyõrõá
pe'torí. It is a beetle-carapace necklace of changeable colors
(66),

66. A native furnished us the explanation that the pixkõrõá live inside the bacaba palm. He further added that do'tõ is "father" of the beetle pixkõrõ. It is probably a matter of insects with different phases, like the butterfly, which passes through the stages of larva and chrysalid.

which covers the bone flute during the dances.

*192 n) Masks. On the Uaupés only the Wanãna and the
184 Kubêwãna (67)

532
764 67. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 205)
learned that, besides the Buhágana, the
[178] õmõa /sic/ and Sãra also wear masks. It
seems that until 50 years ago or a little
more, that is, around the end of the last
century and the beginning of this one, the
use of the masks was quite widespread among
the tribes of the Tiquié and tributaries.

nowadays wear the masks in the funeral dances, and for this reason they call them ya'ko-kó su'tí-ro, that is, clothing of tears.

/316/ They are prepared with the liber of the tururí and have the shape of a nightgown, which covers the person from the head to the knees.

/316 cont./

287 The process of preparation is like that of the ipadú bags.
532 Once the tururí trunk has been chosen, with the thickness and
764 length desired, they start to beat the bark with a mallet until the ligneous part is eliminated and the liber becomes loose. Afterwards they sew it up with tucum fiber, giving it the shape of a shirt, close up any tears in it, and at shoulder height they fit the sleeves, also of tururí, through which the dancer introduces the arms. On the bottom part the tururí will be slit in a long fringe which covers the legs.

These masks bear varied painting, since, according to the native symbolism, each mask represents an animal. For this same reason each one of them has its name, and from one mask to the other the shape of the upper part (which covers the dancer's head, corresponding to the head of the animal symbolized) also varies.

These funeral masks do not constitute tabooed objects. We have found them kept inside the dwelling in the sight of everyone.

178 Until the end of the last century, states Koch Grünberg
532 (*Zwei Iahre*, p. 236), the *Taryana* wore masks also at the feast
778 of *Wãx-tĩ*. These, however, like the sacred instrument (cf. above), could not be seen by women and children.

We have, moreover, found masks among the *Ide-masã* of the Komé-ya (tributary of the river Pirá-paraná) which are not tabooed objects, not even the one called *Waxtĩ* (cf. above, IV - 2, h), since they are in the sight of everyone, and the children, with all freedom, use it for their games.

4. Religion.

a) Difficulties.

177 This subject constitutes one of the most difficult chapters
771 of the ethnography of these tribes. In other points the influence of the civilized is more superficial and soon disappears when the contact with the whites stops and the native returns to the life of the forests. Or it is easily recognizable by the material

/316 cont./

177 culture that remained as evidence. In the religious Ethnology
771 we not only have the reciprocal influence among the tribes, but that of the civilized, perhaps since the discovery of the New World (1),

> 1. Frei Gaspar de Carvajal, O. P., in the description of the voyage of Francisco Orellana, 1540, relates the information of an Indian woman. "In this aldeia (in the vicinity of the mouth of the Rio Negro) an Indian woman with much sense was taken. She said that near here, in the interior, there were many Christians, among them two white women, and that others lived with Indian women from whom they had /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ children. It is presumed that these are the ones who disappeared from Diogo Ordaz." One of the ships that made up part of the squadron of Ordaz, having left Seville at the beginning of 1531, with a destination on the river Maranhão, under the command of Juan Cornejo, ran aground in this river with more than 300 men, who settled among the Indians.

all of them Christians (2),

> 2. /From p. 317 in the original source./ In our days we know of traders who baptized Indians in order to make them their "godchildren," that is, with an obligation to work for them. Grotesque episodes are told about these baptisms, sometimes of an entire maloca, just pouring on water or putting salt in the mouth, without uttering any words. Koch Grünberg himself baptized some sick children, as he tells in his

/316 cont./

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771 /footnote 2 cont./ book Zwei Iahre. Still today (1957) the Missionaries find Indians scattered through various malocas who claim to have been baptized "by white," that is, by civilized who passed by the region trading.

with their cult, which would impress /317/ the savage, and with their talks or even with their positive catechizing, wishing to bring him to Christianism.

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797 Tribes of the Amazon and Rio Negro (cf. II - 1) (and those of the Uaupés maintained relations with those of the Rio Negro and Içana) were even evangelized by Missionaries in different times. In the seventeenth century the Jesuits and the Mercedarians were on the Rio Negro, in the eighteenth the Carmelites, in the nineteenth the Capuchins and Secular Priests.

The Christian converts were at times a minority within the group which would continue with their beliefs and practices. Perhaps in some cases an entire group, for example, a native povoado, became Christian, but later lost contact with the Missionaries -- and we saw that the catechizing on the Rio Negro and Uaupés was periodic and intermittent -- and returned to their pagan rituals.

Would there not have remained some trace of these learned teachings and religious practices? There are indications that affirm this, from which it is permissible to infer: what the Indians practice today and declared to us may not be exempt from the influence of the Christian civilized.

771 Another difficulty no smaller than the first one is the reserve of the native, always suspicious, and he appears much more so on these subjects, about which there may even be an obligation to reveal nothing to the civilized. It has been verified that they more easily make disclosures about subjects of morality, which, it seems to us, should remain hidden, than about religious

/317 cont./

771 subjects (3).

> 3. General Couto de Magalhães, in spite of his friendly relations with many natives, reveals this silent discretion of theirs: "The Indians are very reserved and discreet in everything concerning a religious topic. In the middle of the most animated conversation, if one directs to them any question intended for the clarification of any of these points, they immediately become cool, at times somber, and either answer with monosyllables or do not answer at all" (Ensaios de Anthropologia, /Essays in Anthropology/, 495).

/318/ b) Christian influences.

177 773 We mention only three proofs of Christian influence: 1st -- the inclusion of elements of the Christian tradition in the native legends (as will be seen in the work in preparation "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") (4);

> 4. There are some points in these legends (as we shall see in another volume, "Lendas do Uaupés") that make us admit Christian diffusion. And we are not referring to the narrations of the alumni of the Catholic Missions. As we more than once had the opportunity to verify, in the exposition of their legends they insert episodes and names of personages about which they have heard in the catechesis. One proof of this is the Tukano Cosmogony revealed by the pajé Marcos Sierra to Marcos Fulop (cf. n. 65 /sic; see note 71/, Ch. VII-4, e (2c)).

/318 cont./

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/Footnote 4 cont./ Marcel Homet, at a conference held in Manaus in March of 1949, defended the thesis of the influence of the Mediterranean Civilization in the Amazon basin, although indeed in the Christian period, either coming directly from the Mediterranean or passing by way of Africa. As one of the arguments, he gave the tradition of pre-Colombian expeditions to America. There could have been, in this hypothesis, Christian penetration in the legends of these tribes. The legend of Sumé itself would serve as an argument for such diffusion.

More likely, it seems to us, would be a pre-Christian or messianic influence. Just as the episode of the Flood appears in so many legends that the American men have transplanted from their original habitat to the lands of America, they could likewise have carried other elements, such as that of the promise of a Liberator. The interesting thing is that this great Liberator is born, according to the native legends, to a Virgin, as had been promised in the first great Biblical prophecy.

In the history of primitive Humanity there are several blank chapters, among them that of the vicissitudes of the Caimitas /Cainites/, that is, of the descendants of Caim /Cain/. Had they propagated much, as happened to the other children of Adam? Had they immediately abandoned the primitive habitat? Where did they go?

It is easy to defend the thesis that groups of Caimitas were the first ones to leave Mesopotamia, where Humanity appeared.

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/Footnote 4 cont./ Moreover, the theory that the Flood only reached and exterminated the inhabitants of the Near East is not only defensible, but very probable. Could not groups of these Caimitas have reached the more distant regions of the faraway Polynesian and Australian East, as well as those of the American West?

The theory of Marcel Homet, understood as a migration from the Near East to the Americas within the Christian period, seems less acceptable to us. The existence of man on American soil would certainly go back six millenniums or more.

The prehistoric research on the sambaquis /shell mounds/ of Brazil (in that of the Mar-Casado, Island of S. Amaro, under the direction of Paulo Duarte, in those of the Paraná started by Joseph Emperaire and carried on by the professors of the Universidade de Curitiba) shows prehistoric men in layers for which the Carbon 14 gives six and eight thousand years. During the second intellectual meetings sponsored by Unesco in S. Paulo on August 16, 1961, Professor Crushent told about finding artifacts in /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ Manzanilla, Venezuela, in deposits up to 16,500 years old, by the analysis of the Carbon 14.

And it is not contrary to reason that prediluvian groups, perhaps of the Caimitas, might have come here. If the concept of a Noachian flood in the Amerindian legends were proved (and it was not merely a matter of regional inundations), even so it might be

/318 cont./

000 /footnote 4 cont./ concluded that there had been migrations of postdiluvian groups, without excluding the possibility of pre-diluvian migrations.

177 2nd -- Indians with Biblical names (see above II - 3);
551 and 3rd -- some episodes of religious fanaticism that took
place in the last century on the rivers Içana, Uaupés, and
Papurí, with such repercussion that, in spite of the distances,
177 /319/ they managed to worry the ones governing Manaus.
792 Now it is not improbable that such episodes imply a more
remote Christian influence.

In 1857 the Governador João Baptista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha heard talk of a great movement of the natives of the river Içana, attracted by a preacher who called himself the "Verdadeiro Cristo" /True Christ/. He then appointed as Missionary of the Içana and Uaupés Padre Romualdo Gonçalves d'Azevedo, "in order to thwart the preachings of the pretended Christ, to calm the agitation promoted and to obstruct the migration of the Indians to another people's territory." It indeed became clear to the Government that the "Christ" was trying to induce the Indians to move to the territory of Venezuela. It was feared that he was a foreign political emissary, perhaps even from England, France, or the United States. It was a matter of a Venezuelan Indian, Venâncio by name, who had settled in the povoação /village, town/ Cuiari, on the confluence of the homonymous river with the Içana, and, in the presence of a cross, he would preach his false doctrine, and the concept of him as Saint would grow. "He took advantage," says the Relatorio of Pe. Romualdo, "of the condition to which he was reduced by attacks of catalepsy, from which he suffered, to make believe that he would die, go to heaven, speak with God; and that he had the power to forgive sins" (Relatório dated February 10, 1858 -- Archivo do Amazonas of July 23, 1907,

/319 cont./

177 Vol. II, n. 5, p. 14). Foreseeing the attacks, he would
792 proclaim beforehand his relations with God, by whose order he would demand payment from the Indians in exchange for the forgiveness of sins. At such news, the forest dwellers would go to see him from wherever they were found. The Missionary Frei Manuel de Santana Salgado, who, at the request of Pe. Romualdo, handicapped by illness, had replaced him, threatening police intervention, forced Venâncio to withdraw to Venezuela. Again during the journey of Frei Salgado another similar religious movement appeared near the "Povoação da Guia" /Town of the Leader/, on the igarapé Pirá-iauára. This time the protagonist was a Brazilian Indian, also named Venâncio, "who called himself Padre Santo enviado do Christo" /Holy Father sent by Christ/, and "the repetition of such acts took place, and it was there that the public confessions, divorces, and new marriages were made, all this being followed by profane entertainments with dances, eating and drinking, which also was practiced on the Cuiary in /320/ consequence of the teaching of the doctrine and the supposed miracles of the so-called Christ."

In his report dated from Cunury (river Uaupés) on April 12 of 1859, Pe. Romualdo told that Indians of several tribes were gathered in Juquira-rapecuma, on the Uaupés, "worshiping another Christ who had appeared there, practicing the same that had happened on Igarapé Piraiauára, on the Içana, that is, baptizing, marrying, etc., that this gathering numbered over a thousand persons armed with firearms and curabís (arrows with poisoned tips), prepared to resist the officials, in case they went there, as had happened on the Içana, that they would wait right there for the whites."

Indeed, Frei Salgado was received hostilely and had to withdraw in danger of his life on March 3, 1858. "According to what has been reported," proceeds the Relatório, "and is taken as certain, the Christ is an Indian, a native of the Uaupés, who resided in the district of Marabitanas, well known there by everyone, called Alexandre. In the
[567] retinue of the Christ," concludes the Relatório (Archivo do

/320 cont./

177 Amazonas, October 3 of 1907, Vol. II, n. 7, pp. 85-90)
792 "are more than 10 captured Macus, who are used by them
[567] as slaves, to the point of selling them in exchange for a
weapon, swords, axes, and whatever pleases them."

After Venâncio and Alexandre, a deserter by the name of Basílio Melgueiro renewed the same mistakes, states Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 20).

Around the end of 1880 another individual appeared, this one from the Arapásu tribe, who called himself Vicente Cristo and claimed to maintain dialogues with the spirits of the dead and with God himself, of whom he proclaimed himself to be a representative. He announced himself as "Pai dos Missionários" /Father of the Missionaries/, who, at his request, God had sent to the Caiarí. He fanaticized many, whom he made dance around a cross. Having harmed many seringueiros /rubber workers/ with his fanaticism, he was finally arrested in Barcelos.

A similar episode happened in the last decades of the
past century on the Papuri. An Indian from the Tukano tribe
(Subdivision of the Sakúro-põrá, see IV - 2, a), Lino Sẽwa by
name, appeared in the locality of Buxtwá-pweá (today Montfort).
Natives of the Papurí and even of the Uaupés and Tiquié ran
to him. He ordered each one to make a cross for himself,
taught sacred songs, preached that everyone would go to
[115] heaven, and produced many cures with his remedies. The
informant for these episodes was an old Indian woman from
Pari-cachoeira, called Isabel, who completed her report by
offering that, because she had not practiced fornication, "Saint"
Lino took her as a helper in the preparation of the remedies.
Among the extraordinary events Isabel tells of a marvelous
blossoming of beautiful flowers in the entire region included

* 192 /Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/

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Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

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Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

/Illustrations facing p. 321 in the original source/

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Burial in the canoe (juxkõ-sõ-koro)

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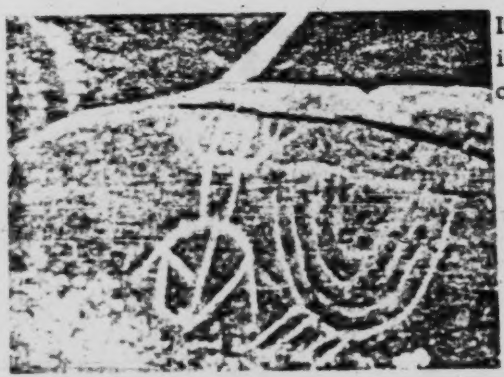

Itacoatiara (rupestrian inscription) in Carurú-cachoeira (river Tiquié)

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Mandú, the Ipeka tuxaua from Urubucuara (Uaupés R.) and his son beside the hole from which the tribes arose (cf. Lendas do Uaupés). The mound in the background (left) is supposed to have resulted from the spit of Wãx-tĩ.

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177 between the Papurí and the Tiquié. Some old people who took
792 some of the remedies of the "Santo" /saint/ are still living (in 1949). These pilgrimages and cures ended with the death of Lino.

c) Concept of Religion.

121 Religion, in a more rigorous sense, is the theoretical and practical acknowledgement of a Supreme Being, whom we call God, as Sovereign Lord of the whole universe, which is a creation of his.

We take it here in a less rigorous and broader meaning, as belief in beings superior to human beings and different from them, with whom it is possible and expedient to be in communication, and the belief in a future extraterrestrial life different from the one that is led on earth (5).

5. M. Morris Jastrow (The Study of Religion -- New York, 1921 /1901/) reduces to three the constituent elements of Religion: 1st. recognition of one or several powers that do not depend on us; 2nd. feeling of man's dependence in relation to this power or powers; 3rd. possibility of dealing and communicating with these powers. Such a concept is inexact and incomplete. Inexact, since it leads one to confuse Religion with Magic. If this power or potency is something impersonal, like the cosmic force, a relationship and intercourse with it are not possible, and although the human being recognizes it as superior to himself, he does not worship it, he fears it and tries to conquer it and dominate it with particular practices that are called magical. We have, then, Magic.

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121 /Footnote 5 cont./ If he conceives it as personal potency, or better "spiritual Being," whom he respects and propitiates by the cult, we then have a religious cult and a Religion. Now it seems to us that we have found indications, even though vague, of a cult and a Religion in the tribes of the Uaupés.

346 Taken in the first meaning, it is affirmed that the Indians of the Uaupés do not have religion, since neither temples in which to worship God (6)

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6. This absence has been noted since the time of the discoveries. It is true that Frei Gaspar de Carvajal ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 51), describing the voyage of discovery of Francisco Orrelana /sic/ in 1540, speaks to us of the cult of the sun, with temple and altar: "On this day (Monday after the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 5, 1540) we moored at an aldeia of medium size, where the people were waiting for us. There was a very large plaza there, and in the middle of the plaza a large plank in a square of ten feet, painted and sculptured in relief, representing a walled city, with its enclosure and a door. On this door there were two very high towers with their windows, the towers with the doors facing each other, each door with two columns. This entire work was supported on top of two very ferocious lions, which were looking back, as though wary of each other, and supported it on the forelegs and on the claws. In the middle of this plaza there was a hole where they put down, as offerings to the sun, the chicha, which is the

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[CONTINUED ON PAGE 477]

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175 /footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the 346 sun being what they worship and have as their god.

778 "This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoações they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. [796] There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments [237] of plumes of different colors, which the Indians [301] wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to, and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

175 This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas 346 he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated [353] to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, [532] and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

/321 cont./

175 346 [353] [532] /footnote 6 cont./ idols of gold and silver in the form of women, and many objects of gold and silver for the service of the sun" (o.c. 67).

Carvajal, however, is relating what he heard and his narration is all impregnated with unbelievable things, fruit of credulity and of suggestion.

Pe. Alonso de Rojas, describing the descent of the year 1637, testifies: "They do not have rites or ceremonies to venerate them (their false gods), neither temples of their idols nor priests" (Descobrimentos, /Discoveries/, 110). Precisely as we found them three centuries later.

346 nor persons in charge of the cult, neither priests nor religious ceremonies and prayers to honor the deity, are found among them.

771 776 /322/ There are, indeed, many superstitions, and it could not be otherwise among men of so little culture. There is unanimity in asserting that, if there is a cult, it is that of the Juruparí or demon (7)

7. In his "Diálogos das grandezas do Brazil /Dialogues on the greatnesses of Brazil/," Teixeira Pinto, dealing with the rites of the heathen, asserts: "If they do have any and if they practice some manner of worship, although this is not known, it is the devil to whom they give the name of Jurupari" (ap. Barbosa Rodrigues, Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/, 94). Juruparí and dabacuri are terms from the Lingua Geral or Nheengatú, which is still spoken on all the

/322 cont./

771 /footnote 7 cont./ Rio Negro. The use
776 of these terms by the Indians of the Uaupés themselves, when they describe their traditions to us, is of value as proof of the foreign influence in their myths and rites.

(in Tukano Wɨx-tɨ), who is celebrated or understood to be placated with the Dabacurís (in Tukano Poosé), in order for him not to harm them, malicious spirit that he is. As for God (in Tukano Wá:kõ or O'ɨ-kõ) he is a great absent one, who does not concern himself about human beings and is without any influence on their life. There is, then, no need to be interested in Wá:kõ or to think of him in order to worship him.

The study of these tribes convinces us that they are in a phase of great regression or involution, with traces of totemism, its little religious feeling and great preponderance of magic being shown to us by them.

121 Religion in a subjective sense is, according to W. Schmidt, Manuale di Stória comparata delle Religioni /Handbook of the Comparative History of Religions/, p. 2), "the idea and feeling of dependence on a supraterrestrial personal Power, with whom it is /323/ intended to enter into relations"; and, objectively, it is "the conjunction of exterior acts in which religion is expressed and by which it is manifested." We shall consider it especially in this sense.

Let us examine separately for better apprehension of the indications of this weak religious feeling and its exact comprehension: 1st. its doctrinal points; 2nd. its cult practices; 3rd. its rules of moral, religious, and social behavior.

d) Doctrinal points.

776 1) Concept of a Supreme Being.

a) The totality of the Indians of these tribes living in the povoados on the bank of the Brazilian rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí distinguish at the present time, as they did a century ago,

/323 cont./

776 in the time of Wallace, a God Creator and Supreme Rewarder, perfect and good, and call him Wá:kõ (or O'ɨ̃-kõ), and an evil spirit that can cause them much harm, and for this reason they fear him, this is Wɨ̃x-tɨ̃. Not only some students and travelers, but also the natives of the younger generation themselves, identify Wɨ̃x-tɨ̃ with the Juruparí of the Língua Geral or Nheengatú and the demon himself (8).

> 8. On the bank of the river Uaupés, above Chibarú, there is a place called Juruparí-ponta, and those of the Tukano language call it Wɨ̃x-tɨ̃ nõá, thus identifying Wɨ̃x-tɨ̃ and Jurupari.

771 Confronted with this information, one might think that their religion was a Manichaeism, with a double principle: -- the good, which practically does not need to be taken into account, and the evil (9).

> 9. Concerning this subject, we naturally have to exclude the Indians who have attended the schools of the Salesian Missions for several years and received a more profound and sound religious knowledge, strengthened, besides, by an intense religious and sacramental practical life.

776 Without, for now, questioning the names, it is certain that they admit the existence of a personal Being ("maxsɨ̃," people, as they express themselves), a being who has always existed, much superior to human beings, who lives up above. The old

[177] people call this Being Bɨ̃xpó, the Thunder (thus, for example, old Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié), and those who have some notion of Christianity clarify this by saying that

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776 it is "Deus Pai" /God the Father/ (10).

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> 10. The young Patrícia Vasconcelos, Christian and alumna of the Salesian Mission, talking to her old uncle and pajé, Marco, from S. Luzia, river Papurí, while speaking about the Padre Eterno /Eternal Father/ (Father of Jesus Christ), heard him interrupt her: "Well, my daughter, this is Bũxpó."

*[192] It is to be pointed out that the term of the Língua Geral for indicating Deus /God/ is Tupana, a simple variation, probably introduced by the catechesis, of the name Tupã, which means Trovão /Thunder/. It would not be a mere /324/ coincidence of names. But either both human groups, that of Nheengatú and that of the Tukano, had the same beliefs and cult; or there was a borrowing of beliefs, or at least of legends.

[115] Some add that the world and the human beings came from this Supreme Being as a result of a simple creative word. This is what we obtained in talking with the old people of different tribes and in different localities, even from those who are not Christians and do not maintain contact with the Missionaries, and probably represents their primitive tradition, because it moreover corresponds to what is narrated by the legends.

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*[192] b) Among the Tukano of the river Tiquié, Padre Eduardo Lagório, Salesian, found the belief in a God and a Goddess, who existed per se, that is, were not created by another, "kã δaró, by the will," as they express it in their idiom: and she, too, "ko δaró." Contrary to the native psychology, which is not bound up with the woman, whose physical qualities do not give her any more value, the Indian, who in his realistic pragmatism seems unconcerned about the aesthetic qualities of persons, dwells, on the other hand, on describing the beauty of this goddess. It seems to us, for this reason, permissible to search for a Christian origin for such a fact, to wit, the cult and homage

/324 cont./

776 to the Holy Mother of God (11).

[115] [177] 11. The Indian Sebastião Mariano, of the Yuruparí-tapúya tribe (Arwáke of the Içana) narrated to us in Carará-poço (river Içana), in August of 1957, the legend of Kóay, which he identified and translated as Juruparí, called son of Yaperikuli. And to our question about what his mother was called, he immediately responded "Santa Maria" /Holy Mary/.

*[192] They call God O'ī-kō̃, but they did not know the meaning of this word. According to the spirit of the Tukano language, it could be a word made up of o'ī, bone, and the ending of max-kõ, son. Therefore O'ī-kō̃ means "Son of the bone." They laughed when we gave this translation and added the very common: "that is so," "that is so." Accordingly (or "by analogy") they call the Goddess O'ī-kó or O'ī-kō. O'ī-kō means "daughter of the bone" (from O'ī, bone and max-kō, daughter); O'ī-kó, as is more commonly heard, would mean "mother of the bone" (derived from pax-kó, mother), suggesting that this would be mother of Oī-kō̃.

It is not a matter of a couple as a model of the human family, however, as among other peoples, or the deification of the progenitors of the group. Oī-kō̃ does not beget divine or human children; he creates the one and the other.

It was by invitation of O'ī-kō or Oī-kó, so they informed Pe. Lagório, that O'ī-kō̃ came down to earth and there created mountains, rivers, forests, animals, and, at the last, the human beings.

*[192] /325/ c) Oī-kō̃, according to legends obtained by us (and which will be studied more fully in another work), is a personage betrayed by his wife, mahīwi (the pirárara /a fish/); and he, in turn, preferred his sister-in-law to his own wife. It is true, the personage who made the tribes come out of the opening of

776 /325 cont./
Urubucuara, Yepásonyá, is also called Yepa-O'ɨ̃-kõ, and some of the old Christians call this one "Son of God."

Each tribe has its legends which express these doctrinal points, as will be seen in another work.

2) Immortality of the soul.

774 Another truth well established among the tribes of the Uaupés is that of the existence and immortality of the soul. This truth, however, is starting to be contaminated by metempsychosis and confused with the existence of spirits disincarnated or that never were incarnated.

*[192] They admit in man, besides the body, õxpõ, another invisible element which animates it and survives after the death of the individual. The natives of the younger generation (therefore the possibility of this being a term learned in catechesis is not excluded) designate it with the same term that indicates the heart, that is, héri-põra (Uaupés héri-põna) (12).

[115] 12. The veteran Salesian Missionary, Pe. João Marchesi, who speaks Tukano fluently, says that he does not remember having heard mentioned another element or "sombra da pessoa" /shadow of the person/, as some primitive peoples believe. In the Tukano language, "sombra"/shadow/ would be called "bahusé," that is, "thing that appears."

*[192] The old ones, however, do not know how to give any clarification about héri-põra; they never use this term to designate the incorporeal element. They call this only wɨ̃x-tɨ̃ (13).

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13. Cf. below, VII-4, g (3), what is said about the wɨ̃x-tɨ̃ of the dead. The Catechesis has been using the term héri-põra (or héri-põna, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés and

/325 cont./

*192 797 774 /footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as corresponding to: heart, soul, and conscience. When they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis, the natives naturally give the word héri-põra this threefold equivalence. The old ones, however, only use it in the material sense, to indicate a part of the organism, that is, the assemblage of the principal internal organs, especially the heart and the lungs.

774 They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does [756] it often. According to what Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre, p. 317), the Kubẽwãna believe that the soul of the pajés wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares, Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but even during life, when they are already old, from time to time becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

764 775 On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

775 825 /326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul, upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal. But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person (24) /sic; 14/

[115] 14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau, that the soul of his mother was incarnated in an anta, and for this reason they abstained for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

/326 cont./

775 however, to state more precisely as to whether the animal was
825 already alive (so some opine) or was born at the moment when the human soul entered it; or whether it is a matter of a permanent or temporary condition.

According to some, it is only the souls of the bad ones that
756 pass into the body of animals. That of the pajés can enter that
774 of the onça /jaguar/ (15).

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15. The onça, if it is not starving, does not come to the povoados. When there is a lack of food, it growls in the vicinity of the malocas, attacks the dogs, and various episodes of its even entering the huts are cited. Pe. João Marchesi informed us that one time on the upper Papurí an onça killed two Indians and ate part of the cadavers. They set a trap beside the cadavers and managed to catch it. They did not have the courage to kill it, however (probably because they thought that the wĩx-tĩ of the victims were in it). But around the trap and the cadavers they put wood and fire until everything was reduced to ashes. And they would cry and say: "You have killed our brother (the Tukano) and our slave (the Makú)," and "they thought that in the onça there was the spirit of a pajé" (so they explained to Pe. Marchesi).

It should be remembered that they call the pajé or sorcerer yai, a term that precisely means onça.

It is a more general belief that the souls of the pajés go to
756 occupy the region of the thunder, from where they send storms
775 and lightning bolts, thus avenging themselves on the men who killed them or did them harm. They think they propitiate them
[782] by sending them the smoke of the cigars or shaking the maracás,
[276] rites that the pajés performed while alive.

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775 All the other souls meet under the ground, in a very deep, dark, and cold place (16),

[115] [764] 16. A young Tukano from Parí-cachoeira, Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why one places a match beside the cadaver which was buried, explained that it was in order not to feel cold. When we pressed as to whether the place where he was going was cold, he said yes. This concept of a cold hell is explained by recalling their warm region and they like the heat. To Padre Kok (according to what brother Pe. Afonso Kuypers told us), who described hell as a place of fire, an Indian said: "Better, so there is no need to make a fire there."

hence the need for fire. Therefore the metempsychosis is an extraordinary case of punishment.

They do not admit, however, human reincarnation, that is, that the spirit reappears, animating the body of a newborn child. One understands perfectly. Reincarnation can only be established in the /327/ human groups in which mortality and the birth rate are balanced. Among our natives there is a slight tendency toward an increase in the population, with periodic epidemics which decimate the malocas. [161]

Likewise they do not admit a future resurrection of human beings.

764 They have no fear of the cadaver at all (17),

17. It is an unpleasant sight, observed a Missionary (Pe. Umberto Limpens), to the Indian, as it is to all of us, because it makes them think of death.

/327 cont./

764 not even the children; so that they used to bury it in the maloca itself, where life will continue as usual. Nor do they later practice any ritual of purification (like the Jews) when they touch a cadaver. They do show some fear of the soul (18), although they declare, when questioned, that it cannot return or be invoked by the paje or any other person.

> 18. Brother Mateo of Montfort told that, while navigating with some Indians, he reached a place called S. José (river Papurí), where two days before an old man had been buried. Only the brother remained on this bank during the night; the natives, out of fear, went to sleep on the opposite bank.

775 [115] A Tukano woman (Dorotéia Brito), questioned about what she thought of *wāx-tī*, answered that "it is the shadow of the person." And the Tukano Casimiro Sampaio, questioned as to why anyone was afraid of the dead, explained "because he becomes *wāx-tī*" (19).

> 19. When an Indian, having died far from the cemetery, was buried inside a hut, the Indians later came to complain to Pe. Umberto Limpens that they did not want to live there any longer, because "the *wāx-tī* of the man" [illegible] wandering all through the house. On January 10, 1949, in *Ki-xsêri-yá* (igarapé of the mandioca peelings) on the river Tiquié, near the Colombian frontier, an old man known as Chico died by drowning while fishing. Contrary to custom, they buried the cadaver where it was found, in an abandoned spot, a little below the povoado.

/327 cont./

775 /Footnote 19 cont./ They say that at night cries are heard, and no native dares pass by there. When we were there, about 15 days after the burial, the inhabitants still continued to be frightened.

3) Moral principles.

673 They characterize some acts as "ya'Īsé"; for example, the marriage of persons of the same tribe, to have children from incest between parents and children or between members of the same tribe, the malefice (dohasé), and stealing.

The punishment, however, is the obligation of the one who
627 judges himself hurt, if he can do it. The pajé, by his extraor-
756 dinary powers, is used as an instrument of justice, or rather of
vengeance. They do not think, however, that it is legal for him
to do so. They fear him, and, when they can, they also take
revenge on him.

/328/ 4) Reward and punishment.

177 The concept of a reward or punishment in the other life is less
775 precise. They know, at present, that the good are rewarded and
the bad, punished. Perhaps because of Christian influence, they
say that the former will "go up," where they will have "good
life"; the bad ones "will go down," where "the life is bad."

The concept of good and bad, however, extends so far as to include all those of the povoado as good, and those of the enemy villages as bad. It is, then, a concept in terms of the group, and not of the life of the individuals.

The fact that they bury the cadaver with its hunting imple-
764 ments (bow and arrow) might perhaps be a vestige of an ancient
775 belief in a "hunting paradise," as exists in hunting tribes. This
belief has been obliterated with the change of the system of life
from hunting to fishing and agriculture.

/328 cont./

775 The belief in a social life beyond the grave, similar to the present life, with fishing trips and feasts, is still vigorous, as is shown by categorical answers (20).

[797] 20. A little girl interrupted a Religious, who, explaining the Catechism, spoke of heaven, in order to ask whether there were fish there in heaven. Taken by surprise, the Professora answered no. The child added promptly: -- Then I do not want to go there.

Some even think that in the other life there is procreation of children (21).

[797] 21. A Missionary relates the following: "Once a lad was very surprised to hear that in heaven there will be a plenitude of life, without need for propagation of the species. He asked, almost disappointed: 'Then there in heaven will there not be any women for us?' "

5) Existence of the spirits.

776 They believe in the existence of spirits that never were incarnated in a human body and never will be; they can, nevertheless, become visible in certain circumstances. Such spirits live in certain places: in the interior of the forests, headwaters of the igarapés, caves, stones, etc.

There are many of them, and different categories, each category with its characteristic way of presenting itself. The description as the Indians bring it to us, however, is not unanimous. And some affirm that they see them or hear them with relative frequency. It is an unquestionable fact that they become

/328 cont./

776 alarmed easily enough, either individuals or entire groups (22), as if they had seen something extraordinary.

/329/ Some of these spirits are tremendously malevolent and harmful, and others, not. Some admit that they are of the two sexes and multiply like human beings.

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[797] 22. In the Schools, for example, if a child (more frequently the girls; it is to be noted that it is the women who claim to have seen them more often) yells Wā̃x-tΠ at night in the dormitory, all of them are filled with panic, cover their faces or turn them to the other side. But also in full /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ daylight they will claim to have seen Wā̃x-tΓ. A similar event happened in Iauareté during the day, and a little girl threw herself from the upper floor of the Mission building. One of the Salesian Missionaries of Taracuá, Valério Fernandes, was with some little boys in the forest, looking for cucura (a fruit). Some women who were nearby and had not been seen by the boys also desired this fruit. The children went helter-skelter, yelling: "Wā̃x-tΠ" and ran until they came out of the forest, in spite of the calls of the Missionary. The episodes about which we were better able to ask questions are all explained by suggestion. We heard of other episodes brought about by way of experiment, in order to verify the native belief and suggestability. Even though one later tried to prove this to the Indian, he would not believe it and continues to acknowledge that it was really the spirit.

/329 cont./

776 a) Wã̄x-tĩ̄ or Juruparí (23).

[115] 23. The young Tukano Casimiro Sampaio gave (1949) this contradictory information: "The Wã̄x-tĩ̄ live in society. They make noise. They do not appear. They do not do any harm. /The final quotation marks are missing./ This subject about the spirits will be more fully developed in the book "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/."

He lives in the interior of the forests, in the darkest places and in the abandoned huts. He appears, however, even in the malocas, in the form of a black man, hairy, ugly, covered with ashes. A Tukano informant (Dorotéia Brito) said that: "When he makes himself seen in some house, it is a sign of sicknesses that will come. He likes to strangle chickens. When the broad hen makes noise, it is because Wã̄x-tĩ̄ moved it." At any noise that they hear in the house or in the forest, they immediately think of Wã̄x-tĩ̄. A strange animal that they see, a figure, it must be he, and they yell, full of fear.

*[192] [822] They attribute the echo, axká-keoã̄rȭ, to Wã̄x-tĩ̄, who is imitating some sound. It seems to them on many occasions that they hear in the noises of the forest and the cachoeiras, and in the whispering of the winds, faraway echoes of the songs and dances performed by Wã̄x-tĩ̄.

773 776 It is to be noted that Wã̄x-tĩ̄ is not an individual; there are many of them; rather it is an entire class. Among them one par excellence, who would be the principal one. This one, especially in the origin of the nation, did them much harm: he stole the children, impregnated their women, and did other evil things to them, killed the men, etc. Tired, finally, of their /the next line in the original source properly belongs on the next page and is repeated there; it is therefore omitted here in the translation/ yoke, because, besides so many bad things, he forced them into tasks and very difficult demonstrations, the men got

773 /329 cont./

776 together, caught him, tied him up with cipos, and burned him. According to one legend narrated by the pajé Vicente Rodrigues

*192 of the Taryana tribe and other /330/ Arwake narrators, it was

184 O'ɨ̃-kõ who burned Wɨ̃x-tɨ̃, also called Bisiu. From the ashes,

773 in this same place, there grew two paxiúbas /palms/, waxtá (24),

776

24. It is to be noted that the name of the paxiuba in Tukano, waxtá, reminds one of that of Wɨ̃x-tɨ̃. From the same root, wax, we have the term that indicates the hernia truss or loincloth, waxsó-ro, the wɨ̃x-tɨ̃-kẽõ, tipití or the press with which they squeeze the mass of mandioca to make the flour, objects that, like the sacred instruments, were a gift from Wɨ̃x-tɨ̃. It should be noted that it is also from paxiúba that they make the parís and cacurís for fishing, and, not infrequently, also the walls of the malocas.

with which they make the sacred instrument called mɨ̃ṛɨ̃ (Uaupés mɨ̃hɨ̃ or Juruparí (25)

25. As for the etymology of the term Juruparí, Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, entry Jurupari) recalled to an Indian that someone had told him Juruparí meant "the one produced from the fruit." The Indian answered him: "intimãã, Iuruparí, céra onheẽn putáre o munha iarié iurú parí uá, no, not at all, the name of Juruparí means the one that made the closing of our mouth" (iurú, mouth, and parí, enclosure for fishing; cf. 5, a (2b) /Ch. VI/).

in the Língua Geral) in memory of the great feat. So some of their legends say, and with this they identify Wɨ̃x-tɨ̃ with the personage Juruparí of the Tupí legends.

/330 cont./

776 Even burned, his spirit still survives, wandering through the forests, taking strange and frightening shapes. To him they attribute all the misfortunes, both the material ones, such as a storm, the destruction of the forest (26),

> 26. Large clearings are frequently found in the forest. It is a matter of tall and thick trees, but with superficial roots, which fall under the force of the hurricanes, dragging many others with them. They attribute this noise and the falling of the trees to Wãx-tĩ.

a harmful animal in the clearing, and the personal ones: the
*192 defect of stuttering, madness, etc. They call the mad person
753 Wãx-tĩ dohónõkõ, that is, hurt by Wãx-tĩ. They call tuber-
culosis Wãx-tĩ poá-ri, hair /Port. cabelos/ of Wãx-tĩ (27).
776

> 27. The cause of tuberculosis, according to what they think, is butterfly hairs /Port. pêlos, hairs, down, colors/ in the throat. [755] The pajé blows on the mingau in order to invoke the "Wãx-tĩ of the butterflies," so that it will not trouble the patient.

776 The fear of Wãx-tĩ that they feel is such that not for any prize will they venture to enter the forest at night, or even during the day in certain dark igarapés. And they go so far as to abandon their clearings for years, because they heard strange noises there.

191 b) Boraró or Curupira (28).

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> 28. Through relations with the travelers (many of whom speak Nheengatú) the natives know many terms of the língua geral. Just

/330 cont./

191 776 /footnote 28 cont./ as they identify Wãx-tĩ with Jurupari, so too many of them, to the question: -- who is Boraró? answer at once: he is Curupira.

776 He also lives in the middle of the forest, which is his kingdom, in the sierras or on the headwaters of the igarapés; never in the open places.

*[192] They conceive him as a large and deformed monkey. He emits strange cries in the forest and gives great smacks or blows on the trees, /331/ especially the sapupemas (flat roots) of the sumaúna /ceiba tree/. He attacks the careless one who ventures into the forest, poisoning him with his urine and sucking out his brains. No weapon succeeds in killing him. He eats onça /jaguar/ and animals, and also sucks the blood of human beings. When he wants to suck the blood, he does it in the following manner: first he hits the place, so as to anesthetize it, afterwards he makes the puncture; when he has finished sucking, he blows in order to fill with air the emptiness left. If someone says: "I was sucked" (that is, to mention the appearance of Boraró), he will die.

[115] Dorotéia Brito attests that her grandfather saw Boraró many times. "He plants the clearing, has a wife and children. In the clearing, during the day, words are heard; it is Boraró who is speaking, although he is not seen. He appears as a man, with hair falling over his shoulders, with a red flower in his mouth. He further takes the form of a woman and a boy. He does nothing to the Makú, and is fond of the monkeys. Anyone who has seen him will become ill." He sucked the brains from her aunt, in the clearing, and she died there, a mark on her head remaining as proof.

[115] Another Tukano girl, Kõmĩ-ro põrá, from the povoado of S. Luzia (river Papurí), states that twice, when she was looking for fruit in the forest a little above S. Luzia, she heard Boraró make a loud noise, as if he had made a shot. On another

/331 cont./

776 *[192] occasion, while looking for caraná in the company of a cousin, both saw two huge tracks of almost half a meter. Her cousin explained to her that they were the footprints of Boraró, Boraró dõ'pó-kãrĩ.

Boraró, the same witness stated, "always has some animals that accompany him and sing near him." These animals are called Boraró i'á, lice of Boraró. "When they hear singing in the forest: -- moláro... (with the a very prolonged) moláro... (29).

[194] 29. It must be pointed out that the pronunciation moláro announces the origin of the informant. The Tukano language, as can be observed in its better pronunciation on the river Tiquié, does not have the phoneme l. Under the influence of the other tribes, mainly the Taryana, on the Uaupés and Papurí, one hears l in some words. Moláro, we think, in accord with the spirit of the Tukano language, is a corruption of the name Boraró.

they all run away, because Boraró is very near. /The final quotation marks are missing./

[115] According to Casimiro Sampaio -- "Boraró lives in the forest. He appears as a white man (30),

30. Perhaps this "white" is used in the usual sense, that is, as equivalent to civilized, since he finishes by saying that he wears clothing.

large, with a red forehead. He wears clothing. He makes noise in the forest. However, he does not do harm to anyone." In general they all affirm that he is very dangerous, and that his appearances are very frequent. Many claim to have seen him or heard him, and on various occasions.

/332/

776 [797] Some alumni of the Salesian Mission who have already attended pontifical functions at which the Celebrating Bishop wears a miter said that Boraró appears with a miter, and the noise that he produces is precisely with the miter, which he opens and closes.

[115] A native from Parí-cachoeira, José Barreto, tells that his father, M ndú, not baptized, affirmed (1949) that the "demons" are few and that he had learned this from his own grandfather who had never seen any Missionary. He also said that his relatives, inhabitants of the igarapé of the onça /jaguar/, yai-sa, know the poison with which they can chase away or kill Boraró and that for this reason they have no fear of him at all.

*[192] In other places there are likewise individuals with such power, and for this reason they are called Boraró dohɨ̃rá, that is, those who cast malefice on Boraró (dohasé, malefice, poisoning). It is the belief of many that Boraró, upon drinking these poisons, will die.

*[192] Boraró is married, concluded Patrícia Vasconcelos, and his wife has one normal breast, but the other one is exaggeratedly long. According to others, it is Boraró's mother who shows this anomaly, and they nickname women with long breasts Boraró paxkó (mother of Boraró).

c) Bisíu or Juruparí (31).

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[115] *[192] [184] 31. A little informant from Iauareté finished by clarifying that Bisíu is Juruparí. According to a legend narrated by the pajé Vicente Rodrigues, Taryana, O'ɨ̃-kõ is called Yaperíkuli in Taryana and is the brother of Bisíu; the latter being bad and the former good. In the Arwáke legends, Bisíu is identified with Juruparí.

/332 cont./

776 *[192] He is, said Casimiro Sampaio, a mysterious being "who descends from above. He is yellow and appears decorated with arara feathers. He speaks, sings, and dances the mírí (32).

> 32. Our informant, Casimiro Sampaio, finished by saying that it is the dance of the Jurupari. Bisíu, then, is confused with the great Wãx-tí of the legends.

He makes a great deal of noise and eats people. The women cannot see him."

776 881 756 *[192] [115] We learned from various other informants that Bisiu eats women on the occasion of the first menses: "amõsé baásamí," that is, he eats the menstruum, as they express it. A Pirá-tapúya widow, Maria José (in Parí-cachoeira, 1954) clarified that "to eat" means that he fecundates the woman. It is for this reason that she must be shut up in the house, and she herself will call for the services of the pajé or Komũ for the so-called "rite of initiation" (cf. VIII - 1, b (7)). These personages, with their rites, have the power to ward off the danger for the maiden.

776 829 A girl of the Tukano tribe from the Papurí said that the Makú women, who almost always live in the interior of the forest, many times become pregnant from coitus with Bisiu.

776 *[192] /333/ d) Nãxkã Wãx-tí (Wãx-tí of the forest) (33).

> 33. Nãxkã means mato /forest, wood, thicket/ in Tukano.

He is also from the forest, stated Casimiro Sampaio, -- tall in stature and ugly. He wears long hair, and butterfly wings on his face. He does not speak and does not do harm to anyone.

/333 cont./

776 [115] A young woman with a *Wanana* mother, and raised among them, told Patrícia Vasconcelos that on the occasion of a mourning feast among the Wanana, when they were doing the traditional dances with masks, a man climbed up on a column of the maloca. With great fright he saw, amidst the dancers, a strange personage who had appeared: he was a short, stocky, ugly man, full of butterflies over his body. That same young woman further described that *Yaperíkuli* (personage from the Arwáke legends and father of *Kóay* or *Juruparí*) has a very small body, but legs so long that he can reach the top of the trees where he gathers honey and fruits.

[115] e) *Ö'mȭăro Wăx-tĩ*. *Wăx-tĩ* from above, this is what his name means. According to Casimiro Sampaio, he resembles a monkey. "He lives in the trees. He does not speak, but he makes noise like that of a stone that falls. He devours whole men, swallows bone and all. When he wants to do it, he lets himself drop from the trees and the demons come out of his belly."

A Tukano girl from S. Luzia (river Papurí) claims not only to have heard such noise, but moreover to have seen the deep hole that was formed in the ground by the fall of ō'*mȭăro* *Wăx-tĩ*, who has arms many meters long.

[115] According to another Tukano informant (Dorotéia Brito): "He resembles the sloth. He is tame and her mother saw him many times. Nobody, however, has managed to kill him."

The Amazonian fauna has strange specimens, some already known by the scientist and the caboclos; others perhaps still unknown (34)

34. In 1945 on the road from Urubucuara to Ipanuré, some women engaged in transporting the volumes of cargo of the Mission heard a great noise of branches that were breaking, and they saw from the back a figure like a large monkey, of about two

/333 cont./

776

/footnote 34 cont./ meters, walking erect. Frightened, they ran to the side of the Salesian, Mr. Manoel Crescini, who was directing this transportation. Upon arriving at the place of the noise, the Missionary verified large tracks in the sand of the road," similar to those of an elephant, of an animal that had crossed the road and, upon penetrating into the forest, had broken the branches, and thus opened a passage of about a meter or more in width. A loud and frightening noise, like that of an animal breaking branches, was also heard by the Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch in Barcelos. A hunter from Barcelos (Rio Negro), terrified, told Dom José of having heard /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ frightening howls in the forest about twenty kilometers from Barcelos and of having seen tracks in the sand, measuring approximately half a meter. The Bishop wanted to verify the statement and was able to see these tremendous tracks, similar to human footprints. This same Prelate saw an enormous monkey in the forest in the environs of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié). Taking it for some Indian, at first he did not want to hit it with a shot, and the animal immediately fled.

*[192]

and seen only by the natives. The mentality of the latter /334/ easily associates such strange or deformed animals with the Wä̃x-tĩ and other spirits of the legends. Perhaps these beings, Nä̃xkä̃ Wä̃x-tĩ, Õmšä̃ro Wä̃x-tĩ, and others about whom they talk to us, such as Wä̃x-tĩ Biu, Tsakopáe, etc., are only rare or exotic and frightening animals. We know, for example, that they call some butterflies that live in the hollows of wood Wä̃x-tĩ-turú, that is, piece of Wä̃x-tĩ.

/334 cont./

771 e) Cult practices.

1) Local cult (litobolia).

There are no temples, that is, buildings solely dedicated to the deity, where the religious functions are performed. Nor has it been reported that there is any private cult or individual worship of the deity, ceremonies, prayers, unless as cult one understands some practices that seem to us magical, such as litobolia.

823 821 They treat some places with respect and fear; this is tabooism. One does not see there, however, manifestations of cult, individual or social. Such are, for example, some cachoeiras and stones. And about them, in general, they tell interesting legends. They do not allow stones to be taken from such cachoeiras (35),

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[797] [753] 35. The Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch thought of dynamiting the cachoeira of Parí-cachoeira, in order to facilitate navigation. The local population became agitated, and the tuxaua Julio came to advise him not to do it, because otherwise fevers and sickness would come. The Bishop judged it more expedient not to go against the opinion of the Indians. Brother Mateo (of the Congregation of Montfort), at one of these rocks of the cachoeira of the thunder, Bũxpó-pweá, of the igarapé Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, removed a fine splinter, in order to extract a little honey. One of the Indians warned him that he should not do that, because "lightning will strike." And, to his great surprise, lightning did strike at some distance, when absolutely nothing indicated it; it was really "un fulmine a ciel sereno" /a bolt of lightning in a clear sky/. They

/334 cont./

823 /footnote 35 cont./ explain the outbreak of
821 malaria that in 1931-2 decimated the popu-
[753] lation of Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés, as
the consequence of having taken a stone from
the cachoeira of the beijú, Ahū-gī-pweá,
actually located some hundreds of kilometers
away, on the river Papurí.

asserting that, if someone were to try it, lightning would strike
[227] him. It is on some of these rocks that they go to finish the
[501] making of their canoe, or the preparation of their nets and fishing gear (36).

36. There is one of these rocks near the povoado of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié.

784 /335/ Near the "igarapé of the caterpillar," pixkō-rō-ȳa,
823 headwaters of the Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, there is a
[103] rock that a woman should not see; if she looks at this rock, she
will never have children. And when they go by this place, the
women and maidens turn their faces to the other side. Fish
from this and from some other igarapés cannot be eaten; if somebody were to do it, he would suffer from toothache.

823 In Jabutí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, there is a rock
[103] called nō'mya-ga (rock of the women, or rock woman?) with a
groove that looks like a vulva to the natives. When the young
men go by there, they throw a piece of beijú, a lemon, or some
*[192] other fruit at it from their canoe. It is what they call doxké-sī-i'īsé, that is, they throw to hit the mark. Because, they
explain, if the object thrown remains in the groove, they will
soon have wives. This rock, for them, is very precious. They
also think that, by rubbing the hand over it, later they will
easily learn any trade.

/335 cont./

823 [103] They likewise believe that the taking of a bath, be it men or women, in the pothole of Tõpa-duri, that is, of the cachoeira of Urubucuara, where the tribes came out (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"), would guarantee them an early marriage.

It does not seem, then, that these caves, rocks, igarapés, interiors of the forest should be regarded as sacred spots of the cult. Rather, on the contrary, they would be "tabooed" places and objects. Nor would the fruits and rocks that are thrown be a form of cult, that called litobolia. Rather they seem to us to be manifestations of magic and tabooism.

823 532 An old Missionary stated that some Indians, while going by those rocks that bear crude figures (37)

37. These are the petroglyphic signs or rupestrian inscriptions common on the rivers of Amazonas, especially the Rio Negro and its tributaries. A diligent study of these inscriptions was done by B. A. da Silva Ramos, under the title "Inscrições e Tradições da América Pré-histórica /Inscriptions and Traditions of Prehistoric America/," -- Imprensa Oficial, Rio de Janeiro, 1930. We do not find engraved anthropomorphic representations. Koch G. 50 years ago saw sculptures of "attractive figures," anthropomorphic ones, among the Kubewana and Wanana (cf. Note 49, VII-3, b (8) /see Note 50, VII-3, b (2)/). We discovered only one, as human heads on the supports of a trocano /signal drum/. They did not look like idols, however, but only decorations and were of recent fabrication (1947).

of animals or of strange beings, with long and skeletal arms and

/335 cont./

823 532 legs (38), prodigious belly, enormous head, would look with dread and say in a low voice: Wãx-tĩ! As if these representations were a perpetuation, in granite, of the memory of the terrible and feared monster. We have never witnessed any of these demonstrations of fear. Sometimes we have approached such petroglyphs and summoned near /336/ some Indians, and they have always appeared indifferent to such drawings. Moreover, we have found similar figures on the bark walls of huts and malocas, and, moreover, we have seen children draw them on the ground with a stick, and, therefore, without any semblance of religiousness.

38. One of these drawings is seen on a rock of the Carurú-cachoeira, river Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

764 782 881 It can, then, be affirmed that there is no indication of an individual cult. There is, nevertheless, a social cult to be discussed, which is realized in the maloca and its immediate surroundings. There are principally three manifestations of this social cult: the offering of the first fruits or dabacurís, the puberty initiation, and the funeral. All three of which a spiritual communion, tightening the solidarity of the group.

782 796 x [192]

2) Religious feasts with offering of the first fruits.

Their Poosé are religious feasts, in our opinion (39), and were called by the first explorers, with a term from the Língua

39. An opinion that we have expressed since 1947 and that recently (1954) we verified to be also that of Koch Grünberg, who (Z. I. 372, and passim) distinguishes, moreover, religious dances and profane dances. Koch, nevertheless, accepts the translation demônio /demon/ for Wãx-tĩ, and even for other personages of the native legends.

782 /336 cont./
796 Geral, Dabacuri. They are also called Wãx-tĩye baxsá, dances of
*[192] Wãx-tĩ.

Poosé, properly speaking, means offering. Such feasts con-
[534] sist essentially of the offering of fish, beijú, or fruits (40)

> 40. The Holy Scripture says that Caim /Cain/ offered the Divinity the fruits of the earth, whereas Abel (and later the pastoral peoples, as well as the Jews) performed religious ceremonies with the offering of animals.

and of the communion of drink and tobacco, accompanied by religious dances and with the sound of the mysterious instrument, called Mĩrĩ and sounded at the beginning of the feast.

[123] Ordinarily the native does not know (41)

[124]
[177]
[869]

> 41. One has the impression that they do not reveal some things to the young ones, more in contact with the civilized and who speak Portuguese, especially those who have studied in the schools of the Salesian Mission, out of fear that they will tell them to the civilized.

(this is what seems more probable to us), or he does not want to say, the reason for the feast or the meaning of it. They answer us that they do this because the ancients always did this. More than one, however, assured us that they do this in order that neither the fish nor the fruit would ever be scarce for them.

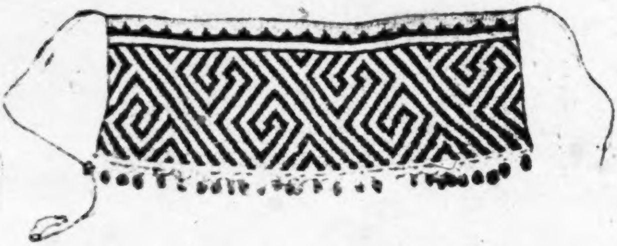
[115] The Wanana Tomás Paiva (42),

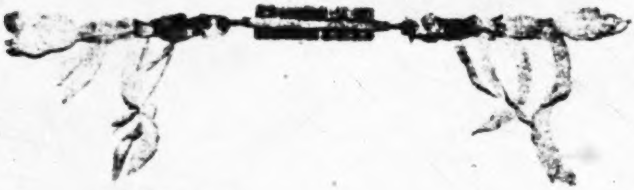
> 42. He is an intelligent, well-traveled, and quite bold native. He studied in the Salesian Mission of Iauareté, where he also learned the trade of carpenter and has already worked at various times for the civilized of Colombia and Venezuela.

son and possible successor of the tuxaua of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, on April 20, 1955, expressed himself in this way

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 506]

*192 /Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/
291 Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white
531 and blue beads)
562 Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments





*192 Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua
142 from Caruru-Cachoeira
301 (river Uaupés), adorned for
302 the dances (acangatara, neck-
237 laces, and stone of the husband /marido, "husband," should be mando, "command"/)

←

*192
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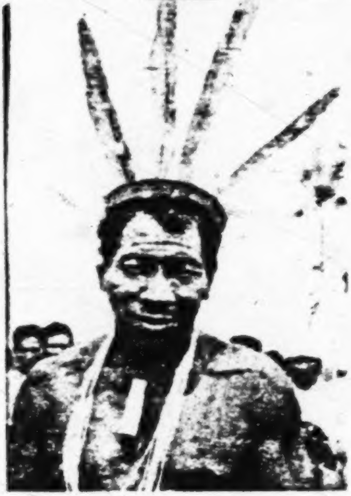
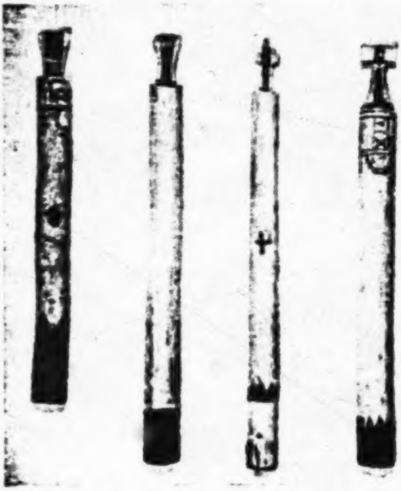
Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)





/Illustrations facing p. 337 in the original source/

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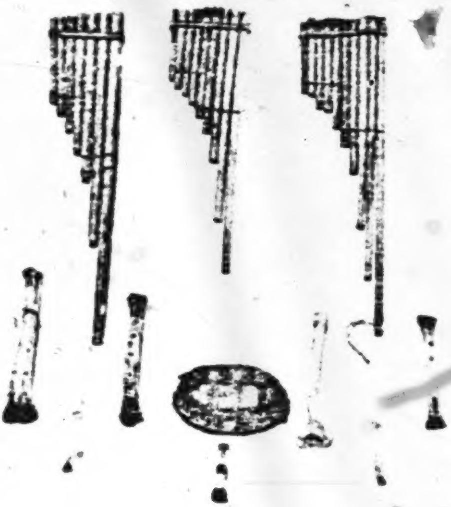
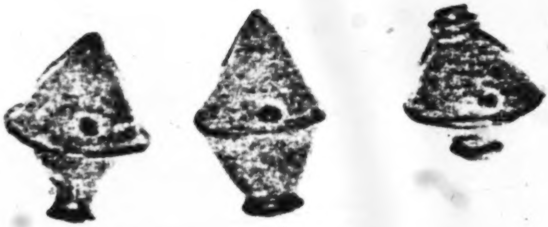
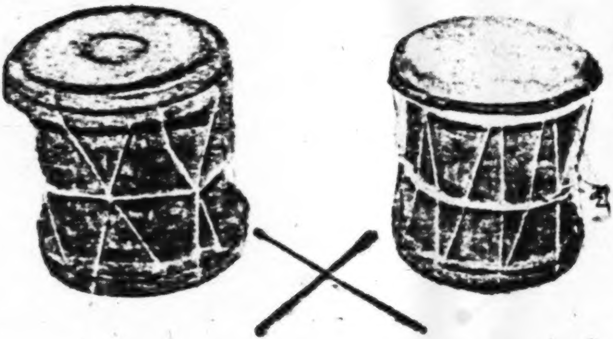


Panpipes; bone flutes (onça /jaguar/ and deer); jabuti /turtle/ (úhuri) in the center



Ocarinas (uxpitu-pa)



Drums (twáthe-pawõ) and drumsticks (twá-tõ pa:-kõ)

/337/

782 796 [115] with the author: -- "These dances are the rites of the old ones, it is their religion." And after having pointed out the respect that everyone has for such dances, he added: -- "If a drunken individual were to cross the line of the dancers, he would be thrown out; it is a great profanity, and he would be dishonored.

The sound of the instrument, we imagine, would stand for a propitiatory ceremony and dedication of the feast to Wĩx-tĩ (43).

[115] 43. We questioned various native women, even the most intelligent alumnae of the Missions, and all were convinced that the sound was the voice of Wĩx-tĩ present at the feast among the human beings. We have heard of episodes in which the presence of ugly, mysterious beings among the dancers was affirmed. It is to be noted that we heard such episodes related by women. Perhaps because of a greater reserve of the men? Or because of a more excitable imagination of the women? It should be observed that in the Tukano language all things belong to the neuter gender. Nevertheless, Mĩrĩ (or Mĩnĩ, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés) is masculine. They positively affirm to us that the Mĩrĩ is maxsĩ, people. In the plural it becomes Mĩrĩá; and it should be observed that the plural in a is exclusively for animate beings.

*[192] [193]

It is the renewing of his voice, the perpetuation of his teachings and orders, as it were.

*192 534 /*337 cont*./

Mĩrĩ is probably from the same root as *mĩrĩ*, which means *drowned*, *immersed*, hidden under the water (44).

> 44. We were not able to learn of any sign of special veneration toward the water of the rivers. Nevertheless it is in the water that they hide the sacred instruments, an indication, so it seems to us, of their *original matriarchalism*. Just as the human being comes from the maternal liquid, so does *Wĩx-tĩ* appear for the feast, coming from the water, represented by the instrument *Mĩrĩ*. According to legend, the first human beings came from the water of the cachoeira of Ipanuré. We have observed, besides, that while bathing the [illegible] immerse themselves a few times. Likewise when our oarsmen jump out of the canoe in order to drag it across the rocks, they also immerse themselves, even when there would be no need for it. When they swim, we have noticed that they prefer to do it with the face immersed in the water. [481]

778 Hence the concept of *occult*, *sacred*. We have heard talk of objects that were *mĩriá*, that is, occult, mysterious.

276 778 [855] Tobacco is a magic substance. As a matter of fact, it is one of the principal and most used curing methods of the pajé. The smoke from the cigar can neutralize the malefices, drive away the storms, or attract them to a certain place, has an exorcising force in births and puberty initiation. For this reason it is even given to children three or four years old to smoke, at the feasts as well as outside of them.

/337 cont./

796 Such feasts are held five to six times a year; not at fixed
782 times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the
time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter
of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or
585 also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.
881 /338/ The following attests to the religious character of
the feast:

1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wã̄x-tɨ̃ye-
*[192] baxsá, dance of Wã̄x-tɨ̃. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told
Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the
cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the Mɨ̃rɨ̃. It is
a sign, then, that the Wã̄x-tɨ̃ of the cachoeira wants a feast held
for him.

2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled)
[123] of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in gen-
[124] eral the old people, who know more, are the most reserved. Ask-
[115] ing the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira
(that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

/338 cont./

796 [123] [126] *[192] /footnote 45 cont./ he would not allow him to attend the dance. Confirmation of this religious character, it seems to us, is also found in the refusal to our request to repeat the ceremony of the offering of the fish (waí poosé) under better conditions, so that we could film it. Nevertheless these Indians repeated the simple dances for us for this same purpose.

[126] The Tukano Antônio Barreto (December of 1953) assured us that they did not do poosé in front of the whites. Nevertheless, we had the opportunity to attend it and to film it. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 202): he moreover was able to attend it on the Umarí-igarapé, but many Indians appeared displeased by this, and the tuxáua José did not allow him to take photographs.

[533] [535] As though they were undertaking a serious ceremony and not a diversion. Nothing will disturb these rites. Singing mysterious words (ancient dialect? or, with more probability, mere corruption) which they do not understand, dancing in a slow cadence and marking the time with stronger beats with the right foot.

[755] /339/ 4th. -- They attribute to such feasts in addition an efficacious healing action. It can drive away all the sicknesses and even heal large wounds (46).

46. This is what Koch Grünberg was able to verify (Zwei Iahre, 202): "dem Yurupari-Tanze wird eine stark Zauberwirkung sugeschrieben /sic/. Er soll alle Krankheiten vertreiben, und selbst gross Wunden heilen" /a strong magical effect is attributed to the Yurupari dance. It is supposed to drive away all sicknesses, and even

/339 cont./

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/footnote 46 cont./ heal large wounds/. We were never able to attend such feasts on the occasion of epidemics, but we did not even hear it mentioned that they had held them.

5th. -- The sexual liberties themselves, as we shall explain below (VII - 5, c (1)), also constitute proof of the religious character of the feasts.

[301] 6th. -- The meaning that they attribute to the ornamentation. The tuxaua Mandú of Iauareté explained to us that the feathers of the garça /heron/ were put on the nape of the neck because it was there that God (?) struck it with the sarabatana /blowgun/. The feathers of the tucano /toucan/ on the back, because God struck it on the back. While the armband of monkey skin was near the left elbow, this being the place where it was hit by the sarabatana of God.

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[126]
7th. -- A further argument would be, perhaps, the compulsory and consistent arrangement of the dancers inside the maloca. The same Tuxáua-bayá Júlio constructed, on commission, for the Museu Salesiano de Etnografia of Manaus, in December of 1953, a miniature maloca, placing the various objects (seats, vessels, and musical instruments) in their respective places, according to the scheme below /see p. 511/.

*192 The following is the nomenclature furnished by the same tuxáua:

796 a) seat of the old ones, bũxkõrá duhurĩ-ko-mũ-rõ

535 b) little seat of the bayá kõ-mũ-rõ

c) little seat of the helper of the bayá, bayári we-tamõgõ kõ-mũ-rõ

d, e, f, g) seats of the occupants of the maloca, wi'ĩ-khãra duhurĩ kõ-mũrõ

d', e', f', g') seats of the guests, samãrĩ maxsã duhurĩ kõ-mũrõ.

The first columns are called sahãrĩ kãrĩ boxtá-ri, because the guests (sãhãrĩ), when they sleep (kãrĩ) in the maloca, hang their hammocks near these first columns (boxta-ri). For this same reason the beam that rests on the first two columns is called sãhãrĩ kãrĩ-tẽrõ (tẽrõ, on the Uaupés tẽnõ, means beam).

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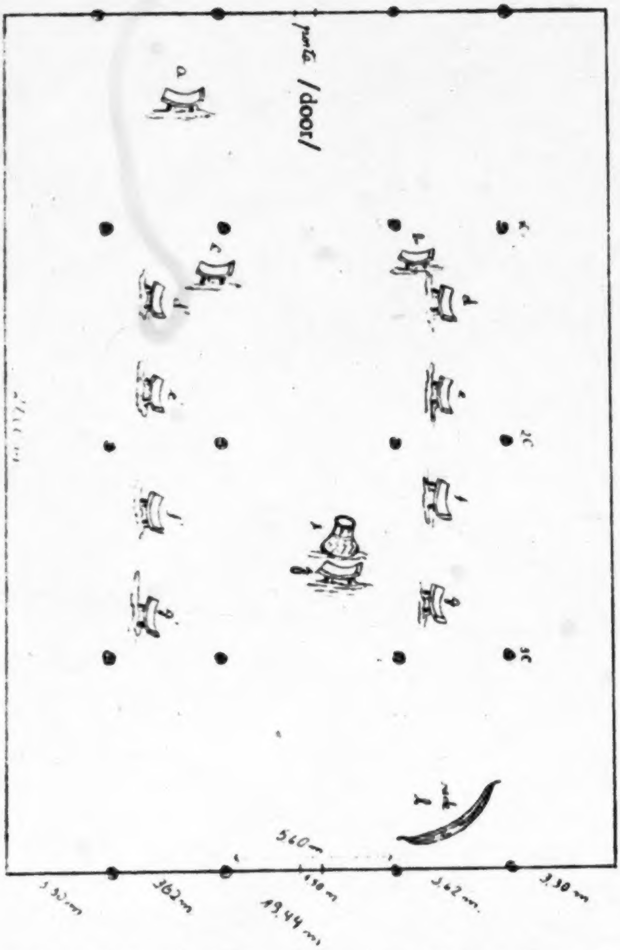

1c -- Sahãri kãrĩ: boxtá-ri (sleeping column of the guests); 2c -- Baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri (column for starting the dancing); 3c -- Do'ákaro-ká boxtá-ri (column of the cooking); a -- Bõxkörá duhurí ko-mũ-rõ (seat of the old ones); b -- Bayá ko-mũ-rõ (little seat of the bayá or dance master); c -- Bayári wetamõgõ ko-mũ-rõ (little seat of the bayá's helper); d, e, f, g -- Wí'khãra duhusé ko-mũ (seats of the occupants of the maloca); d', e', f', g' -- Samãrĩ maxsã duhusé ko-mũ (seats of the guests); i -- Kaxpí-tõ (pot of caapí); j -- Kaxpí tõamĩ duhiri ko-mũ-rõ (seat of the one who distributes the caapí); 1 -- rede /hammock/ of the tuxáua.

/341/

*192 The second columns are called baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri;
535 because it is beside the second column that the tuxáua takes the
initial position (wihyá: to come out) for the dances (baxsá). And
796 the respective beam is called baxsá wihyári-tẽrõ.

The columns at the back are called do'ákaro-ká-boxtá-ri, because the caxirí is prepared there (do'ákaro, place where one cooks, so explained Júlio). And do'karo-ká-tẽrõ is the beam that corresponds to them.

i) kaxpí-tõ, pot for the kaxpí

j) seat for the one who distributes the kaxpí, kaxpí tõamĩ duhirí kõmũ-rõ

l) hammock of the tuxáua; his compartment is called syõrĩ nĩgõya tuxkũ

The compartments of the residents of the maloca are called wi'i-ikhãraye tuxkũrĩ.

[342] With the hypothesis of its being a religious function, we
[622] must conclude that the temple is the maloca. Its name, baxsaríwi, should be translated "house of the sacred dance," and not simply "dance house." The Priest is evidently the tuxáua, and not the pajé. The tuxáua, then, ties together the domestic, political, and sacerdotal powers, precisely like the ancient tribal chiefs among the Greeks and the Romans, and, in general, the chiefs of the primitive tribes.

a) "Poosé" without the mysterious instruments.

1) Ritual procession and banquet.

796 The tuxáua of the maloca that decides to hold one of these
(628) feasts determines the day and the offering, and tells this to the
tuxáua of another maloca (of the same tribe or of a different tribe) where he is going to give his Poosé. The malocas take turns with
[178] this proposal. Formerly they were held with greater frequency, six or more times a year, as we said above, constituting the great preoccupation of these Indians. Not only are they being put off more, but their duration has also been reduced. Formerly they lasted as long as an entire week; today the cases in which they

796 /341 cont./

[178] last three or four days are already rare, and commonly they are limited to two days.

If it were called wai poosé, offering of fish, every male guest would bring smoked fish. If it is of pupunha, ĩ̄'ṛẽ̄ poosé, they must likewise bring this fruit, etc. The most common poosé are those of fish, of beijú (ahũ̄-ga poosé), of pupunha, of inga (mẽ̄ṛẽ̄ poosé), of manivara /termite queen/ (mexkã̄ poosé). *[192]

[273] In the maloca where the dabacurí will be held, more or less three days before, or even earlier (the time necessary for the fermentation), the women busy themselves preparing a large quantity of drink: caxiri of beijú, or cará, of pupunha or of any other fruit /342/ in tubs or vessels that are covered with banana leaves in order to facilitate the fermentation. The activity is great; there is an extraordinary gaiety, loud laughter, a true clamour.

[574] In the morning of the appointed day (the hour will vary according to the distances from which they come), the offerers start arriving, bringing the offerings. They arrive at the landing place (or at a short distance from the maloca, if they come by land) with only some painting or also with some feathers in their ears. Two men go up to the maloca in order to give a warning of their arrival and to fetch the drink. The chief of the maloca sends the drink to the landing place; while they wait for the strangers, they complete the painting.

When they are ready, which always happens around 9 or 10 o'clock (47),

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47. Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, describing these feasts, says in the entry Tauucurí that the strangers arrive late in the afternoon. It did actually happen this way at two poosé that we attended among the Taryana of Iauareté, one of fish and the other of cunurí. The Tukano Antonio Barreto, however, in describing the dabacurí to us, asserted that on the Tiquié it regularly takes place in [115]

/342 cont./

[534] the visitors send another warning -- "it is time!" They take their musical instruments (japurutús or whistles) and the offering and, amid yells, the procession is organized by way of the road from the landing place to the maloca (or by way of the road by which they came).

The tuxáua goes in front, followed by two musicians with their japurutús (see VII - 3 c (3a) /see 3 c (3c)/) (48) and the men who bring the offering; the rest of the men behind. They make a turn around the maloca, then go in and make two turns inside, yelling, those who are entering and those who are already inside, a prolonged ẽẽẽ... (it is what is called oá:, to

[562] cry out). The men and youths of the maloca are arranged in Indian file, according to their rules of precedence, from the left side of the door to the back.

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796 [123] /footnote 47 cont./ the morning. And the one that we attended in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955 was also in the morning.

[115] 48. In July of 1955 the seringalista /owner of a seringal/ Armando Sarmento observed at a feast of the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés that the two who opened the procession held with the right hand the Japurutú, which they were playing, and with the left

*[192] one the respective lady. The other men came behind them, with only the rhythm stick, ahũ-wõ, in the right hand, beating the rhythm of the steps, and without a lady. He also noticed that inside the maloca, where the procession turned around, there were pieces of beijú and peelings of pupunha scattered on the floor (the poosé was one of pupunha).

796 /342 cont./

574 The visitors deposit the offering on banana leaves or mats
or baskets, displayed in the center of the maloca. Perhaps there
is still more of the offering at the landing place; they go to fetch
[562] it and make their delivery.

[858] The women and children who have arrived gather at the
back, where those of the maloca are already.

Once the offering is finished, and the shouts and music have
[622] stopped, those from outside, starting with their tuxáua, greet
individually those of the maloca, /343/ starting with the first one
[576] in line, who will, naturally, be the local tuxáua. They are the
common and formalistic greetings: -- "Did you come?" -- "I
came!" "Did you come to the feast?" -- "I came." -- "Did you
bring the offering (fish or the name of the fruit)?" -- "I brought."
He goes on to greet in the same way the second man in the line
and thus all the rest. All the visitors, in the order of their reception, imitate the first one. All, however, with much gravity.
As they finish greeting those of the maloca, the guests are arranging themselves in a long line, according to their importance, on
the right side, in front of those of the maloca, from the main
door to the back.

[431] Two or more men of the maloca distribute a cuia /shell
[576] from the Crescentia cujete/ of caxirí to each guest. After all have
drunk, they sit down, and the women of the maloca come to greet
[562] the men at some distance and without giving them their hands.
[191] If the women are from the tribe of the guests, these greetings are
in the dialect of their own tribe and not in that of the husband.

The chief of the maloca speaks in a loud voice to his own wife (one of the indications of the matriarchalism): "They came to bring the offering (fish, fruit), you give thanks." She, with two women, goes to the center of the maloca and says -- "You brought with so much trouble fish (pupunha) for us. We have prepared a little caxirí in a hurry." Then the visiting chief answers them: -- "You may eat at will. The fishing (or the harvest) was small, but we have brought it with good will."

/343 cont./

796 574 Such formalistic greetings last an hour and a half. Afterwards the ritual banquet starts, without any further pragmatica, each eating whatever pleases him: first the men, more or less grouped in the front part of the maloca; afterwards the women and children, in groups at the back of the maloca.

[785] [273] Once this meal is finished, the ritual fast begins, that is, abstention from any food. It is only permissible to take some of the drink prepared for the feast. They do this, helping themselves copiously, even excessively, to the drink, which, besides, is very nourishing, being as it is, in reality, a thin pap (49).

[123] 49. On a certain occasion, after eleven hours of laborious passage through the forest, we arrived at a maloca of the Bará, located near the headwaters of the stream called maríya (tributary of the Tiquié), when a feast was being given there. One of our traveling companions, of the Bará tribe, who should have been very tired and undernourished, like all of us, since he was carrying the heaviest load, did not accept the food that was prepared for those of our retinue. He preferred to participate in the feast with his "brothers," and contented himself with only beijú caxirí.

2) Preparation for the dances.

*[192] The tuxáua, at a certain moment, tells the chief of the visitors that the banquet is finished and "he may open the box of the decorations" (mahĩ poári axká-ro).

*[192] [302] /344/ The women of the maloca come to fit the bands (uxtá-seri) to the guests' legs, below the knee, and to execute the body painting. The woman who painted him will be the guest's dance partner. It falls to the man, Pe. Humberto Limpens and the Tukano Antônio Barreto note, to paint the woman, and

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).

> [574] 50. We had the opportunity to observe and
> [123] "to film" the women painting the men.
> [126] They used for this job, not only their own
> [302] finger, but also fragments of arumá by way
> of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of
> [562] arumá tied together in such a way that from
> each movement a quite regular triple line
> resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre,
> 217) let himself be painted on the chest and
> arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they
must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom
*[192] they are to paint. "Yŏo wa'rénŏkŏ, the one painted by me,"
this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted
him; and "yŏó wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

[301] The ornaments are distributed according to the social
[554] importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the
guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

[534] When everyone is ready (and this is always done with
great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests
*[192] play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaʃ o'a). Some minutes
later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to enter-
796 tain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance
535 as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/
(ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a)); it is a sign that the dances

796 /344 cont./
535 are about to start (51).

> 51. We have also seen the tuxáua, before distributing the snappers to the dancers, shake them simultaneously, holding in each hand one of the ends of the snappers. These
> *[192] kixtió, in a bunch this way, are what is called kixtió boxká, which is also the name of one of the sacred instruments (see VII-3, c (3c)).

The rest of the men imitate him; then each one ties his kixtió to the right ankle and adjusts his own waxsó-ro (cf. VII - 3, d (2)).

*[192] Among the men who participate in the dances, one can distinguish three groups, regularly in pairs (2, 4, 6), according to the number of dancers:

[411] *[192] 1st) some with a complete outfit, lance and shield, and on the left shoulder the si-a yaxpú /sic/ (see adze, VII-3, d (2 l));

2nd) others with a splendid outfit, but without shield or lance or the sió-a yaxpú;

*[192] /345/ 3rd) in the third category are the young men with simpler ornaments.

[534] [237] Those who do not have the lance carry some rhythm instrument, the ahũ-wȭ or yuxkõ, or the flutes, these being covered with feathers from the tail of the arara, mahĩ i'ti, or from the japú, umu-ka i'ti, or with a necklace of beetle carapaces, pexká pixkõrõá pe'tori (VII 3, d (2m)).

The dance numbers follow, one after the other, according to the traditional program, corresponding to the various hours of the day and of the night. Some are longer, others, shorter. The intervals for rest are also just as variable.

/345 cont./

796 535 *[192] Some of these dances are performed partially inside and partially outside the maloca, for example, the one that is called "wa'wári baxsá," which could be translated as "the dance of the caps," since wá-wá is a cap plaited with arumã splints. The dancers moreover go to the yard of the maloca around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, again around midnight, before dawn, and, finally, around 9 o'clock in the morning. According to the legends, the ancestors of the tribes danced at those times outside the maloca. And the feast is not only a recollection, but is also meant to be a reviviscence of the principal episodes of the epopee of their origins.

[533] *[192] In one of these dance numbers the wife of the local tuxáua goes into the middle of the dancers' circle and utters a long and shrill cry, while the men continue to dance around her. This soloist is called yõhõgó (52).

52. Yõhõgó is the feminine present participle of ỹohõ, which seems to be an onomatope of the sound that she sings. An informant also called her nõ'mõ bayá, that is, woman bayá (see VII-6, a (2)).

She must not take a breath during this dance, but cry out with only one breath. If she breathes in the middle of the song, it [115] means that she will not live long. In this dance, says a Piratapuya informant (Emiliana Castro), they imitate the hopping of the cotias /agouti/.

[273] The dances are about to start. The caxirí is served in large cuias. Each individual will drink as much as he wants. If there is any left, the next companion will empty the cuia, with the right, however, to help himself first from the cuia that will then be filled immediately. Those who distribute the drink represent the butterfly: they have a feather over each ear, representing the wings and a small tendril of cipo in a spiral on the forehead by way of a proboscis. They advance in a rush,

/345 cont./

796 with short steps, in a zigzag, imitating simultaneously with the
535 mouth the humming of an insect. Bearing a cuia in each hand,
they give them to anyone who wants to take them, first the men
[273] and afterwards the women. As the cuias are emptied, they re-
[562] turn to fill them anew and to distribute them in the same place
and in the same way.

/346/ 3) Performance of the dances.

*[192] The tuxaua takes his initial dance position near the second
column to the left of the central nave (baxsá whyarí boxtá; see
[622] illustration above /see p. 511/; at his side, in order of importance (53), are arranged the other men. Each one, with a lance or a rhythm instrument in the right hand, places the left one on the right shoulder of his neighbor, and they are more or less in a semicircle. Then, a song starts to the sound of the instruments, which they strike on the ground simultaneously with the right foot (perhaps also with the snappers on the ankle), in a slow rhythm. They take a step toward the center of the circle and draw back, then another one toward the side, and they start to move in a circle, now to the right, now to the left, slowly. Sometimes they gather in a circle, which now becomes tighter, now bigger, now they go around in a circle. At a certain moment the women, one after another, start coming in, in a required, or at least constant, position during all the dance numbers. They place themselves between one man and another, with the head somewhat bent forward, resting the nape of the neck under the arm of one of

53. Importance which corresponds, more or less, to age. We were not able to verify whether they are arranged in an order strictly corresponding to the importance of the *Gens* itself (according to the classification -- IV-2, a (2) /see IV-2, a (3)/), because generally all the dancers are of the same *Gens*.

/346 cont./

796 the men and with her own arms holding by the waist the two men
535 whom she is between. The eyes are turned toward the center of
*[192] the circle, and the points of the lances, yõxse-phĩrĩ, converge
toward this point when they carry them.

At a certain point the local tuxáua gives an order indicating that it is the middle of the dance. Two men, among the leaders, go into the middle of the circle, make some turns, and finally come back to the line with the rest.

At a special order the women abandon their places, each one shouting her word. The dance ends with expressive whooping by the men; all those armed with a lance leave, bending as if they were looking for something, and, advancing toward a corner of the maloca, make a thrust with the lance toward an imaginary
*[192] point about a meter above the ground. They call this "blow-to-the-white, pexká-sã paasé" (54).

[123]
[124] 54. The Indians have always appeared very
reserved in explaining to us the meaning
and purpose of this "blow-to-the-white,"
although they had revealed its name to us
without any embarrassment, perhaps thinking
that we would not know how to translate
[115] it. On two occasions a native of the Tukano
tribe of the lower Uaupés confirmed to us
that "They do not like the whites and consider
all of them enemies." Another native, also
belonging to the Tukano tribe, although from
the Papuri, in response to our question as to
whether he liked the "white" or the "caboclo"
better, asked us the meaning of the word /this
footnote is continued on the next page in the
[829] original source/ "caboclo." To our answer
that caboclos were the children of a civilized
man and Indian woman, such as are on the
Rio Negro, he answered immediately: --"We

/346 cont./

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[829]
[115]

/footnote 54 cont./ still like the caboclos, because they are our relatives." But the tone of voice did not show much consideration toward the caboclos themselves. Armando Sarmento, at a feast of the Kubewana in July of 1955, noted that the blow-to-the-white was performed four times, and that only one of the men thrust the lance in the ground, and always at the same spot.

/347/ These dances last about twenty minutes and end in shouts, whistles, acceleration of the steps, and they advance towards a certain spot (55).

[115] 55. The Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch explained to us that the turns are a provocation to the enemy, and the final yell is that of victory over same.

Intervals follow, during which they sit on their little seats, or around the floor, the men on one side, the women on the other, and they chat happily.

It is during these intervals that the women, generally a pair or two, with a cuia in each hand and singing songs, serve them the caxirí in abundance, first the men, then the women and children. They are convivial or, rather, bacchic songs, as we said (VII-3, c (2b)), melodies affected almost always by deep [582] nostalgia. She will interpose, perhaps, songs of her husband's tribe between those of her own tribe, since, according to the law of exogamy, the wives are obligatorily from another tribe (cf. VIII - 1, a (1)).

[276] Moreover, during the interval a long cigar circulates, from which they all smoke, from the tuxáua down to the last little boy, passing it afterwards to the women. The adolescents and the children take advantage of these interruptions for some of their fun.

/347 cont./

796 831 It is also during these intervals that amorous scenes occur, in broad daylight, perhaps in a hidden corner or not, and more freely at night (56).

56. It follows from the information obtained that the rendezvous must take place outside the maloca (cf. VII-5, c). Koch Grünberg saw that the couples indeed went out together, and he was told clearly for what purpose (Zwei Iahre, 372). It is, however, more common for the men to leave by the main door and the women by the back one, according to a previous understanding, and for them to meet outside. Some of the young men who have attended the Mission schools revealed the licentiousness of the native feasts.

[115] *[192] It will be enough to cite the following episode narrated by Patrícia Vasconcelos. On the Macú River, which empties near Teresita (Colombian bank of the river Papuri) there was a maloca of the Desana where feasts took place with so many immoralities that during one of these orgies the earth opened up and swallowed the maloca and the dancers, "Bisíu bahwápṍ baá-peokoápṍ, Bisíu /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ appeared and devoured everything." On the following day songs and dance music could be heard at the spot of the vanished maloca, a spot that can still be seen today, marked by a depression in the ground. At present (1955) Patrícia's sister-in-law lives near there.

and they can also go outside the maloca.

/348/

796 535 The tuxáua starts the second part of the program, placing himself, as at the first time, beside the second column; the others follow him, and the dance begins again.

[514] During the intervals that follow the dances, they go out for their needs, the men by the front door of the maloca, the women by the back one.

*[192] [534] [533] There are intermezzi musicali performed by the young men who play "flautas-de-pã" /Panpipes/ or japurutús (VII - 3, c (3c)). We have observed that in general it is the younger men, especially the single ones, that play the flautas-de-pã, and the ones who play the japurutús are a little older. The instruments are combined into pairs, rendering beautiful musical themes of question and answer.

4) Distribution of the kaxpí.

796 273 *[192] [533] About 3 o'clock the kaxpí is served (cf. VI - 4, i (4) /see i (3)/). One of the old Kõmũ prepared it during the dabacurí. At this time, in order to give it more strength, he "blows" over the kaxpí. Afterwards he goes away from the pot, sings a song, also sounding the yaí-gõ (see VII - 3, c (a) /see VII - 3, c (3a)/). An old Indian, who represents the butterfly, because of his ornaments, stations himself between the two central columns of the maloca, sitting on a small seat, in order to make the distribution (57).

> 57. At the feast of the Wanana of Caruru-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955, the first kaxpí was served by the local tuxáua himself, and before the dances, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

He fills two small cuias and presents them, with outstretched arms, starting with the old man who "blew" the kaxpí and afterwards to the rest, in the order of decreasing age. Anyone who wants to can spit it out later, according to what they said and

/348 cont./

796 we have seen. It is, however, a sign of weakness, from which
273 the Indian ordinarily abstains. It is a show of strength and masculinity to drink it and not fall down drunk. Besides it is "the plant which makes one dream," and the forest dweller wants it, in spite of its bitter taste.

Two by two, according to their importance, the men approach in order to drink the kaxpí, and soon after also caxirí, in order to take away the unpleasant flavor of the first drink, so it seems. They come equipped with the cipo shield (VII - 2, e (1) /see VI - 2, e (1b)/) and the stick-of-the-onça /see yaí-gõ above/, if these are in the maloca. The kaxpí will yet again be served twice more, the same ritual being observed. It is no longer obligatory, however, to drink it, and many, in fact, abstain from it. The individuals begin to feel besotted. Some, perhaps, fall on the ground, others vomit. This one seems to see in front of his feet a stick, a snake, /349/ or a lizard; he wants to jump over it and falls down. The inebriating effect varies with the individuals; and it is a satisfaction for those of the maloca to verify that the kaxpí was strong and the guests are dizzy. Some, in this condition of inebriation, give cries, throw down objects, break vessels, bows, arrows, whatever they find at hand. The Kõmũ who "blew" the drink "will blow" now over the drunken and excited individuals, in order to neutralize the effect of the
[115] drunkenness. This is information from the Tukano Antônio Barreto. The last one to drink it will be the local tuxáua, who, with the lance at the ready, takes three turns, saying some unintelligible words. Meanwhile, an Indian beats on the entrance door with a stick, likewise shouting out some words.

In observing such a ritual, the kaxpí is served three times, the vessel that contains the drink being put outside the maloca in the sun after each time. The last time is already in the middle of the night.

[184] According to the Wanana custom, at the first time two cuias are served to each individual, at the second time just one cuia, and at the third one two cuias again. When there are several types of kaxpí, one begins with the weakest one.

/349 cont./

796 [354] Between the last columns of the maloca a fire burns, which an old Indian stirs up frequently (58).

[554] 58. In the subdivisions of the tribes (cf. IV-2, a (2)) it fell to those of the last category to keep the fire lighted.

"It is to illuminate the earrings of the dances," they explain to us.

So they spend the night, and one after the other falls from drunkenness, tired and sleepy, while the stronger ones continue dancing. At given moments there is a noise like a fight; the men will beat again on the entrance door. Under the effect of the alcohol there are heard at intervals disorderly shouting, noisy laughter, animated discussions, not infrequently fights and violence or even murders. That atmosphere of excitement and darkness is most conducive to immoral practices (59). [833]

59. Already at the end of the eighteenth century the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, vicar of S. Gabriel, was complaining: -- "During their banquets and feasts, there are always spirituous beverages, which they call caxiri, mucururú, pajaauarú and caeçuma, made out of mandioca, batatas, and fruits, with which they get drunk to the point of crapulence" (o. c. p. 486).

[833] At first they perform them more discreetly, going outside the maloca for these relations; later, when they are drunker, they do it even inside the maloca, in the hammocks or on the floor. Generally, however, there is no fecundation in these relations (60).

60. So they assured us, and they attribute

796 842 /349 cont./

/footnote 60 cont./ it to the quality of certain plants that they use in these caxirís. It is possible that their state of intoxication makes fecundity difficult; just as it is likely, moreover, that the affirmation of infecundity results only from the lack of means of verification or of attention to the problem.

831 [115] /350/ We thought that these immoral practices were a consequence of the intoxication. The Missionaries also thought this, although one of them pointed out to us that the inebriation was intentionally promoted for libidinous satisfactions. We nevertheless had many and categoric affirmations that these sexual practices, even the incestuous ones, are not only licit, but even established by the customs, and for this reason recommended by the "Old Ones," in order to ensure the happiness of the people and the fecundity of nature (cf. VII - 5, c).

5) Legendary commemorations -- Rite of the cigar.

796 538 Legendary commemorations. We have the impression that to the original elements of these feasts, let us call them the ritual elements, with the passing of time, were introduced other profane ones, such as the musical intermezzi performed by the individuals of the younger generation to the sound of the flautas-de-pã /Panpipes/ and the japurutús. Among the ritual elements must appear the Legendary Commemorations. After the first dance numbers, representatives of the tribes who are participating in the Wãx-tĩye baxsá detach themselves from the natives and sit down on little seats, one in front of the other, in the nave occupied by the men. These individuals are chosen from among the Komũá, and they must, naturally, show the qualities necessary for their function, that is, knowledge of the legends, a good memory, a lively imagination, facility with words.

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At the various times that we had the opportunity to attend these feasts, we did not see any initial ceremony. Each one seated in front of his antagonist, at a distance of a meter perhaps, they start to narrate in a singing tone accompanied by broad gestures and alternately with the right and the left arm. They unravel the legends of the origin of the world and of the tribes, as well as the exploits of their ancestors. They speak alternately and sometimes also simultaneously, breaking off only take a breath and perhaps, at a given time, to recall some further episode. The event told by his competitor will sometimes serve to remind him of another episode. So it seems to us.

If, by any chance, they carry to him the cuia of caxirí, he receives it without looking; he will keep it in his hand until he finishes the episode that he is narrating, and then he will swallow it rapidly, returning it empty to the one who brought it, and who remained patiently waiting.

It seems to be a matter of a true challenge. A competition of oratory and also of time, of rapidity of locution, of physical or, better, pulmonary endurance. During all this time they do not concern themselves about the audience, though there may perhaps be an indiscreet white who has come closer to observe better. At a certain point, however, /351/ one of the old men of the maloca intervenes and interrupts one of the narrators (we do not know whether he does it only to one of another tribe or maloca who came for the poosé, as in the case that we had a chance to observe), directing some words to him in a rapid dialogue. They informed us that it is the practice, and it is a thanks for his activity. But soon afterwards the competition proceeds with the same rhythm and intonation.

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The Rite of the Cigar. The principal act of the Legendary Commemorations is the Rite of the Cigar, which takes place around 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning, and which marks, moreover, the official ending of the poosé. Two enormous cigars, each tied to its fork (VI 2, b (5)), starting with the tuxaua and one of the Kõmũá, will pass simultaneously from mouth to mouth,

796 /351 cont./

276 538 *[192] to the least important of the men who have participated in the dances, and who arrange themselves in two lines, one in front of the other, all, however, sitting down. Each man takes some puffs and passes the cigar to his neighbor, and thus everybody smokes several times, until the cigars are consumed. The tuxaua and the bayá alternate with the Komũã the episodes of the history of the origins, dõxporó-kase kextí, recalling the different places from where their ancestors came, and the exploits that marked this ascent. They do it, however, in a singing rhythm, prolonging the final syllables of each part that they narrate.

796 574 576 Once this rite is concluded, the sticks and snappers are gathered up, the men take off their ornaments, which are carefully kept in the box for this purpose (VI - 2, d (7)). The guest tuxaua gives thanks in a loud voice: -- "The poosé was very good. We enjoyed ourselves very much, etc."

796 As the conclusion of this rite and of the fast that they must observe at these feasts, the Kõmũá who prepared the kaxpí puts in the mouth of each man a roasted pepper. For the young ones there is prepared a broth with lemon juice and pepper (and sometimes also salt), and this is applied to their noses with a funnel of leaves. The young man must draw this broth into the mouth and swallow it. After this ceremony, they can take their mingau or any food whatsoever.

[513] The entertainment might continue, principally among the younger persons. Ordinarily, however, they adjourn to the hammock (often two persons in the same hammock) and rest, in order to start the amusements again in the cool of the afternoon, around 4 o'clock.

5) /sic; 6)/ Games.

[524] We have spoken of the number of games that take place between the dances, but occur principally in the prolongation of the feast, that is, from the second day on.

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796 1st. -- Some of the guests come buzzing, like the carapanã
524 (crepuscular mosquitos /Culex fatigans/), and, with a little stick
in the hand, they start stinging the others, who try to shoo them
away.

2nd. -- Afterwards others come, pretending to be ku'síro (an animal perhaps legendary, similar to the dog, some say, and which makes a clamor in the forest), making noise, dragging pot or stick, doing this up to the center of the house. Those of the maloca beat on the ground with a stick in order to chase them away.

We have watched a similar challenge for two hours, finally leaving the competitors, who went on with the same enthusiasm.
[178] Nowadays many of the younger generation, instead of listening to
those monotonous narrations, prefer to dance enthusiastically with
[535] their female companions to the sound of the flauta-de-pã
/Panpipe/.

[273] 3rd. -- The caxirí is served; some no longer want it. The
companions force them to take it, always in jest.

4th. -- The chief of the guests comes in with a torch of turí
796 (VI 5, a (4a)), lighted, because it is already dark. His compan-
574 ions come in, throwing down objects, taking fruits, beijú, eating
them. All feigning an attack on the maloca. A simulation so well done by the way that the civilized present become frightened, believing that it is a matter of an enemy attack and that a fight is about to start. In reality many feasts degenerate into fights and are intentionally taken advantage of for reciprocal vengeance.

5th. -- Some of the guests now come hopping, squatting,
524 imitating the toad, and making the characteristic sound with the
796 mouth: "uão... uão... " They enter the maloca, and those who
574 are there ask the toads: -- "Where are you going?" "I am going
to visit my relatives." -- "Your relatives have all died." And
the toad, at this news, faints.

/352 cont./

796 6th. -- Afterwards some approach equipped with tipitís
524 /mandioca presses/, in order to pretend they are snakes. Upon
reaching those of the maloca, they maneuver the tipití, shortening it and lengthening it over them, as though to eat the toads
796 (61).

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535 61. Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, p. 379) describes the "dance of the snake" which he attended at a feast in Iauareté. Two enormous snakes of 30 to 40 feet long, made of cipo, hay, and straw, and painted bright colors. Each one held by 12 to 15 persons, they performed dance movements, as though trying to attack each other, which actually happened after some recoiling and weaving about, to the great liking of the spectators.

/353/ 7th. -- Young men and boys, eight or ten in number, arranged more or less in order of size, starting with the taller ones, position themselves in Indian file, each one holding with his hands the shoulders of the one who precedes him, and half bent over. That whole human column advances step by step, alternately swaying to the right and to the left. The tallest young man,
*[192] who leads the line, sounds the instrument called "deer head" (see
[534] VII - 3, c (3c)): pêru wá:tya (bring caxirí) repeatedly. Unexpectedly this standard-bearer of the procession backs up, sounding kéro, kéro, kéro (quickly, quickly, quickly), forcing the whole column to back up. Sometimes the movement is so abrupt that some, generally the last ones, fall to the ground, the game provoking general hilarity. Thus the amusement proceeds.

796 /353 cont./

574 Those who feel tired go to sleep. In the morning they take their bath, drink their mingau, and leave freely, that is, not all at once, but without a formal farewell, in small groups. Stradelli (Vocabulário Nheengatú-portuguê̂s, entry Tauúcurí) tells that he saw them all leave solemnly in another procession as far as the landing place, as at their arrival.

b) Poosé with the mysterious instruments -- flagellation.

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According to the statements by the Tukano pajés Henrique from Japú-igarapé and Marcelino from Juquira (river Uaupés), the sacred instruments, or mĩriá (juruparís) (62), are used only during the poosé (dabacurís) of fruit (cucura, patatuá, cunurí ucuquí, etc.), therefore not during those of fish (waí poosé). Even during those poosé, instead of the mĩrĩá, one might sound the flute mawáko (cf. 3, c (3c)), as the Christian povoados closer to the Missionary Centers generally do. As we have indicated above, there are two types of mawako, both of imbauba, the larger one of about 30 to 40 centimeters, like a common fife, and blown by the upper orifice; the smaller one of 10 to 15 centimeters, with an orifice in the middle, laterally, by which one makes it sound. Two of the dâbacurís that we attended in Iauareté were held with the latter.

62. A young man gave us the following explanation: "This instrument is very old; the one who found it was a man who had a son and two daughters. The daughters stole the instrument, and a bird played it very well. Now fearful that they might steal it again, they do not let it be seen, nor do they tell this story in the presence of the women." This deficient information reminds one of the legend of Uaracapá (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

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796 Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some
534 men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the
*778 landing place. It is the bath of the dawn, or wá-wa'kãsé.
[192] /354/ The women and children who came to the feast,
[562] barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut them-
[858] selves in (63),

[343] 63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mĩriá.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wãx-tĩ.

796 The guests then go toward that local landing place to which
534 the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women,
534 submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The
778 sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female
562 sex may see it. If they saw it, Wãx-tĩ would cause them the
688 same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

[593] The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with
[278] poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wãx-tĩ.
Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the
*[192] maloca: "ayu! ayú! mĩrĩ, mĩrĩ mĩrĩ!" (There! There! It is
the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

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They organize the procession of *Wãx-tĩ*, which will take the offering, as was described above, from the landing place to the maloca, a procession in which only those of the masculine sex who have gone through the puberty initiation rite participate. They walk naked, all painted, in front; hanging from the waist, the *waxsó-ro* (or tanga of tururi, see VII 3, d (2)), sounding the instruments, which at the same time are shaken up and down, and with lateral movements and contortion of the body. The

*[192] shape of the instrument (65), the movements they give to it, the body contortions of the participants, all the circumstances of this procession and the sexual liberties that go on during the feast, bring it close to the phallic processions of classical antiquity in the cult of Bacchus, and these native feasts well deserve the name of "*Phallustanzen*" /Ger. "phallus dances"/. There is even a similarity to the paroxysmal flagellations of the cult of Cybele of Greece and Rome, and of the Mediterranean civilization in general.

[532] 65. It is elongated, wrapped in the inner bark of tururi, which in Tukano is called *waxsó-kõ* (perhaps from the same root as *waxsó*, semen; see Note 41, VI-3, a). Koch Grũnberg (*Zwei Iahre*, 69) tells that on the rocks of the cachoeira of *Hipada* (Uaupuim-cachoeira, on the river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana) he found a representation of *Kúay*, son of *Yaperikuli*, with a long penis. It is proof, it seems to us, of the connection between the cult of *Kóay*, or *Wĩx-tĩ* of the Tukano, and that of the *phallus*. Perhaps one is even justified in seeing a *phallus* in the instrument, and for this reason it might be a symbol of *Wãx-tĩ* or *Kóay*.

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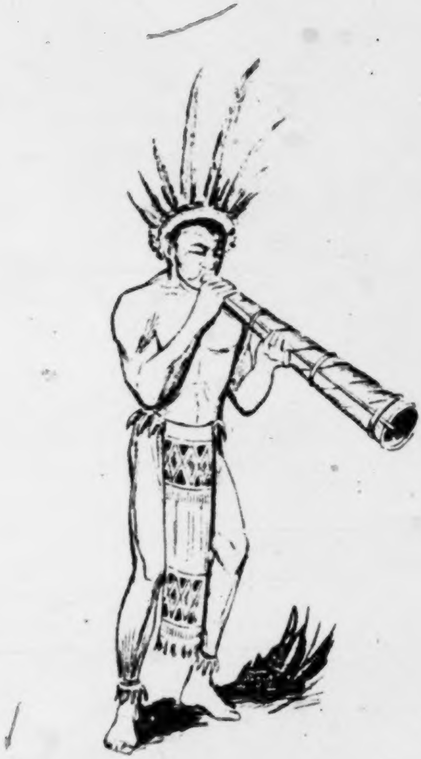

Indian playing the m̲īr̲ī (jurupari)

534 Always playing the m̲īr̲īā̲́, the men surround the maloca
562 where the women and children are shut in. All of them leave by
778 the back door, while the men enter the maloca by the main door.
Now the men shut themselves inside and for about half an hour play
796 the m̲īr̲īā̲́. Other instruments are not played in these circumstances.
858 Afterwards the mysterious instruments are hidden in another hut, or
in the forest, from where, at intervals, some men play them during
the dances.

796 562 858 /355 cont./

Then the doors of the maloca are opened, and the women and children come back to it, and the feast and the ritual banquet take place as was seen above.

785 562 796 /356/ Before the dances, the flagellation of the boys who have not participated in the procession proceeds. They beat with a reed or with ingá bark. One of the men takes the child by the legs, another by the arms, and the leader of the dances applies some strokes on his back and belly. They explain that it is to make them grow fast, and for this reason they also stretch the child during the flagellation.

*[192] The flagellation of the men will be done without interrupting the dances. Each one, standing up, receives three blows on the back and then, as retribution, gives them to his neighbor. The instrument for this flagellation is the adabí, in Tukano wã̄'sȭ-rĩ̄; it is a stick almost two meters long, but the ligneous part was extracted from its upper end, and it thus became very flexible (66).

[184] [178] 66. Among the Wanãna and Kubewana the adabis are well made, and because of this they are kept for similar circumstances. In the other tribes nowadays any stick is used for the flagellation. They assured us that sometimes they even omit the flagellation. It seems to us that they might really do so, at least when some civilized is present. The Kubéwana of Ambaíba (river Querarí) showed us how they customarily applied the flagellation. In order for the blows to be more violent, the flagellator swings two or three times before delivering the blow. Some of the ones flagellated, as if they were boasting of their advantage, showed us deep scars from the flagellation that they had endured.

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c) Conclusion: What to think of Wãx-tĩ and of Wá:kõ?

In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wãx-tĩ is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

[178] On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wá:kõ is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wá:kõ.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wãx-tĩ maxsã" (Wãx-tĩ people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wãx-tĩ of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsã, fish people (67),

[823] 67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsã.

as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water.
775 There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not.
776 They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wãx-tĩ.
756 And they greatly fear the Wãx-tĩ of the pajés, of inimical persons, and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as
829 inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3)). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wãx-tĩ.
[825] They say about a nocturnal bird, called uruká-tutú, due to the similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp,
*[192] because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of
*[192] a deceased civilized person, pexká-sã wẽ'ri Wã-tĩ. There are good and bad spirits.

/357 cont./

776 It seems that we are faced with some confusion between
177 the primitive notions and the ideas that the travelers, colonizers, and Missionaries brought and even taught them in different epochs.

*192 Wãx-tĩ, we have concluded, is a general term to designate these various beings, like our word "Spirit." The term
776 also occurs in the plural, Wãx-tĩa baxsá, dance of the Wãx-tĩ. Probably it is derived from the root wax, and from the substantivizing determinative tĩ. As a matter of fact, there is in the Tukano language the root wax, which would indicate: to imagine, idea, to form ideas, model. Wax-kũ means to think, perhaps from the root wax and the verb kũ, to put.

776 Among the different Wãx-tĩ or spirits, there is one par excellence, the "Wãx-tĩ," as we say "The Supreme, Most Perfect Spirit," or simply the Spirit.

Wãx-tĩ, as follows from the Uaupés legends (which we
776 shall examine in more detail in another study, "Lendas do Uaupés
782 /Legends of the Uaupés/"), is not only a Hero of the tribe, he is the Legislator, therefore the Supreme Lord. He punishes or will punish transgressions. In order to conjure away his punishments, it is important to propitiate him with particular rituals.
*[192] It can be seen in the poosé or wãx-tĩye baxsasé, sacrifices of fish, beijú, or fruits. And there is also communion of the group in the drinking and the smoking. The lyrics of the songs, today
[533] corrupted and without meaning, might perhaps have been the sacrificial hymns (68).

[115] 68. One of the students of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), José Barreto, told that his father, one of the most famous bayá, or singers at the feasts, and dance master, had taught him that the songs during the dabacurí or poosé recalled the creation of the human beings.

/357 cont./

776 [533] Those inserted words and shouts are perhaps ritual words and exclamations. We thus have a cult of the deity.

Later there was confusion between the Legislator Spirit and other spirits, that is, between the Wāx-tī and the wāx-tiá or wāx-tīá maxsā. /358/ What could have been the cause? It is certain that religious instruction that was not very deep could give rise to great confusion, even among the civilized. It is likewise beyond doubt that they had successive contacts with the Christians, and there was not perenniality in the Missionaries' work of Christianization. Who knows but that the concept of one true God, who is Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites" (69),

[115] 69. Dr. Pereira Nunes told us of an interview that he had with an old Indian on the Ilha-das-flôres (mouth of the river Uaupés) when he found out that they were celebrating the feast of Juruparí or Wāx-tī at a short distance, deeper in the interior of the forest. -- "Do you believe in the Jurupari?" he asked him. -- "Yes," he answered, "he is our God!" -- "And Jesus Christ?" -- "Jesus Christ is the 'God of the whites,' " was the answer.

as opposed to the false gods, idols, or demons, is what brought such entanglement and identification of Wāx-tī with the demon (70).

70. "They have generally called him Yurupari," wrote Paulo Ehrenreich (Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de S. Paulo, 1908, Vol. II, p. 303), "solar or cultural hero, a designation taken from the língua geral and falsely identified with the devil by the Missionaries." The identification

/358 cont./

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[103]

/footnote 70 cont./ of Wāx-tī or Jurupari with the demon dates back to the evangelization of the coastal tribes. For example, the Hollander Gaspar Barleus or Van Baerle (1647), describing the journey of Elias Harchman, apropos of a mountain of Copaóba, states: "nomen monti erat polyssyllabum et terríbile Iurupari bakau, id est, hic respéxit diábolus" (the name of the mountain was strange and terrible, "Iurupari bakau," that is, the demon looked here). Barbosa Rodrigues, "Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/," p. 94. Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, 1882. As for the identification of Wāx-tī with Juruparí, see above, Note 8, VII-4, c) /see note 7 in VII-4, c), and note 8 in VII-4, d)/.

*[192] The term that the catechesis uses to designate God, Wá:kō, which means "the one who is gone," seems to confirm it. It thus makes one think of Jesus Christ who went up to heaven (71).

71. We have just finished reading (May of 1956) in the Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, year of 1954, an article by Marcos Fulop, under the title: "Aspectos de la cultura tukana. Cosmogonía /Aspects of Tucano culture. Cosmogony/." This article seems to confirm the above opinion, which we had already voiced in 1948. After describing the creative activity and that of social organization exercised by Yepá Huake (this is the way the name of the personage Wá:kō is written), according to the account of the pajé Marcos Sierra from the povoado Guadalajara, on the river Paca, in

/358 cont./

776 /footnote 71 cont./ June of 1953, it ends: "Entonces Yepá Huake dijo a todos los que estaban en Diawí: di pié todo el mundo. Y Yepá Huake desapareció. Y allí se terminó. Y se subió al cielo Yepá Huake." /Then Yepá Huake said to all those who were in Diawí: stand up, everybody. And Yepá Huake disappeared. And there it was finished. And Yepá Huake went up to heaven (al cielo, "to heaven," or "to the sky")./ It should be noted that the native group to which Marco Sierra belongs, as Marco Fulop has it, a group about which we, too, have some knowledge from one of our excursions along the river Paca, are dissidents from the Mission of the Montfortian Padres of the Papurí. As was to be expected, and follows from the narration obtained by Fulop, the whole account by Marco Sierra is a combination of the tradition of the tribes of the Uaupés and of the Catholic Catechesis.

776 797 They can say nothing about Waskō except what the younger generation learned from the Missionaries of Dom Bosco and of /359/ Montfort (72);

72. It was the well-deserving Padre Pedro Kok, Hollander, from the Congregation of Montfort, who in the beginning of this century first studied the Tukano language, and, in this idiom, he left the first books of Catechesis (Catechisms, prayers, gospels, etc.). His confreres, Missionaries in the Território Nacional do Waupés (Colombia), and later the Salesian Missionaries in the adjacent Brazilian area, followed his

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 544]

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/footnote 72 cont./ orientation with regard to the idiom and, consequently, also with regard to the catechetical language. When we dedicated ourselves to the present studies and sought an interview with this wise linguist who doubled as a Missionary, we learned that he had died a short time before. Of course there remained unanswered the first question that we had asked him by letter, anticipating a promised visit, that is: the origin of the word Wá:kõ. 1st. -- Would it have been of his coinage? And, in this case, would it be derived from the verb wá:, to go? Had he adopted this word (properly speaking, it is the singular Masculine Past Participle of wá:) to indicate Jesus Christ? Why should it be given as the translation of the word God? It is certain that the natives of these tribes have absolutely no idea of the divinity; why did he not adopt, in his catechesis, the Latin word Deus (or Spanish Diós) for the new concept that he was going to teach, as he had used so many Latin or Spanish words (Virgo, gracia, pecado, Santu, Anjo, misterio /Virgin, grace, sin, Saint, Angel, mystery/, etc.)?

2. -- Did wa:kõ come from a confusion of his with the legendary personage O'ĩ-kõ?

On a second trip that we made to the Papurí in 1948, we expressed to the veteran Montfortian Missionaries, Pe. Humberto Limpens and Pe. Afonso Kuipers, the opinion that we explain in these pages and about how it seems to us that "Wá:kõ" meant "the one who is gone," that is, Jesus Christ, who went up to heaven. And we verified that both of them were of the same opinion.

/359 cont./

797 776 /Footnote 72 cont./ When they repeat an idea that the Catechist made them nearly learn by heart, the children of the Mission schools say Wá:kõ. In other circumstances they say O'ɨ-kõ, especially those who have already left the schools years ago. This verification, which dates from our first trip to the Uaupés (in 1947), is what put us in search of the history or legend of O'ɨ-kõ (and which today we also possess recorded in the voices of two xamɨs /shamans/), and what led us to infer the dilemma: either the natives are identifying the God of the Catechesis, the Christian God, or, more concretely, Jesus Christ, with the legendary personage O'ɨ-kõ; or, perhaps, Padre Kok, with an imperfect knowledge of the Uaupés legends, thought that O'ɨ-kõ was the God of these tribes and, because he did not observe the pronunciation very well (perhaps because of poor pronunciation by the informant), he began to write erroneously Wáke, as it appears in his books.

*[192] It is to be noted that the Christian natives who gave God the name of Wá:kõ make up a feminine Wá:ko (thus Goddess) to designate the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ Most Holy Virgin, Mother of Jesus, and the plural Wá:mɨra (Uaupés Wá:mɨna), gods, in order to indicate the Saints. The Bishop of Manáus, Dom Frederico Benício Costa, in his interesting "Carta Pastoral" /Pastoral Letter/ (Fortaleza, Ceará, 1909), remarks on p. 166 that the caboclos of the Rio Negro, who spoke the Língua Geral, also used the name Tupána to indicate the Saints, and, when they wanted to distinguish them from God, they called the latter Tupana uaçú.

/359 cont./
797 they do not think about him nor are they interested in him. The
776 conclusion would be, not that they do not know God and do not
worship him. But that they do not know Wá:kō̃, that is, Jesus
Christ, the "God of the whites." They only know, fear, and worship
Wā̃x-tī̃, the Legislator who punishes their transgressions, permitting
them to have misfortunes, sicknesses, lightning bolts.

771 /360/ This is what we were also able to conclude from a
conversation with an old Indian, almost one hundred years old
[115] (1947), Casimiro from Ipanuré.

f) Their rules of conduct -- Magic practices.

The native is convinced of the existence of extrahuman or mysterious forces, both personal and impersonal or cosmic, which can be useful or harmful to him, and which it is possible for him to dominate and take advantage of. This is what is understood by magic, considered subjectively.

The entire life of the natives is, for this reason, filled with so many positive and negative prescriptions (73) proceeding from this belief of theirs: or, in other words, it is saturated with magic practices. This is magic considered objectively.

Here and there we have indicated some of these magic practices; there are many others, however. Due to the number of superstitious practices that have come to our knowledge (and how many others might there be?), due to their frequency and application to the most common events of each day, perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to conclude that the mentality of the Uaupés Indians is dominated by the magic fears and beliefs as if this were an obsession, and which, naturally, is reflected and manifested in a large part of native activity.

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73. These prescriptions, or rather, prohibitions, forbidding one to enter a certain place, to look at, to touch some object or person, is what is today called tabooism.

/360 cont./

771 *[192] The evil that can come from an event, an action, a person, animal, or thing is called wé-boxátise, or wá-boxkátise.

The magic practices can be divided into groups: practices related to places, to things, to animals and to persons.

We shall first indicate some of these superstitious or magic beliefs.

1) Superstitions and magic beliefs.

776 Some of their beliefs have been revealed in connection with various subjects. At this point we have collected others:

a) There is a general belief in the existence of the wai maxsã or "fish people," as literally translated. They not only admit that people can be permanently or temporarily transformed into fish, /361/ but they also cite episodes of such transformations, with indication of the names of persons, the place, the date, and other individualizing circumstances. On certain occasions such persons again assume their human aspect.

They affirm that the botos /boutos/ (cetaceous mammals of the Delphinidae) are "people," "maxsã"; and that on many occasions they appear in the form of handsome young men, in order to have sexual relations with the women, especially with the unmarried maidens.

Not infrequently the female botos appear in the form of seductive women, in order to attract the young men. When such apparitions happen at night to the young men and women, it seems to them as though it was only a dream; nevertheless they actually happened, asserts the Indian.

*[192] The headless snake (Cecilidae) or two-headed snake (Lacertidae), õxsó, as is said in Tukano, may appear as a pleasant young man and fecundate the women. See the legend of õxsó. But it is not only a matter of an event that happened in the past (and they admit it with the certainty of a historical event), it can still happen, and, therefore, the women avoid looking at the two-headed snake, in order not to feel its attraction.

/361 cont./

776 823 b) *Tamanduaí* is a locality situated on the bank of the Rio Negro, in an elevated position, with the bank forming a barrier or slope. They affirm that in the vicinity of this point, but deep in the water, is located the city of the *wai maxsã*.

776 539 823 They tell that, a few years ago, a woman lived on the bank opposite Tamanduaí. Soon after delivery, against the traditional prescriptions, she cooked and ate cará /yams, Dioscorea/. Later, upon going to the landing place, she saw there a young man, who asked her: -- Why are you there ? -- I want to go away, the woman said to him, because my husband is very rough and often hits me. -- Come with me, the man invited her. And he took her into the water. There, in the depths, she saw that there was a large city with pretty houses, factories of thirst (!) /Port. *fábricas de sêde*/, and also gardens and forest. She stayed there, living with this young man. On a certain day, she told him: -- I am longing for my son, I am going to get him. The young man took her out of the water. She was covered with algae. She washed herself well, went to her own house, prepared milk (!) for the son. Then the husband asked her: -- Where have you been all this time? It has been a week since you went away. She, however, did not answer him. On the following day she took her child and went to the landing place, went into the river, and did not return again. She remained as wife of the young *wai maxsã* man.

c) We further heard another episode told about Tamanduaí. A young man from the Uaupés, settled in Tamanduaí (and there are many who, /362/ searching for better lands, leave the Uaupés and go to settle in this region of the Rio Negro), left one day to go fishing. He was going down along a large beach. At a certain moment he saw, at the edge of the nearby forest, a very pretty hammock, and, sitting in the hammock, a blonde girl, very beautiful, with a child in her arms and singing in order to put the child to sleep. The youth paid attention to the harmonious song and could hear that is said: -- "I am

776 /362 cont./
539 going away to my land, it is so beautiful... nothing is lacking
823 there"..., etc. He looked closely and saw that the cords of the hammock were sucurujú /anaconda/. At night the blonde girl appeared to him in a dream and told him: -- "Today I sang for you, and it did not please you."

776 d) Near Bela-Vista, on the river Uaupés, an alumna of
787 the Mission of Taracuá dreamed at night that she had amorous relations with a young man. Then in the morning, when she went to take a bath, she saw close to her a blowing bouto, throwing itself about in the water, agitating it, and wanting to have relations with her. The young woman also heard shots under the ground, smelled the perfume that the "bouto" youths use. She even felt a desire to go to live with the boutos forever.

776 5. /sic/; e)/ -- Patrícia Vasconcelos tells that her grand-
[115] mother was still a young woman when she went looking for turtle
[222] eggs on a beach near Pinú-pinu (river Uaupés) with other girl companions, among them one who had just finished the puberty initiation rite. They started to dig in the sand and found many eggs. At a certain point, however, the sand started to sink with a great noise, and the newly initiated girl disappeared. A little later the sand reappeared. The mother of the maiden who had disappeared went to look for her, shouted everywhere, but the
*[192] maiden never returned. The poor mother then understood that the waí maxsĩ had stolen her daughter: "waí maxsĩ mĩsa-wapĩ yõõ maxkõ-ré, the fish people came to get my daughter."

2) Magic practices.

823 a) Places. -- There are places (the most remote parts of the forests, caves, headwaters of the igarapés) where they should never go. If by chance they pass in the vicinity of these places, they will turn their faces to the opposite side.

There is a lake below the Ira-igarapé (middle Uaupés); the old ones did not look at it, in order not to have a weak and whining child.

/362 cont./

823 In Ira-igarapé there are some potholes in the water. When
an individual dives into these potholes, if he is lazy, he will then
hear claps of thunder and feel an electric shock (the resounding
of the waters in the concavity? shocks from the electric eel?).
If he is not lazy, nothing happens to him.

Three flat rocks arranged in a triangle are to be seen near
[784] Jandiá (left bank of the river Papurí). The women /363/ must not
look at these rocks, so that their children will not be born with a
flat head.

825 One must not step in the track of the onça /jaguar/, because,
without being seen, he will come after the one who did it.

There is a high rock on the left bank of the river Papurí,
823 near the mouth of the stream Cuiú-cuiú, called Bará õxtɨ̃. If a
young woman goes up onto that rock, and some young man, passing there, looks at the young woman, he will feel attracted and
*[192] will end up joining her. This attraction, however, disappears if
the young man immediately puts in his eyes drops of the infusion
of the cipo called yõx'kwá-dá (star cipo).

[103] Below the "island of the cuiubí," in the cachoeira of the
Bacaba (river Uaupés), in the place called Γá-ñõá (point of the
louse), there is a rock called muhi-pɨ̃ õxtɨ̃ (rock of the sun or of
[782] the moon). Those who navigate the river, when they pass there,
deposit dried fish, beijú, banana, or other fruit. According to
the Wanana Tomás Paiva, the offerer, upon leaving his offering,
presents the following supplication: "My grandfather, make it so
that the day will be good, will not be hot, will not have banzeiro
(agitation of the waters by the winds).

There are various processes of casting malefices (dohasé)
754 in the road or in the clearing:

*[192] 1st. -- They bend some stick by the road where the disliked
individual must pass, and they "blow" on the stick; it is the
yuxkõ dohó-kõ; the malefice will reach the person merely passing there.

/363 cont./

754 *[192] 2nd. -- He can also, knowing that a person must pass by way of a trail, close the passage to him, putting across it a stick over which he has "blown"; it is what is called kã̄ pe-vyó-kõ.

3rd. -- Nẽ'kĩ-yusé is said when he has "blown" over a fruit or a plant; if any person (74) eats some of this fruit, or even touches this object, he "will become crooked." They believe that all cases of stupor, with paralysis of the facial muscles and contortion of the mouth, are due to the malefices of some enemy.

74. These local malefices can harm, by mistake, even the one who prepared them. Patrícia Vasconcelos told us that her uncle Marcos had cast a malefice on a cacuri /fish trap/ (see VI-5, a (2b)) against anyone who went there to steal fish. In the morning he forgot to neutralize the malefice, took some fish, and ate them. Soon he began to feel ill: dizziness, darkening vision, stomach-ache. He then called his own son and said to him: --"My son, I am going to die! I 'blew' on the cacurí, and by accident I ate some of the fish without removing the dohasé." Fortunately he escaped, having recourse to other magic practices.

The Tukano of Parí-cachoeira prepare their jequí /fish trap/ (see VI - 5, a (2a)) on a certain rock of the cachoeira; if they did it at home, they would not be able to catch any fish.

789 /364/ b) Things. -- Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português (entry Uirá-purú), speaks of the belief in the protective quality of certain charms. It is probable that he is not referring to the tribes of the Uaupés. Among them we not only did not find them, but they could not tell us whether the ancients had used them. In very rare cases we found necklaces of triangular [301] sheets (see -- 3, d (1)), with the character, it seems, solely of feminine adornment.

/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in
[224] order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have
similar efficacy.

[226] They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions
*[192] which are called *oxkó* ("*puçanga*" in the Língua Geral). Some
are prepared by the pajé or *kõmũ*; others, by any individual.
There are *puçangas* for washing the *parí* and the *cacurí*, and
to guarantee them abundant fish.

The powders for the preparation of the *puçangas* are kept inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (*bextá*) and the ucuqui (*puxpyá*).

[514] They show a particular aversion toward human excrement
(75);

> 75. We have observed that, in practice, the toilet is that part of the landing place that is less deep, where they customarily take their bath. Since they are already immersed in the water, the personal cleaning is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that serves as toilet.

[832] The women prepare a *puçanga* and give it to the young
men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant
789 called *tá:-dõxká* (in Nheengatú *peri-pirioca*; *cyperus* *piperioca*)
824 to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know every-
thing," that is, will be intelligent.

*[192] There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with
magic virtues:

[241] 1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or
rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the
mandioca will yield very well.

/364 cont./

789 2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in
824 order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ú) and aracú (bo'téa) fish.

*[192] 3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the
[226] face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.

[832] The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many
291 practices and prescriptions:

1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger;
821 if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away Wɨ̃x-tɨ̃, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small wood-
825 pecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clear-
*[192] ing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ uukã, kõmã-ro a'tɨ̃rosa
(when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

/365 cont./

925 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, õxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[784] [192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

*[192] [304] [224] [226] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sĩgõ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

Uruká-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one who did this, throwing stones at him. *[192] They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexká-sã wẽ'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

/366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes [752] on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

[843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

/366 cont./

843 *[192] [226] d) Persons. Every pregnant woman, nihí-paxkó (after the fourth month, more or less), is a dangerous being. There are various prescriptions referring to the gestating woman. For example, she cannot eat the fish from the espinhel /line with many hooks/ (VI - 5, a (4 d)), from the cacurí, nor participate in the large-scale fishing with timbo. If she does so, the fishing will be fruitless, and the espinhel or cacurí will no longer catch fish (77).

> 77. They ruined the espinhel of Dom José Domitrovitsch. The Missionary complained and asked the reason. The espinhel "is no good," the Indian said to him, because my wife ate some of the fish caught in that espinhel and she is pregnant.

She must not touch the bow or arrow, so that she does not "ruin them."

846 *[192] About the father of a newborn baby, it is also said that he is in a state of pregnancy, nihí-paxkṍ or nihí-pkṍ. He must, then, take care of himself, "sihyógõ" (cf. "Couvade," VIII -- 1, b (3)), so that the child will grow strong.

844 It is permissible only for women to attend the delivery; the men must withdraw. If by any chance there are male guests in the maloca, then the woman giving birth will remain in some tightly closed apartment, if there is one. Or she will leave, in order to give birth in some isolated hut or even in the forest. Before taking her puerperium bath, the woman may not see a bow or any instrument of iron (machete, ax, assagai, etc.).

843 If the husband stops with open arms in the door of the house during the pregnancy of his wife, she will have a difficult delivery.

If during her own pregnancy the woman sits down to eat, or sits in a hammock with her legs dangling, her delivery will be difficult.

/366 cont./

846 The first time they go to the clearing after the birth of any child, they practice a special ritual called "mixpĩ purí-ré dõ'tekũsé," that is, the entwining of the leaves of the açaí /assai/. The father goes in front, and behind, the mother carrying the child. The father, at more or less every ten meters or steps, ties two by two the leaflets of the açaí, and throws them on the road. If they must cross any stream, and the child is of the male sex, he makes a kind of canoe with the leaves and puts it on the /367/ water. The purpose of these practices is to ensure that the child and those of his house never lose their way, wi'seri-khãra-re mĩx'pĩ pũrĩ-ré dõxté-kũsé. *[192]

837 The newly married woman who seeks out many other men becomes transformed during the night into an anta and goes out through the forest to graze (78).

> 78. There were indicated to us two cases of similar transformations, both having happened shortly before this information was given (1953), one that was supposed to have taken place in Urubucuara and another in Iauareté, the name of these wives "without shame," according to the expression of one of the informants, being cited to us.

*[192] It is what is called "wexkõ dohogó" (literally: ruined into an anta). At dawn she is again transformed into a woman and returns, still taking bits of grass from her teeth. An indication of this event is the paleness of the wife. When she goes out at night, however, she leaves her legs in the hammock. When the husband sees this, he turns the legs in the opposite position, that is, toward the head of the hammock. For this reason, on the following day the woman will feel strong pains in her hips. On the following night the husband turns them in the direction opposite that of the first time, and the wife's pains will cease.

/367 cont./

824 *[192] In order to make marupiara, mõ'sĩgȭ, for their own child, soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the bará, perí-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824 843 *[192] [515] There is a plant called kĩ'rá pũrĩ (Uaupés kĩ'ná pũnĩ), the leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

> [797] 79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

> [797] [178] 80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurí River) promoted two marriages of Pirá-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose their own belief.

T /368 cont./

755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

> 81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).
T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.

501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.

T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.

262 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.

278 The dead are transformed into wã̄x-tī (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé,
756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where some civilized person was buried.
829

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/368 cont./

621 of the soul, a social cult of the dead would be foreseen. Manifestations of this cult are the elegy-weeping, the interment, the banquet and funeral feast.

758 1) The elegy-weeping. The coldness and insensitivity (82)

> 82. Sometimes, it seems to us, even cruelty, denying them even food and drink (cf. V-17).

with which these natives of the Uaupés see any member of the family waste away, even if it is their own father, mother, or child, is striking. The sick one is found in a hammock hung in a darker corner, and a few meters away the occupants of the maloca or house /369/ laugh, talk, eat, amuse themselves, as if no sick person was there (83).

[797]

> 83. We have already noted that, to the question by the Missionary as to whether anyone is sick (see V-16) in the maloca or povoado, they systematically answer no. Perhaps the silence or the denial has its cause in a belief or some magic concept unknown to us. And from this same concept might be derived the insensitivity, perhaps only apparent, which gives rise to our opinion. To the Padre who scolded a native who left his old father without food, he responded: -- "Why should I give him food? He is going to die!"
>
> Pe. João Marchesi writes (ap. "Os Tucanos /The Tucano/," by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13): "In the same house, sometimes a relative is in agony, but nevertheless they will not take the least care to spare him

/369 cont./

758 [763] /footnote 83 cont./ the commotion of an infernal orgy of two days. In front of their own dead brother they will burst out in a desperate cry, and with the same aptness they will pass to the noisiest and most indecent laughter."

763 *[192] Nevertheless, as soon as they notice that he has died -- (perhaps the catastrophe already happened some time ago, and they did not notice it; or there has been a mistake, he has not died yet) -- the men and women present start the elegy-weeping, uxtisé (84).

[797] [756] 84. Pe. Humberto Limpens, Montfortian, in the early days of the Mission of Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí), saw a "weeping," in which primarily the pajés blew smoke for a long time over the dead woman, who was married, while the men shouted threats against the enemies who were the cause of the death. Afterwards the women came, and, placing themselves in a semicircle, began the lamentations.

[797] The weeping that took place on June 24, 1956, in the hospital of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) and which two Sisters in charge of nursing witnessed was also interesting. A young wife had died as the result of a stillbirth. She was the stepdaughter of the late tuxáua of Pari-cachoeira, Júlio, father of the present local chief. There had been previous treatment with the pajés; and even after she was already in a condition of extreme gravity and she had been taken to the hospital, her mother, of the Tuyuka tribe, had tried to take

/369 cont./

763 /footnote 84 cont./ her out of there in order to subject her again to the rites of the pajés. As soon as the catastrophe happened, in the very room of death, in the hospital, the weeping by men and women, accompanied simultaneously by dancing, began at the sides of the hammock that contained the body. [874] [177] Among the participants in the wailing and dances was a young Tukano woman who had taken the course in midwifery in Manaus. [535] The dancers were distributed in pairs of the same sex, and the dances were intermixed with small hops, beating at this moment, [593] first the arms, then the legs. The husband, also present, did not participate in the dances, but he did participate in the weeping. Later, once the body had been moved to the entrance room of the hospital, the old mother lay down on the floor, under the hammock where the daughter had died, with her legs and arms open, singing the elegy-weeping.

[761] The men utter cries and imprecations against those who caused the death; because every death, so they think, is a true murder perpetrated by some enemy by means of a malefice. *[192] The women too, appropriately called uxtĩra (Uaupés uxtĩna), mourners, between exclamations and with /370/ very sentimental thoughts, do the eulogy of the dead and imprecate against the pajés or persons who cast the spell, the alleged

/370 cont./

763 causa mortis. They lower their heads, draw the hair over the face, the tears come in abundance, and they constantly collect them with the index finger of the right hand and shake them to the ground. And they proceed in this way for a long time, in a characteristic intonation, in which they go from the lowest notes to the shrillest ones. And the mourners succeed one another in turn in this panegyric-imprecatory weeping. The last notes of their wailing have hardly been lost in the air and their last tears filtered into the floor of the maloca before the shadows of emotion clear away from their faces, and the mourner will go on to talk gaily with her companions, with her habitual good humor and noisy laughter.

[593] The mother or wife, during the wailing, will be squatting or seated on the little seats beside the deceased, and with the right hand drawing lines on the ground. At other times they rub the hands on the cadaver and then stretch the arms in the direction of space, as if they were casting there the curses or the malefice that took the life of the deceased.

*[192] At times three or more women gather in a closed circle, in which their heads touch, and the principal mourner extends her arms, as if to embrace them all by the nape of the neck; it is what is called ʔe'Ɛ̄-kea-uxtisé, weeping embraced. The first mourner then starts to do the eulogy of the dead one, as if directing a dialogue with the others, who repeat her final words; or they address interlocutions, all of it intermixed with sobs and cries.

Once the panegyric-weeping is performed, which may last minutes or whole hours (85),

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85. The weeping for the death of Júlio, tuxáua of Parí-cachoeira, on

/370 cont./

763 /footnote 85 cont./ July 5, 1954, lasted from 3 o'clock in the early morning until 10 o'clock in the day, when the burial was concluded.

calm is restored, as if nothing abnormal had happened (86).

86. If it is a husband or child who died, the sorrow at times is sincere and prolonged, and, in order to distract themselves, they go around to other malocas.

They resume their jobs, meal, or conversations with the habitual typical laughter.

If by chance it was during the night that the death took place, they customarily, after the weeping, stay up during the night, but talking gaily and drinking chibé, without concerning themselves about the dead one any longer.

764 The relatives, as they arrive to visit the family, casually or because they have learned of the death, have the same relief of noisy and laudatory wailing. On the occasion of the burial they /371/ reinitiate the weeping.
765 When some relative who lives farther away, even if it is months later, meets the widower or widow for the first time after the death of the spouse, he places his hands on the shoulder and not infrequently the scene of the wailing is renewed.

The simple news of some death is also apt to provoke the official wailing. It is to be noted that, although the dead person might be from the husband's tribe, many times the latter will not show any sign of grief, will calmly continue his gay chatting, leaving to his wife (who is from another tribe) the duty of wailing for the dead.

/371 cont./

Here is one of these elegies (87).

87. It has been furnished to us by the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi.

Paxkó uxtígo
the mother who mourns

Yöö max-kő! yöö max-kő! yöö max-kő!
o my son! my son! my son!

Derowégo yöö döxporó wẽ'rĩtohati mÂÂ!
why I before not die you?

MÂÂ añũ-buxtyágõ, tuxtwágö nĩtohapö.
you very good (handsome), strong were..

MÂÂ yöö yukése. yöö ekatisé, yöö maisé-mẽra.
you my hope, my joy, my love-also (you were).

MÂÂ dyápo-a-ré, yöö ĩ'ãsomé. mÂÂ buhisé-ré,
your face, I shall not see, your smile,

MÂÂ böxsösé-ré töosomé!
your voice I shall not hear!

De'ró mÂÂ marĩsé-mẽra a'té nÂxkÂ-pö, a'té dyá-pö?
how you without (also shall I live) in these forests, on these rivers?

A'tę wi'i-pö ỹa'ã-buxtyasé-mẽra kaxtí-maxsĩsari?
in this house so sad to live will I be able?

MÂÂ maigö oxkó-ré, pexká-mẽ-ré yöö-ré axpo-yúgö.
you lovingly water, fire for me prepared.

MÂÂ pax-kö wẽ'rise-re nÂxkÂtise-re darétohapa.
of your father the death not heavy you made for me.

MÂÂ yöö-ré wai-re dyá-pö-ré oógö.
you for me fish from the river brought.

MÂÂ nÂxkÂ-pö yuxkö-döxká-ré oógö
you from the forest the fruits brought.

MÂÂ marĩsé-mẽra ỹeé-ré wé:bósari?
you without what thing shall I do (now)?

ö'mÂ-kori nÂxkÂ uxtígo, mÂÂ-mẽra maxsã-pé-pö sooseré.
the days all to weep, with you in the grave to rest.

Yöö max-kő! yöö max-kő! yöö max-kő!
o my son! my son! my son!

/372/

764 2) The interment. There is no fixed interval between the verification of the death and the burial. One even notices a certain anxiety to bury the corpse as soon as possible. And the cases
763 in which the preparations for this start when the individual is still
764 alive, and even has use of his senses, are not infrequent (88).

[797] 88. One of the Salesian Missionary Sisters, passing through Umarí (river Uaupés), saw in the maloca four holes in the floor. Surprised she asked the reason. It was that there were four children with whooping cough, and, foreseeing their death, they had already prepared the graves.

Another striking episode took place in Taracuá (river Uaupés) in 1934. The tuxáua Migüel, of the Tukano tribe, was near death, and his subjects prepared the coffin-canoe and placed the sick man there, almost suffocating him with his clothes, hammock, eating cuia, etc. The Missionaries arrived still in time, and, noticing that he was still alive, they moved him to the hospital, and actually he did not die until three days later.

[323] Although they are familiar with ceramics and know how to make vessels of large dimensions, they are not in the habit of burying the cadavers in vessels, nor are there any indications of their having had such a custom.

764 The burial is permanent, and the traditional form is the canoe-
501 coffin, yuxkõ-sõ-koró, that is, in a canoe (89).

*[192] 89. Occasionally, lacking a canoe, we have heard of burial in the caxirí tub in Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí). Pe. André Linssen, Missionary of the Monfort Congregation, did a burial in a mat in Acuaricuara (Colombia,

/372 cont./

764
501
*[192]
[797]
[177]

/footnote 89 cont./ river Paca). Today one often hears "yuxkō̃-sō̃ mā̃rī̃," there is no canoe (since they do not want to render useless the good canoes that they have), and they bury the dead in some hollow piece of timber, or they ask the Missionaries for a casket.

It will be the old canoe, fruit of his work, companion of his travels and of his fishing trips, or one obtained for this purpose. They saw it into two parts. We were unable to find out what they would have done in the old days, before they had a saw or machete, in order to divide the canoe into two halves. Whether they then did it with the help of fire, or whether they used two small canoes as a coffin. On one half they place the corpse with his hammock, bow, arrow, his cuia with a little flour, a cigar, and some coals on a piece of a pot (nowadays a box with some matches). They cover this with the other half of the canoe, closing the orifices, at present with pieces of wood, rags, or anything, and tie the two parts with strong cords of tucum.

764 The burial with part of the utilitarian objects is usually a survival from nomadism. Today the Indians explain to us that it is "to be used in the other life." Other objects (canoes, machetes, axes, hammocks, etc.) are inherited by the family, or, more accurately, by the /373/ oldest son. It is the symbol of a bond that still endures among the members who are living and those already dead (84) /sic; 90/.

[184] 90. Koch Grünberg says of the Kubẽwãna that they burn and throw away the objects that belonged to the dead person, so that his spirit does not come to punish the survivors for their negligence and greediness (Zwei Jahre, p. 314).

/373 cont./

764 although the apparent motive is the ambition and the interests of the Indian. And they have been seen to take long trips in order to acquire some object that belonged to the deceased.

[412] The grave, sufficiently long and not very deep, opened formerly with a simple pointed stick and the hands, is made in the central nave of the maloca (91), without any obligatory orientation. On that place, precisely, where he spent the happiest hours of his life, preparing his bow and arrow, adorning himself with the ornaments, in endless talks with his tribal brothers, and danced during the long nights of the poosé (dabacurí); as if the living wished to maintain union with the dead.

> 91. In January of 1948 in Ambaíba (Colombia, river Querari) the Kubêwāna were preparing a new maloca, when the death of an Indian took place. They buried him, then, in the area of the new maloca. Since this was still without any covering, however, they improvised a little roof of straw over the grave, a meter above the ground, "so that the dead one will not get the rain."
>
> Near Matapí (river Uaupés) there is an island known precisely as the "island of the cemetery," because the Wanana buried their dead there. We do not know whether this was due to the influence of the civilized.

The canoe is then placed in the grave, there being renewed among those present, collectively, the "panegyric-weeping (92).

[797]

> 92. This is verified even for the burials that take place in the cemeteries of the Missions, with the assistance of the Missionary, who many times finds himself obliged, after a few minutes, to ask that they cease the weeping

/373 cont./

764
[797]

/footnote 92 cont./ in order to proceed with the liturgical absolution. Upon leaving the cemetery, the women were seen making broad gestures with the arms, as if to chase away the malignant spirit, or to cast curses over the one who caused the death. Moreover, they were observed burning nettles around the house where the death had taken place.

Everyone will throw handfuls of earth over the coffin, until the grave is completely filled. In a short time, because of the treading of those passing over it, the ground will be as firm as the rest of the floor, and nothing will reveal that anyone was buried there (93).

93. What Wallace tells (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 637) is not likely: "In some of the larger houses there are, at times, more than a hundred graves, and when the houses become too small and are already full, they then make the graves outside." In fact it is a matter of small human groups, which very rarely exceed one hundred persons; therefore, as a rule, there will not be half a dozen /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ deaths a year. The hot and humid climate promotes the rapid disappearance of the mortal remains. And, besides, no sign indicating graves remains.

/374/ One does not perceive any manifestation of fear from viewing or contact with the body.

/374 cont./

764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirĩ and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirĩ there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihĩ (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into Wãx-tĩ (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of Wãx-tĩ?)).

[115] [535] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubucuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxirĩ (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism or anthropophagy.

266 In America it is a custom verified among the Karaĩba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

/374 cont./

121 266 It is probable that such a practice, in origin, is due to the lack of food. Nevertheless, later, because of the whole orientation of the mentality of primitive man, it came to take on a magical character. One must, then, distinguish economic cannibalism and ritual cannibalism.

/375/ 1. Economic cannibalism.

In economic cannibalism the flesh of enemies, fresh or preserved by various processes that they know, is usually consumed: this is exoanthropophagy. Hence expeditions of war to provide human flesh.

266 721 This is what Wallace tells us (o. c. 638) about the Kubewana: --"On the Uaupés only the Cubeus /Cubeo/ are truly cannibals. They eat those of the other tribes whom they kill in battle. In order to obtain human flesh still fresh, they even make war for this single purpose. When the meat exceeds what they can eat at one time, they dry it and smoke it on the fire, and thus it can be stored for a long time. They burn the heads of the dead ones and drink their ashes with caxirí in the same way that has already been described above."

[727 567] As for the Kubewana or other tribes of the Uaupés, this information obtained by Wallace seems false to us. Perhaps in turn based on Wallace is Bento de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, Director of the "Archivo do Amazonas" (1907, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 80), in his article entitled "As explorações e os exploradores do Uaupés /The explorations and the explorers of the Uaupés/," where he also affirms: -- "When they take a prisoner in war, if it is a man, they massacre, if it is a woman or a young man, they sell, when they find a buyer, otherwise they kill and eat, dividing the pieces among everyone in the tribe."

266 648 726 The encounters and reprisals that took place about twenty years ago between the Colombian seringueiros /rubber workers/ and the natives of the banks of the Cananari, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, are still remembered (information by the Colombian Napoleão Estrada, in November of 1953, and by others). Still

/375 cont./

266 in 1954 we heard mention of four Colombians murdered, "smoked,"
648 and eaten by the Pamõá-maxsĩ (Tatú-tapuya) Indians of this
region; and of how they particularly coveted the legs and feet of
726 the victims. Accepting the accuracy of the news, however, it
seems that it is a matter of special irritation and vengeance, and
not of anthropophagy as a traditional habit, much less of bellicose
attempts for the purpose of obtaining human flesh.

266 Koch Grünberg in various passages of his work Zwei Iahre
speaks of the cannibalism of the Hyanakoto. He is, however, only
reporting information by natives, and the Hyanakoto are Karaíba
and reside outside the area that we are studying here. We have
266 also heard natives of various tribes speak of anthropophagous
829 Indians (94).

94. The Kumĩdene tuxaua of Urubucuara, Mandú, knowing that we had made a long excursion by way of the headwaters of the river Tiquié, presented two very interesting questions: whether we had met the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ anthropophagous Indians and whether we had seen the tailed Indians. We answered both questions negatively, and we took the opportunity to ask him whether by chance he too had already seen them, who they were, and where they lived. He also answered us that he did not know, he had only heard such things mentioned.

An old Tukano /376/ from Pari-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, informed us that there are three cannibal tribes, or Baári-maxsĩ-ré, that is: 1st -- the Yai-peri maxsĩ, 2nd -- the Píti-yároa, 3rd -- the Yõõrwá, and that they live "up there," that is, on the headwaters of the river Tiquié.

/376 cont./

829 266 Other natives designated for us the ferocious Indians of the river Cauaburi, tributary from the left of the middle Rio Negro, as being the famous *Yai-peri maxsɨ* or Onça /jaguar/ Tooth People. These, however, seem to be only legendary beings (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

Concerning the *Pinao* Indians of Colombia, we read that they sold the human flesh of their war slaves in their markets. This refers to the *Panches*, also from Colombian territory, who sold their own children to be eaten. It is said of these anthropophagous tribes that they fattened up the victims intended to serve as food. They ate them boiled with maize in large pots, or, more commonly, roasted them alive on a spit that pierced them through the anus.

2) *Ritual cannibalism*.

Among the tribes who practice anthropophagy, *magic* or *participative cannibalism* is more frequently found.

It is derived from the belief that through the eating of the flesh of an individual comes the most intimate union possible with him, and, therefore, participation in his good qualities: courage, vigor, dexterity, etc., and even in his psychic qualities or his magic power. Hence the *sacred repasts*, at which were eaten (not infrequently with preceding feasts, homages, and solemn immolation) the personages taken as superior: the chief, the pajé, the brave warriors, the heroes. More commonly, they are personages of their own tribe; this is *endoanthropophagy*.

765 Among some primitives, the cult of the dead came to be impregnated with such a magic concept. In order to provide themselves with the desired qualities that their own ancestors possessed, there appeared the custom of ingesting their ashes with special drinks on the occasion of particular funeral commemorations.

Wallace affirms (o. c. 638) that "The Tarianos and Tucanos, as well as some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is already in a very advanced state of decomposition, and place it in a large pot or oven over the fire, until the soft parts are destroyed, which is done with the

/377/

765 most horrible stench, there remaining at the end only the carbonized bones, which are immediately ground up and reduced [415] to powder. This powder is then placed in various enormous tubs (vats or vessels made out of wood) full of caxiri. The group present then drinks the caxiri until the last drop is finished. They believe that by so doing the virtues of the dead are transmitted to everyone who takes this drink."

171 765 It is a custom that is found among other tribes of America, and even of the Amazon, according to the information from the ancient explorers, for example, among the Warekena of the rivers Içana and Xié, the Šomena of the river Japurá, etc. (cf. "Roteiro /Logbook/" of Pe. Noronha, 222). And, according to what was told us in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, this custom was in force until the end of the last century among the Taryana, until the beginning of this one among the Kubewãna, according to what Koch G. states and, moreover, what the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira told us in 1955, and it is the present practice of the tribes of the river Cauaburi, among whom Pes. Miguel Ghigo and Antônio Goes were present at such events.

[115] The same custom also existed among the Wanãna, we were assured by Tomás Paiva, son of the tuxawa /sic/ of Carurú-cachoeira, and other young Wanãna, but it fell into disuse as early as two generations ago.

765 Among the Kubewãna Koch G. (Z. I. 316) was present at one of these events in the maloca of Namacoliba (?). The Tuxaua disinters the remains of his predecessor, dead for 15 years, and burns it in front of the maloca. The carbonized bones are later cleaned and placed in a pot on the [illegible] day and night for a month, until they are reduced to ashes. These, on the occasion of a solemn caxiri, which is held with a large crowd of people, are pounded, sifted, and mixed with a thick drink, prepared in great abundance with maize. The Tuxaua, with a stick, tries to spread the ashes well in the drink, and afterwards, with a large cuia, distributes it to the men standing around him. It is a drink reserved for the old ones and the fathers and mothers of families, who, although they might not be old, already have three children.

765 /377 cont./

53 Koch concludes that at this cannibalistic feast there were dances of masks on which he could verify the following details: the participants wore a band of yellow bark as a stole on the neck, and on the left arm a banner of bark, in the right hand a rhythm tube (VII -- 3, c (3 c)) of imbauba, with paintings representing fish. They advance and back up and, marking time with the right foot, carry on a monotonous song with innumerable repetitions.

171 765 We could seek the origin of this peculiar custom, which is also found among other tropical tribes of South America, teaches Koch, in the belief that the bones that remain after death are the /378/ last place in which the spirits reside. And with the ingestion of the ashes the individuals incorporate in themselves the substance and the spirit of the ancestors.

5. Morality.

121 831 When we deal with this subject, the necessity of some warnings beforehand is imposed:

1st. -- We limit the breadth of the term morality to the common and vulgar meaning, as if it were a synonym of moderation of carnal concupiscence, or further as a synonym of customs in force in sexual relations.

2nd. -- We present, naturally, those points in discrepancy with the norms of Christian morals and which, for this very reason, impress one more.

797 831 3rd. -- Many of the customs that we were able to collect are not in force, obviously, in those groups or among those individuals who are under the influence of the Catholic Missions. But the Missionaries themselves are the first to confess that the modifications of the ancestral customs that they achieve in the field of morality are the fruit of many exhortations, vigilance, and the frequency of the sacraments and religious practices.

/378 cont./

831 a) Concept of procreation and marriage.

842 The concept of procreation through the participation of the two sexes, and both among human beings and among animals, is known by everyone, even the children.

843 It seems, on the other hand, that the space of nine months as the gestation period is not likewise so well known (95).

[115] 95. A Tukano girl about 20 years old from S. Tomé, river Tiquié, answered us that the period of gestation was five months.

842 843 And they do not know how fecundation takes place or how the fetus becomes animated and develops.

582 The most rigorous law of tribal exogamy is in force (VIII -- 1, a (1)). Marriage Between tribal "brothers and sisters" is considered bad and impossible (96),

[797] 96. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Paurí /Papurí or Papury/, Colombia, performed two marriages among Pirá-tapuyas who, through religious instruction, had liberated themselves from these prejudices and wanted each other as spouses. Nevertheless, there was great reaction from the Indians, who tried to burn the house of the Missionary. But, under the protection of the latter, the two couples continued to live in Teresita (1947) and with healthy children.

and a fortiori between blood brothers and sisters. If one asks them the reason for this prohibition they simply answer: -- "Because it is bad." /379/ Some add: -- "Because he will not have children," or: -- "Because the children will die."

/379 cont./

581 In marriage, they conceive the relations between husband and wife as natural, and, as the purpose of these relations, or, better, as the purpose of marriage, the procreation of children for the tribe.

836 They do not recognize, however, the exclusive right of one
837 spouse over the other with regard to these relations. There is then nothing to say about conjugal fidelity (97),

[115] 97. One of the Missionaries, with 30 years of residence among the Indians, in conversation with the author of this work, appeared impressed by episodes involving an individual who went so far as to abuse the wife of another, without this causing repulsion on the part of the husband or surprise on the part of the others.

just as there is nothing to be said about virginity (98)

[115] 98. In putting together a vocabulary, we noticed several significant facts. Many natives consulted by us, among them the most educated alumni of the Missions, could not find an equivalent for the Portuguese term fornicação /fornication/, that is, one which would express illegitimate sexual relations. They indicated the same terms as for the legitimate relations between the spouses, affirming positively that different terms for these diverse relations did not exist. Likewise they did not know of a word corresponding to the Portuguese adultério /adultery/, affirming, moreover, that it does not exist in the Tukano language. The

*[192] Veteran Missionary Pe. Pedro Kok, out of need for his ministry, created two terms descriptive of the act, that is, Wõakĩsé manapõ-tĩgo-ne and Wõakĩsé nõ'mõ-tĩgõ-ne, in order to express,

/379 cont./

*192 836 837 /footnote 98 cont./ respectively, adultery on the part of the man or of the woman. According to consultations held with nine persons of both sexes, in different places, the result is that these terms combined constituted an inexpressive redundancy. Wõákĩse or Wõákahĩse means simply relation of the sexes, without the qualification of legitimate or illegitimate by our Christian morals. The addition to the word Wõákĩse of the specific term "with one who has a husband," manapõ-tigo-ne, or "with one who has a wife," nõ'mõ-tígõ-né, does not give it the idea of illegitimacy, which the natives do not even comprehend. Just as there also does not exist in the Tukano language (and moreover in the other native idioms) a term corresponding to the concept of virginity. Already [797] during our first stay among those tribes, in 1947, the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of one of the girls' schools of the Mission told us how some of the students, upon hearing so much talk about virginity, but having difficulty in learning this concept, came to ask her for more clarification.

836 837 of the bride. Legally virginity can not exist, as will be seen below (VIII -- 1, b (7)). The Catechesis, in referring to the Most Holy Virgin, Mother of God, uses in Tukano the Latin expression "Maria Virgo" /Virgin Mary/.

837 We thought at first (and so manifested) that the acts characterized by us as conjugal infidelities were not punished because the husband feared the vengeance of the rival or that his wife might leave him. We must change this opinion, in the face of numerous and categorical affirmations by natives of eight different tribes (Tukano, Taryana, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka, Tuyuka, Bará, Desãna, and Wanãna), /380/ some of whom, well informed about

/380 cont./

837 other tribes, with whom they live in the same maloca or povoado, promised us that the same happens among all the tribes of this region.

881 836 After the individuals of both sexes have gone through the puberty initiation, -- be they married or single -- sexual relations with a large number of persons of the tribe and, under some conditions, also with those of other tribes, and with the civilized themselves, are permissible for them.

833 They conceive the sexual relations between the two sexes (99) as a normal pleasure for the individuals who have reached legal majority by the puberty rite, and therefore such relations are practiced publicly, in front of their own parents or their own spouse (100), just as the various physiological acts of eating, drinking, or anything else are performed in front of any person (101).

[838] [881] 99. Male or female homosexualism, it seems, has always been regarded as something reprovable and, for this reason, always practiced secretly. Officially, as far as is reported, it only exists in the puberty rite of the boys.

100. It is understandable that the relations, although legally permissible, might not always be prudent and thus are not practiced publicly. Such is the case for the individual who, having fought with the husband, does not touch his wife in his presence. This comes from positive information obtained.

[829] 101. Out of mixed feelings of distrust and hostility toward the civilized, or even because they know directly or indirectly that their morals condemn these liberties, they do not

/380 cont./

833 829 /footnote 101 cont./ practice licit or illicit sexual relations in front of them. Perhaps, yes, in front of some who are better acquainted with them, and with whom they might have had relations. Cf. what will be said about the female initiation.

835 There is only one interdiction, but a strict one, against sexual relations (and the same for the different tribes that we mention in this study), those that take place between blood brothers and sisters, or brothers and sisters in the strict sense, that is, between children of the same parents. These, as well as relations between parents and children, take on a religious character, for this reason are licit, or even advisable and imposed in given circumstances (puberty rite, eclipse, new moon, caxiris, and in the clearing), and outside of that only secretly.

[833] The woman, legally, can take the initiative in these relations, which happens frequently among single persons. In practice, especially between married persons, due to the feeling of inferiority which dominates her, the woman almost always waits for the invitation of the men. She can never, however, peremptorily refuse, even in the face of prostration of her physical state and the multiplicity of the suitors.

It must further be mentioned that the Australian Pirraúru is also in force among the Uaupesinos. That is, when the husband must /381/ go away, he invites one of his blood brothers (he is the first one designated, unless the husband has had a fight with him, as comes from the information) or a tribal brother to replace him in the habitual conjugal relations (102).

102. Two informants stated that it fell to the wife to invite this brother-in-law. It seems that this information may be based on events perhaps explained by the forgetfulness or sudden departure of the absent husband. The official notice to his substitute falls to him.

/381 cont./

835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

[115] [797] 103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco, an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 851 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement. Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 847 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrepancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

/381 cont./

581 Marriage, then, in the regime that is in force among these tribes, is a social institution intended to ensure the perpetuity of the tribe. Its aim is not to consider the particular interests of the individuals: tendencies to perpetuate themselves, affectionate inclinations, sedatio concupiscentiae, or others. For this reason, in the realization of the matrimonial act, it would be more accurate to say of the matrimonial contract, the will of the individuals, which in the rest of native life has such an ample field, is not consulted. /382/ On the subject of marriage, one again has a great deal of evidence of the "absorption of the individuals by the group," which characterizes the tribes of the Uaupés. Almost every act of native practice gives confirmation that among them there are no individuals, there are only members, there are no persons, there are only cells of the social body. The individual's own will does not seem to know how to want anything except what the group wants!

b) Concept of modesty.

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562 It is difficult to answer these three questions: 1st -- whether the Indian really has an idea of modesty; 2nd -- how he shows it, whether through clothes or paintings; 3rd -- which might be the delicate part.

In front of the civilized, the attitude of respect and circumspection that they show, especially the women, is remarkable. An attitude all the more perfected the more frequent their contact with the civilized.

While the men appear, with the utmost ease and without any shame, with only their "Waxsó-ro" or sex-cover in front of the whites, be these men or women, the Indian women nowadays only appear clothed, or at least with a skirt, rarely a short petticoat /Port. saiote/ or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/. Among themselves, however, they do not observe such circumspection. The civilized has many proofs that the woman has dressed in order

/382 cont./

291 562 834 829 to receive him (104);

> 104. In Montfort, river Papurí, an old woman, upon returning from the clearing dressed in a skirt and loaded with her aturá /carrying basket/ full of mandiocas, thinking that she was not observed, took off the skirt, jumped out of the canoe, washed the roots on the beach, and later, with the skirt in her hand, she proceeded toward her house, bending under the weight of the aturá.

Wallace already pointed that out a century ago. Many times, upon approaching unexpectedly, the civilized perceives a scurrying of women toward some dark corner of the maloca or to the neighboring forest, in order to get dressed. During the work in the clearing the women are ordinarily naked. Frequently they leave their skirts in the canoe, at the landing place on some stream where they disembarked in going to the clearing.

291 562 Many tribes went around completely naked, testify the first explorers, such as Padre Acuña (1637). The Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ Pe. José M. de Noronha (1759), speaking about the Tecuna nation, writes: -- "Their women do not have any modesty. The males, however, cover the parts intended for generation, with wide fringes made out of thread twisted from certain white tow which they extract from the bark of wood" ("Roteiro /Logbook/," n. 139). *[192] The Poet Gonçalves Dias, who was a School Inspector in Amazonas, writes: -- "The men, who among them seem to be the most modest, wear on the Uaupés something like suspensories, to which they give the name of cueios, similar to or an imitation of the tocambobas /383/ of the primitive Tupis. In imitation of them, the women also wear today some cueios of beads (puericueios)." (Manaus, October 23, 1861 -- Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas, Vol. II, p. 760.) /In the original source, the end of the last sentence of footnote 104 is repeated here as the last sentence of the paragraph. This sentence is omitted here in the translation./

/383 cont./

291 534 562 As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

[115] 105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

[796] [302] As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are worn exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

178 562 292 106. We were informed by the natives themselves that, while the men at the feasts, besides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

/383 cont./

178 /footnote 106 cont./ nowadays rarely wear
292 Waxsó-ro, not even as a dance ornament.
562 Some persons declared to us that they had
*[192] never seen a feminine Waxsó-ro made of
glass beads, the Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro, and that
the women always walked around destitute
of clothing.

302 About the paintings, we know that they consider them only as adornment.

As for the delicate parts, it does not seem that they are the
291 breasts. As a matter of fact, some appear with the bust uncovered
302 without bashfulness. During the dances they decorate the breasts
834 with red circles, which still remain for several days. And there
is no great circumspection with the legs either, because, when
they sit down or squat, they draw the skirt between the legs, but
leave the legs and thighs uncovered.

[178] It seems that they are impressed more by the persons' bust, hence the greater care on the part of the natives, even those who already have /384/ relations with the civilized, in having it uncovered and painted for the dances (107),

107. Without perceiving that she was being observed (so it seems to us), we were able to note a young Bará woman, soon after the rite of her puberty initiation, absorbed in painting her own breasts, with the red powder of carajurú /carajura/, which she had wrapped in a leaf. A little girl of about 5 or 6 years of age at once tried to imitate her, with similar designs.

[832] perhaps while the rest of the body is covered with pants or skirt. Some natives assured us positively of the attraction that the men feel by the women's bust.

/384 cont./

c) Extramarital incontinence.

831 [521] The freedom with which the Indian deals with some subjects, with a realism at times crude, is well known. And this not only among themselves, but also with the civilized. Equally well known is the immorality of the conversation among themselves on trips, as in the interior of their malocas, in the hours of rest, interlaced with frequent and lewd laughter. There are not only ambiguous words in their vocabulary, but a whole assemblage of words and sentences of immoral caliber.

*[192] Moreover there are more than enough proofs of premarital and extramarital incontinence, Wõákɨ̃se, wõákahɨ̃se, yõãsé or ñõãsé (108).

> 108. Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel, already revealed this in 1793: --"With respect to the two vices of incontinence and gluttony, vices so natural to the Indian people, that it seems that they have already stifled and destroyed all their freedom" (o. c., p. 499). The same was reported by Frei Gregório de Bene, Apostolic Missionary of the Uaupés from 1850 to 1852, explaining the reason why, especially in some places, he had to delay administering the sacraments.

1) Premarital liberties.

836 One notes some vigilance by the parents, especially the mothers (at least in front of the civilized), over the daughters who have reached a certain age. It is not enough, however, especially if the circumstances of their life, their works, and customs are considered. And a greater sexual impulse is manifested in the girls who have reached a certain physiological development,

/384 cont./

836 inducing them, not infrequently, to provocation (109)

[832] [515] 109. While bathing, the girls agitate the water, with the hand cupped, from below upwards, with a characteristic noise. The boys respond to this signal by fanning their open hands in front of the chest, one higher than the other, so that they are crossed without meeting, and, since they are almost on the surface of the water, they produce a noise that is heard at a distance of two

*[192] hundred meters or more. This provocative noise is called Pixtwasé.

and invitation to the boys.

832 836 [515] /385/ Although the old customs state that the bathing of the women precedes that of the men and should be before the break of day, sometimes the Indians are surprised in mixed bathing during the warm hours of the day.

*[192] [278] The young women prepare philters or potions, known by the Nheengatú name of Puçanga (in Tukano Ox-kó), which they give to the young men to drink in order to attract them to them; or, in front of their eyes, they wear or rub on themselves roots and plants to which is attributed an aphrodisiac virtue.

842 847 848 The cases of illegitimate pregnancy of maidens are not rare, although they know (110)

110. We had gathered for the "centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté some plants considered as sterilizing and abortive. While organizing the herbarium, some identifying labels fell off. We called on three maidens, and with the greatest facility, upon seeing the plants, they indicated the name and the purpose, exactly as was stated on the labels.

842 /385 cont./
847 and use contraceptive and abortive methods. Their own mother
848 (or mother-in-law when it is a matter of a newlywed) will teach
these methods.

The illegitimate son is called Ko-boxkákõ (literally it means
848 "found by her or hers"; in the feminine Ko-boxkáko), and it does
*[192] not constitute an obstacle to marriage for the unwed mother
(111)

> 111. In Pari-cachoeira in April of 1954, we were able to see a young Tukano woman (later married to a Desana of Iraiti, river Tiquié) carrying an illegitimate child from her relations with a young Tuyuka man, who at Easter of this year married a young Tukano woman from Pari-cachoeira.

or create a problem for the married mother (112).

> 112. With the greatest ease, Maria Gama, a young Ipeka woman of Urubucuara, speaking to us about her family, told us about having a younger ko-boxkákõ brother.

581 It is considered shameful to have children at once in the
842 first year of marriage, Pe. Humberto Limpens of Acuaricuara,
183 river Paca, informed us. They want children only two or three
years after the marriage, and this is also the interval between
[797] children. A demonstration that this is artificial is given by the
good Christian mother, alumna of the Mission, with successive
children and at once from the first year. One understands the
[462] difficulty of the native mother who, besides the care and nursing
of the child, is pressed with the work of the house and of the
clearing, if she does not have the help of older daughters.

/385 cont./

563 Because of the high concept that they have of the Branco /White/, without excluding the influence of their magic beliefs and because of the gifts that they can /386/ give them, the women easily give in to the desires of the civilized and are even proud of having children by them (113).

[115] [611] 113. In Urubucuara and Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, two women told us, in conversation, with some pride, that they were not daughters of Indians, but of civilized. We observe here that for the purpose of social classification and of future marriage they were regarded as belonging to the tribe to which their mother belonged. For example, Antônia of Carurú-cachoeira, who died in 1956, daughter of a man from Pará and considered Taryana, later married a Wanana.

Unfortunately among the civilized who reach those regions there are adventurers without any moral concepts, without an established family (114)

114. Not infrequently their unions with Indian women are of some duration, that is, all the time that they remain among the Indians, perhaps in public service, or they are casual relations.

or with a regular family from whom they have been away for a long time.

881 833 [756] In the rite of puberty initiation, the maiden not only has theoretical instruction on her matrimonial duties, but also immediate practice with the pajé or Kõmũ and with another young man of her choice or of her own father's choice (according to tribe).

/386 cont./

881 All these premarital relations (115)

> 833 115. Since 1947 we have known about this
> *[192] official and public character of the relations
> of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the
> young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b)),
> and her fiancé, Mĩ-ra-põ nỹákhõ. And we
> have spoken of this since that time. Today
> we know that these legal licenses have a much
> greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus
[628] like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements
of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

The Makú maidens and women, while they are working for
567 the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position
831 of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they
648 must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for
it.

588 When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for
the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara,
628 Pinú-pinú, Pari-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have
648 likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian indi-
viduals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one,
833 too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of
881 the family" was the expression that we heard.

The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage
588 entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives
835 /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the
native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or
"Gens."

/387 cont./

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At times there are individuals of different tribes participating in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors. [574]

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In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

592 582 797 836 /387 cont./

/footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpens /sic/.)

835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresitá (river Papurí) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] [847] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacurís, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxirí, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

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831 [797] /footnote 120 cont./ only be applied, obviously, to the Christian Indians, instructed in Christian morals; but not at all to the others.

that it is bad, ya'I, and, on the other hand, are very full of shame (?), for this reason they try to hide their miseries and become intoxicated in order to act with more freedom."

[115]. They are not embarrassed, however (confirmed another veteran and equally well-deserving Montfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Limpens, of Acuaricuara, who has spent almost 40 years among those tribes), about the immoral occurrences in these circumstances. Sometimes they even boast of them as being conquests.

As a conclusion from the testimony and inquiries made in various circumstances and in different places among the most reliable individuals in them, we can affirm that they judge licit, good, and recommended the sexual relations during the caxiris, as well as those that we characterize as incestuous (121).

[835] 121. Incest by the father with his own daughters is narrated in the legend of the mysterious instruments. And the same is found in other legends. We did not hear, in the legends, about cases of concubinage between "blood brothers and sisters" or brothers and sisters by the same parents. It seems that this does cause them horror.

They even take on, according to what they think and testified, a religious character. As a matter of fact, some informants answered that these sexual liberties used to take place "for the good fortune of the tribe," "in order that the clearing would yield better."

/388 cont./

831 833 Confirming this opinion is, first, the fact that the relations during the caxiri must take place on the ground, outside the maloca (122),

> 122. When they are more intoxicated and excited, they also violate this custom, relations taking place even inside the maloca. So reported some of the natives.

and that in some tribes the woman must first kiss the ground; whereas the ordinary relations take place inside the maloca and in the hammock.

[241] [835] Another confirmation of this sacred character, it seems to us, is the opinion that they regard as good and recommended the relations, even incestuous ones, when the women go to the clearing. The relations are even compulsory when it is a matter of a new clearing to which the woman is going for the first time.

[821] [835] Finally, the religious character of the public incestuous relations is further documented by the circumstance of their indication on the occasion of the new moon and lunar eclipses.

831 One can conclude, then, that sexual liberties in these circumstances, incestuous or not, have the character of a rite in connection with /389/ the fertility of the soil and of nature in general. We have, thus, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the notion and practice of the intichiuma, which is also in force among other human groups, that is, sexual liberties are magic ceremonies in order to guarantee the reproduction of the animal or vegetable nature. They are, by the way, very common practices, proclaiming lunar beliefs and cults of matriarchalist origin.

And they constitute, in turn, proof of the religious character of their feasts.

/389 cont./

864 d) Sexual education.

With regard to this subject, the precocity of the children, especially of the female sex, is remarkable. It surprises us to see how individuals who on the outside still look like children are subjected to the rite of the puberty initiation (see photo).

How much they appear to know is an even greater surprise. Children still quite young know perfectly all the mystery of life, like any adult.

[797] [581] The girls enter the mission schools at seven or eight years of age, and at this age they not infrequently reveal full knowledge of this subject. Sometimes the thought that already absorbs and preoccupies them is that of marriage, a Missionary Sister Superior revealed to us. They talk of that often, and perhaps they might already even know whom they are going to marry, according to the customs of the tribe and the desires of the parents.

The school of this discipline -- is the maloca with its regime of life, where there are no partitions between the families, where all the licentiousness takes place before the eyes of all and thus the intimate life of each one is known by all. According to the information obtained, the mother herself will give explanations to the daughters and will teach them the sterilizing and abortive resources.

[276] [593] For example, in the intimacy of the malocas or huts during the warm hours of the day, destitute of any clothing at all, the husband will not infrequently amuse himself by blowing the smoke from his cigar over his wife's body. We say he amuses himself, because he does it amidst noisy laughter, as we were able to hear, without excluding the fact that they admit some magic virtue in this rite.

831 The nudity, especially along with the dirtiness, appears somewhat repugnant. Besides, the psychological axiom "ab assuétis non fit pássio" /passion does not arise from what one is accustomed to/ is quite true. And so the influence of the nudity seems somewhat attenuated.

/389 cont./

831 291 Perhaps, however, nudity alternating with periods in which they are clothed, always renewing the degenerating action of the nudity, aggravates this state of things. Thus their own clothes become transformed into excitation, especially some poorly fitted to the body.

*192 838 839 /390/ One will not be surprised, then, that on this ground thrive, moreover, unnatural habits, such as masturbation (swesé, pa-daresé, dará-ỹãsé, bestiality (dyayõ-mẽra wõrátise (123), sodomy (ná-sirotúse), homosexualism, male (õ'mã̄-se'saró) (124) and female (nũ'myó se'saró), and pederasty. And it seems that similar acts are verified even where the instinctive natural satisfaction is possible.

5) Conclusion.

000 In conclusion, grave degeneration of the customs is verified among these tribes, in contrast with the so-called "primitive" peoples.

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123. Dyayõ-mẽra wõãrátise means, properly speaking, intercourse-with-dog, perhaps because of being the only form of bestiality that they practice.

124. It is to be lamented that some of these episodes take place in the piassava groves, in which groups of young men spend months, often in the company of the civilized, engaged in the extraction of the piassava, or other products, in places far from their povoados and where only once a month, if that often, a launch comes to bring merchandise ("aviamento" /preparation, provision/ they say) for their food, etc.

648 466 /390 cont./

Nowadays more or less numerous and frequent groups of Indians, men and women, are taken, especially the single ones, for the extraction of the cuquirana, balata, chicle, rubber, Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," various species of trees yielding edible nuts/, piassava, in both Brazilian and Colombian territory, or as sailors for the launches. They see, hear, and practice vices and immoralities (125).

[837] [797] 125. The Missionary was scolding a Christian Indian from Urubucuara, river Uaupés, because, in spite of being married, he was living with another woman. And when he reminded him of the commandment of God, he heard from the Indian this expression, certainly learned from some civilized: -- "Commandment does not hurt."

166 One observes a tendency to go down to S. Gabriel (present city of Uaupés) and Tapurucuara. To Manaus, not so much. So far nostalgia periodically brings them to the natal places. How long will this state of things last? The known cases of venereal diseases are very rare, although the legends already allude to them. This rarity is perhaps explained by the simple spontaneous malario-therapy (cf. VII - 2, e (4 i)). 164

It is certain that for centuries they have been in more or less frequent and enduring contact with the civilized. It is difficult to determine whether some responsibility falls on them in such a state of things, and up to what point. The problem is serious.

797 One also understands from this that there cannot always be good harmony in the relations between the Missionaries who live among the Indians, trying to bring them to the bosom of civilization and to the practice of /391/ Christian truth and morals (126).

126. The difficulty that the Missionary faces in order to implant Christian morals is great.

/391 cont./

797 /Footnote 126 cont./ Pe. Antônio Giacone recalls: "This belief (immortality of the material life, VII-2, e (1)) makes them almost insensitive and apathetic to the teachings of the eternal truths. They abandon with difficulty the corruption in which they live" ("Os Tucanos /The Tucano/," p. 31).

and some civilized person who, for other reasons (perhaps in contraposition to those of the Missionaries), appears or resides around those regions. Which is the truly humane and patriotic attitude? What will the responsible persons decide?

6. Feasts and Amusements.

a) Feasts or Caxirís.

527 1) *Caxiri*. We have presented the "*poosé*" or *Wĩx-tíye baxsá* (in the Língua Geral, *Dabacurí*) as a religious rite. It does not seem, however, that all their feasts and dances are religious ceremonies. Rather, some evidently are simple entertainments
*[192] and are called pêru-sĩrĩrí-nã̄mã̄ (Uaupés, pêru-sĩnĩ-nã̄mã̄) or *caxiri* (in the Língua Geral) (127).

127. This is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg (cf. *Zwei Jahre*, p. 372; cf. Note 39 /see p. 502/, VII-4 e) 2 a 2nd).

Actually, in some cases they are almost improvised; any reason at all, or even a simple request by a civilized visitor, is enough for a feast. Participation in such dances is not required; but, while some pass the time entertaining themselves, the others remain seated on the small seats or lying in the hammocks, talking and laughing, and at times making fun of those who are dancing, because of some inaccuracy in the movements.

/391 cont./

527 535 Some of these dances are strictly familial amusements, in which only those of the family (maloca or house) participate, and there are no invitations to strangers. For others, strangers to the family are also invited, without, however, the importance or the number of participants of the "Poosé."

[273] Corresponding to the importance of such entertainments will also be the preparation, the ornaments, the paintings, and the quantity of the drinks, Pẽru (caxirí, see VI - 4, h). The latter will never be missing; the ornaments might be missing, or they might use the simpler ones. Once the feast starts, it goes on uninterruptedly until the drink is finished. Those who are overcome by sleep doze a little, but, barely awake, they continue to dance. It is a
[562] question of pride and conceit, for the persons of the two sexes, to show the greater endurance.

*[192] 2) "Bayá." -- At the dances, both in the Dabacurís and outside of them, appears a personage of distinction, called Bayá. Almost /392/ always he will have an official assistant, with the name of baya-re we-tamõgõ (helper of the Bayá).

The position of Bayá is a lifetime one, in which the son almost always succeeds him, because he learns with his own father, for whom, perhaps, he was already the official assistant. The function of Bayá might be put together with that of tuxáua or wyogõ. This is the case for Júlio from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié); for Vicente, Desana from the Umari-igarapé, for Henrique, Tuyuka from the stream of the onça /jaguar/ (trib. of the Tiquié), for Mandú, Makú from the vicinity of Iauareté, etc. There are no examples, however, of its having been exercised by the pajé.

It falls to the Bayá to direct the songs and dances at the feasts, both religious and profane. He must, then, know them very well and be zealous about the exactness of the dances, teaching them to the younger generation and correcting the mistakes. And we have seen him exercise with authority and grace his function as master of ceremonies in solemn dabacurís.

*[192] When he is not the tuxáua, he ordinarily will be one of the ko-mũ (see VII - 2, e (3)), and to him falls the first place immediately beside the tuxáua. Like the latter, he will have the most

/392 cont./
527 beautiful ornaments, and in certain dance numbers, in the right
535 hand, the "yu-yú" (see below, dances, 5th part), the significance of
*[192] which it was not possible for us to obtain. It consists of a small stick, having on the tip a cord from whose end hangs a loop of cipo about 15 centimeters in diameter. Cord and loop are decorated with delicate and striking tucano /toucan/ feathers. With this instrument he "beats time for the dances," that is, he shakes it rhythmically, more or less as the conductor who directs an orchestra does with his baton.

*[192] 3) Variety of dances. -- One does not notice variety in the dance steps; they are precisely the same for the most solemn Poosé as for the simplest baxsarí-nãmã (literally it means dance day).

527 There are no distinct terms equivalent to song and dance. The
533 word baxsasé translates their ideas, because they always sing during
535 the dances; and the words correspond to the rhythm of the feet and to the choreography of the movements executed.

They distinguish varieties of baxsasé, according to the musical instrument that they use; each one will have its lyrics or song. In the religious dances they are words or sounds articulated without any meaning, and they are repeated many times for the duration of the movement of the steps. The tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira,
[115] Júlio Silgueira Machado, declared to us, and many others with him, that they do not understand what they are singing.

They also vary the melodies, which are ordinarily slow, sad, although some might be pleasant and quite melodious. For /393/ this reason different names for the dances, sometimes even poetic names, appear.

[184] In different tribes we have verified the similarity in the feasts, the same ornaments and instruments. One must point out this detail: the melodies of the instrumental music are almost identical, whereas those of the song-dances differ a little more. In the steps of the dances one does not perceive any difference from tribe to tribe. That is, even in the two extremes of the native Uaupésina hierarchy, to wit, the noble tribe of the Tukano, and the slave tribe of the Makú from the outskirts of Iauareté.

535 The tuxáua-bayá Júlio gave us the following names of dances that are performed in the most solemn Poosé:

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1st. With the rhythm tube or ahũwõ:
Ixki pũrĩ bõrõasé baxsá -- song-dance "the falling of the leaves of the inajá" or
Ixki pũrĩ baxsá -- "song-dance of the leaf of the inajá."

2nd. With the maracá or yaxsĩ (ya'sá or ñaxsã):
pexká baxsá -- "song-dance of the firewood"
ka'i baxsá -- "song-dance of the mass of the umarí"
kenõ baxsá -- "song-dance of the jatobá."

3rd. With a simple rhythm stick or yuxkõ:
Poori baxsá -- "song-dance of the offering" (of the dabacurí)
wai baxsá -- "song-dance of the fish"
Wĩx-tiá baxsá -- "song-dance of the Wĩx-tí."

4th. With the small flute called bwá (cotias /agoutis/):
bwá baxsá -- "song-dance of the cotias."

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Júlio, the tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), sang for us the various songs whose words or articulations we give in the following, revealing once more that all the "verses" were repeated many times (128).

[126]

128. We lament not having had a recording machine at the time when this tuxaua, with the best state of mind, furnished us this information. Later, in the possession of such apparatus, we went twice to Parí-cachoeira, where we waited for a long time for the opportunity of listening to him and recording his songs. It was not possible, however; the old Tuxáua was in the last months of his life, afflicted, it seems, with an internal ulcer, dying on July 5, 1954. We were able, however, to witness and film the solemn funeral of a highly esteemed Tuxáua. We nevertheless obtained other precious recordings, and, among these, the various songs of the Wanana, performed by the tuxáua Mandú from Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and of the pajés of various tribes (cf. the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/).

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[124]
[126]

/394/

1. Song-dance with the rhythm tube, ahũ-wȭ: 1st part (129):

> 129. We have tried to be quite accurate in the reproduction of the sounds. According to what seemed to follow from the pronunciation of Júlio, we separated the words and differentiated the verses. It might be that some separation has been the fault of the singer. And they commit it many times, taking a breath or breathing unduly between articulations that should be connected, and vice versa. We have verified, with singers from other places, even though they repeat Júlio's melody, that there is not perfect agreement with the articulated sounds that we publish here. This fact should not be surprising, if we recall that they learn by hearing and that the articulated sounds are without meaning. When one pays close attention, it is noted that in the same dance there is not strict agreement among the dancers. A little difference in the beat and discrepancy in the articulated sounds are observed.

Yá, yá, kapikwá
Yaká perí kapikwá
Nuyaká perí
Dwiká pêrí deyú deyú ayá
I iroyê.
Mā i-i, i-i-i (final whistle) (he explained that the whistle is to indicate that he is about to finish)

2nd part

Má-ri-á i-i-i (whistle)
Dê-yá ya-yô marí
Ikawê yo
Yóa marí ikawê yó
Yó marí ikawê dyakó
Dyakú i-i
Yô yô yô marí
Kawê marí i-i-i (whistle)

/394 cont./

3rd part

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Mā i-i, i-i-i (whistle)
Yêê marwé kaná
Kawá do mariwí akawó-ro
Mariwi mariwí akawó-ro
Yé mariwi a-a-a akawó inawé
A mariwi a-a-a akawó inawé
Yuú kawá inawé
Yuú kawá inawé uu uu
Marí marí
Marí akawá inawé marí i-i-i (whistle)

2. Song-dance with the yaxsĩ (large maracá)
Ēē-yá ēēyá má

/395/

Dyaká a pi kapi
Wamá kapi kapi yuamá
Ya marí wemā a-á kapi kapí
Ya kapi nemā yá wamā
Kapi kapi nemā ya wamā
Ye kapi kapí nemā wamā
Ey-á ey-á (whistle)

3. Song-dance with the yaxsĩ in the other dances (outside the poosé)
Dyá yá i-i-i dyá yá i-i-i
Yé a marikēna
Mariwé mariwé ya mariwé
Marikenō ka-yá yá
Marikenō mariwé marikenō mariwé
Mariwé mariwé mariwé
Marikenō ka-yá (he lowers his voice, very low sounds)
Mariwé yá-yá i-i-i
Mariwé yá-yá i-i-i (he observes to us that this song ends without whistles)

4. Song-dance with the rhythm stick, yuxkõ
Yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)
Yê kapité
Mari kwá yá kuyá-yari
Kapité marí kwá yakoró yalima

/395 cont./

*192 Koró dikúya ayá kwá-yarí
533 Kapité marí apinã
Kapité marí kapité marí kuyá-yá kuya-arí
539 Kapité marí kuyá-yá yá yá-yá (whistle)

5. Song-dance with the yuxkȭ (130)

[171]

130. These sounds Perikuli (7th) and kwai (5th) are precisely the names of the principal personages of the Arwáke legends, corresponding, respectively, to Būxpó and O'ĩ-kȭ of the Tukano legends. Would it be a mere coincidence of sounds in different languages? Would they be Arwáke songs learned by the tribes of the Tukano group? Might all the dances of these tribes be of Arwáke origin?

Yá yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)
E yá yá perikú êê perikwê
Yaká yõ kayó yuaí
Yá piré-ku-li nomé-nõ
Perikwé pyaká wamé tyá
Pamí kwai peri-dikú êê yó
Perí-ku-li yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)

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6. Song-dance with the yuxkȭ
Ma dyá pa-wö (whistle)
Dyá diká apyá kapi akapyá
Kapi pawí diká yukú kapyá
Kapyá dewá yukú
Wapyá yukú deyé-wé
Kapyá kapí pawí dewá yukú
Kapyá kapi pawí dewá jukú
Wapi-a yukú nomã-a yaví
Wapi yá yú mã-di-yá
Wapí yá yú mã-di-yá
Sawé sawe (whistle)

/396 cont./

*192 7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
533 Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mamã kapinã
539 Perikũ yaví-i-i davyá (Yaví = long, slim?)
Davyá yavi
Davi kawá-á nomâ yavi-nõ
Davi kawá yaú; davi kawá yaú.
Kapiná perikúli
Davyá yavi yú
Kawá-yavyá mā-â-â (he blows the flute at length)

[115] [574] 8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
(For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)
Yê-ê dyá yakê mari
Kemê maryé-é
Kemê maryé-é kenani
Wekā-ni kená amỹá
Weká kená maryé pyá
Kenā yá marỹé
Wekā-ne má-yá axpekā ané
Wekā-re kenani wekā-re
Kená tše! tšá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

535 [115] a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

Mandú (131)

535 237 301 [291] 131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

/397 cont./

535 wore on his head a wide acangatara /head ornament/ with arara
237 feathers; a wig with braids of monkey skin and with two long, red
arara feathers and an onça /jaguar/ bone. From the wig, leaning
301 toward each ear, there was a long, white heron feather. Hanging
over the back the cangatá, a cord with tucano /toucan/ feathers.
Also on the wig, close to the nape, the crest, or rectangular woven
piece with long heron feathers. On the neck three long necklaces
of beads and a necklace of seeds with the stone of command. From
the ears, earrings made out of a burnished half of a gun cartridge.
[302] As painting on the forehead, a red semicircle turned upward and a
large cross from the neck to the waist (132), also in the color red. On the left elbow, a bracer of monkey skin.
In the form of a belt, over the buttocks, a necklace of teeth, to
which he later attached two branches of that magic and intensely
*[192] aromatic shrub called bará. In the course of the dance he fitted to
the right ankle a necklace of seeds (Kixtyó).

[123] 132. At a dance that we attended in the maloca of the Tuyuka in the igarapé of the Onça /jaguar/, upper Tiquié, from the painting of the Kõmũ resulted a cross on the face with a broad stroke from the forehead along the nose and upper lip, and the arms of the cross curved upward almost in a semicircle.

Marcelino wore a small, denticulated wreath of fine straw, with yellow down from the arara; at the nape the crest with white plumes and a long feather surrounded by a string of colorful plumes. On the left elbow the armband of monkey skin. Hanging at the back, braids of monkey skin decorated with arara down.

*192 b) Execution. A small rehearsal took place in order to verify
whether the japurutús /long flutes/ were in tune with each other, as
534 well as the cariços /Panpipes/. A little caxiri was drunk.

The tuxaua executed the yaí-gõ paasé, that is, he made the
534 rhythm stick, called "stick-of-the-onça /jaguar/," decorated with
535 feathers, vibrate several times on the right muscle of the arm. He
*[192] took some steps in rhythm with the pestle-tube of imbauba, and he

/397 cont./

534 took up a position in front of the second post at the left, in the
535 /398/ central nave (133).

[342] 133. Their rectangular maloca, although not of large dimensions, corresponded to a division of five naves: the central high nave, under the ridge, two side spaces, and, along the side walls, the space reserved for the families. It is to be noted, however, that there is no interior partition between family and family.

The men imitated his steps and, on his left, formed an open semicircle.

*[192] 1st Part: Each one places the left hand on the right shoulder of the companion (Pá-bwasé is the Tukano name for this gesture). They execute some rhythmic beats with the pestle-tube (it is what is called yuxkõ-mẽra doxkesé) and some steps with the right foot forward and back (du'tisé). Then the line moves (nikã-ká eheanõ-kátyãra baxsasé) to the right and to the left until the circumference is closed, making some turns from the left to the right (sũtõasé) (134).

134. They explained to us that they are imitating the bavarí fish, which, before depositing its eggs, makes a few turns.

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535 At the same time the men slowly sing unintelligible words, with a frequent burden in which are sounded many times the syllables "paia-paia." The rhythm is accelerated at the end, and a cry and a heavy stroke with the rhythm tubes end the first part. During this
[562] part the women remained seated in conversation near the door, to the left of anyone who enters (135).

[123] 135. We, the three civilized observers, were to be found on the opposite side, at the right.

/398 cont./

533 2nd Part: Position taken, as in the first part. The left hand on
535 the right shoulder. The dance starts with an accelerated rhythm, a
*[192] sharp cry and loud whistle (Wyisé) (136).

> 136. I had found it strange that up to then I had not heard the Indians whistle, when I always expected to hear them whistling in the forest, on walks, on trips, when they were rowing, and there was only silence or conversation in a discreet tone.

*[192] Afterwards the singing takes a slow rhythm, the syllables "kapii-kapii"
being heard frequently in the burden. A circle from the right
*[192] broken up by another from the left. The women start entering, one
by one: the first one places herself to the left of the tuxaua, with
the nape she touches his left arm (yohoasé), extended to the right
shoulder of the neighbor, and she embraces by the waist the two
men between whom she is located. Thus successively. They give
only two complete turns, and the women leave. The dance ends
with an accelerated rhythm of the singing, of the steps, and with a
final whistle. Then follow minutes of rest and of caxirí.

[534] 3rd and 4th Parts: These are numbers in which only the younger
ones participate, playing the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/ (3rd part) or
the japurutú (4th part), /399/ with an interval during which they
smoke and drink caxirí. These intermezzo numbers are very
pleasant. Each young man brings his instrument, which harmonizes
well with the others, one of them playing the contracanto, or
response to the theme that the first one plays. These themes are very
melodic short canons, in a florid scale, with ascending and
*[192] descending notes. Sometimes the young men only dance, and then
they go in pairs, the one on the right a little farther behind, holding
his instrument with the right hand and, with the left one, the
right shoulder of the other (pábwasé), who also plays his own instrument
and has the left hand on the hip. Upon reaching the back,
they make an evolution and exchange positions, the right one coming
in front, with the left hand on the hip, and his companion
farther back, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the first
one.

/399 cont./

*192 535 [534] If there are also women, the couples are arranged in such a way that the young man holds the instrument with the right hand, and, with the left hand above his own shoulder (it is what is called iñatusé), he holds the right hand of the girl, who rests her left hand on her own waist (pá-su'sũsé). The dancers start with only the men advancing toward the interior of the maloca, and, as snappers, a necklace of small tucum nuts on the right ankle in order to mark the rhythm. They go around in a circle, one after the other, to the right, then in the opposite direction to the left; then, opening the circle wider, they advance four times with the right foot toward the center, and they come back to the initial position. When the young men decide to walk, their companions present themselves. The couples are arranged. Sometimes the couples, one after the other, make evolutions describing the number eight (baxsá-mãhãmi betoá) or a spiral (baxsá sõ'tõá) to the right or to the left. At other times they are arranged in circles that become elongated or tighter, they turn to the right or to the left. During this entire evolution, they mark the rhythm with a stronger stroke with the right foot (dõ'pó-tisé). The women withdraw before the ending. The performances always end with a fortissimo of all the instruments.

*192 533 535 They are very pleasant melodies, but not infrequently the evolutions are so prolonged that they seem to be a contest of endurance. The spectators watch complacently from their hammocks, laughing and making comments, probably about the inaccuracy of the steps of the clumsier ones.

5th Part: While these numbers were displayed, one of the dancers went to prepare the "Yu'yúri-tiró." The tuxaua with his rhythm tube takes his position, and this time the men are distributed symmetrically on his right and on his left, in a semicircle. They start with an accelerated rhythm, then whistle, a slow dance following, to the singing of a funeral song. One of the Indians brings two yu'yũ and gives /400/ one of them to the tuxaua, who is also the Bayá, the other to the latter's brother, bayá-re wetamõgõ, who is immediately to the left of the tuxaua. They hold the

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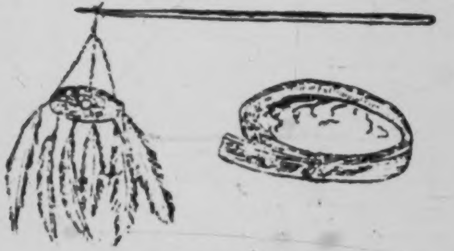
533 535 *[192] yú-yú with the left hand, and with the right one they beat the rhythm tube.

The yu-yú of the dances



Tobacco form

*[192] The dancers are divided into two groups, who execute the movement by advancing and retreating (baxsá poterí), one in front of the other. Afterwards they place themselves in line, each one with his lady, describing circles. They again divide themselves into two groups, who advance and retreat. Now they turn their backs to one another, always with advances and retreats. It seems that the new song consists of several verses, each one ending with cries and whistles. At given moments some say words in a loud voice, just as the caller of square dances does. Would they be ceremonial words or a simple command for the evolutions to be performed? The women, finally, leave the dance, and the men continue in Indian file, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the preceding one. This file goes to describing circles, stopping from time to time, always, however, singing and beating the rhythm with the strokes of the rhythm tube.

[562] [273] [276] 6th Part: Performed only by the men, as in the first part. After this part, one of the dancers advances in order to distribute the caxirí with a cuia in each hand, mumbling some words and stamping the right foot harder, in a winding progression, like that of the snake. He gives one cuia to the tuxaua and the other to the most important person. The second time he brings some to two more, and thus to everyone. Also the long cigar of leaves goes from mouth to mouth.

/400 cont./

*192 *7th Part:* The tuxaua ties to his right ankle a necklace of dry
533 nuts (*kixtyó*). He then takes a position with his rhythm tube. The
534 men are arranged on his right and on his left, each one with his
535 rhythm tube in the right hand and the left one on his neighbor's
right shoulder. The *yu'yús* are brought to the tuxaua and to his
/401/ neighbor. It starts with a rhythm of strokes and steps in the
same place, cry, whistle, and afterwards a funeral song in
pianissimo, which goes crescendo slowly, while they move some
steps to the right and to the left. They stop sometimes to take a
step inside the circle and another backwards and to the side. This
part was more prolonged, and the syllables "*tyúko-malía*" were
heard many times in the burden. The group of dancers go outside
the maloca, in the yard of which they perform the same steps as
inside (*yohá-wihyá*). They come back again to the maloca, the
*[192] women abandon their position. At the finish there were only the
men, who, after a small evolution, take the initial position, in a
semicircle, and end the singing with small jumps (*bu'pusé*) and
somewhat comical cries.

5) *Wanãna song-dances.*

115 The Wanãna Tomás Paiva, oldest son of Mandú, the present
(1957) tuxáua of Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and his probable
533 successor, confirmed that the ritual songs were "ancient language,"
and, for this reason, they did not understand them. Through the
desire to learn them well, and to maintain the old traditions, he
tried to make inquiries from his father, esteemed local tuxáua-bayá, and from the "elders," and to write about them. There
might perhaps be about 45 songs, he told us. We are of the opinion
that this number would cover not only the *songs*, but indeed all the
parts or *verses*; or perhaps even the repetitions of one and the same
part or verse. It happened, however, that when he went to work
as a carpenter in Venezuela those in his house used his writings for
cigarette paper.

*192 With the collaboration of another Wanãna, Maximiano from
534 Sá, he indicated to us the following order for the dances:

535 *1st Dance* -- with the *bwá* flute, hence the name *bwá baxsá*
[115]

/*401 cont.*/

*192 (dance of the cotias /agouti/) (137).

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137. A big feast was held in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaúpés) on the 24th and 25th days of April of 1955, with the participation of about 250 persons of both sexes and of all ages and representatives of various tribes, especially *Wanãna*, *Kubẽwana*, and *Huhúdene* (the latter from the Arwáke group, from Uaupuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana). During this feast the first dance numbers were to the sound of the *bwá*. They were small taquara flutes of about 30 centimeters in length by about two in diameter, only one side opening, at about 10 centimeters from the mouthpiece, which was vertical. The lower part of these fifes ended with two small sticks of taquara, with two points or horns (perhaps symbolizing the teeth of the cutia /agouti/). As a decoration on this flute there were two strings of white plumes, tied to the flute by the upper extremity and free at the other extremity. In certain dance numbers some individuals would throw their flute to the ground, picking it up immediately afterwards.

In the interval between the *verses* or *parts*, the dancers /*402*/ sound their flutes. It consists of four parts, that is: 1st) *õnõña* *baxsá* (song-dance of the carajurú /carajura/); 2nd) *pĩnó* *baxsá* (song-dance of the snake); 3rd) *kaxpí* *baxsá* (song-dance of the Caapí); / 4th) *no-phĩ* *baxsá* (song-dance of the hook for collecting fruits).

2nd Dance -- with the rhythm tube, *ahũ-wõ* (in Wanãna *wanẽ* (138).

138. During this same feast of the Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, the *rhythm* *tubes*, measuring approximately a meter in length and 10 centimeters in diameter, were painted white (with sorva), having a black lower bar of about 10 centimeters and the handle, by which it is held, decorated with a crest of hawk feathers in the shape of a Greek epsilon.

192 /*402 cont.*/
535 It also consists of several parts, the principal ones are: *sawároa baxsá* (song-dance of the water lizard); *ahũ-a baxsá* (song-dance of the beijú); *ki baxsá* (song-dance of the mandioca).

3rd Dance -- with the maracá, *yaxsĩ*. It is called *pwá baxsá* (*pwá* is the name of a fish that the Wanãna call *ñũxkwãna* in their idiom). All the men, from the beginning to the end of this long dance, shake the maracá continually and rhythmically with the right hand (the left one holds his own lady by the shoulder, and the latter embraces him by the waist). They also rhythmically sound a whistle of two tubes, which they will let hang from the neck when they must sing. It is the most interesting number of the native dances that we have attended. They first do a movement outside in the yard, then they enter the house, and, after a few minutes of choreography inside, they again go to the dance yard. There is an evolution *in a row*, which little by little closes *into a circle*, which now becomes tighter, now larger. At a given moment the pairs of dancers, each man with his lady, are arranged in a column turned toward the east, later in the opposite direction, toward the west. Thus arranged in a column, the last pair goes zigzagging between the other pairs, from the penultimate one to the first one, as if they were *sewing*. They explained that it is the "dance of the harvest of the caroá" (fiber that is used as fishing line). When their evolution is finished, the last pair returns to their initial position, and then the pair from the other end, that is, the first one, does the same *stitching* and returns to their position. It falls, now, to the penultimate pair to do the movement, and then to the second one, and thus all the pairs pass by, in turn, performing the stitching or the harvest of the caroá. During this they vibrate only the whistles and the maracá. At other times during this dance there is also singing.

4th Dance -- called "*Bwá* of the night," because night has [821] already fallen. They again go out, as homage to the night and to the moon. /*403*/ *muhĩ-pũ* (said Tomás Paiva). The tunes vary for these songs, all of which are composed of several parts, with many repetitions.

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6) Songs of the women.

We have already observed (cf. VII -- 3, c (2 b)) that the songs of the women are profane, or, with more accuracy, bacchic songs; that is, they regularly sing them when they distribute the caxirí, or in the intervals when they take their drink. Besides being more lively, there are more varied themes than in the religious songs of the men. Another quite striking difference is that, while the latter nowadays are articulations without any meaning, those of the women present a clear meaning. They are recitatives of longer or shorter sentences, with opportune arguments and allusions to her own person or to the one with whom she is having the dialogue.

[184]

By the law of exogamy, in one and the same povoado there are women of the tribe of the local inhabitants, and of one or more different tribes, taken as wives. And, by chance, in transit or out walking, still others, their relatives or "sisters." For this reason and also because of the frequency of the dabacurís with the participation of dancers from different tribes, one and the same song might be known and performed by women of various tribes. There follows from this the difficulty in determining from which tribe the melody of a song might originally have come. The question, properly speaking, is about the melody, and not the lyrics. Because, as we have said, the latter is a timely recitative which the singer can say in her own idiom or in that of her husband or of the tribe where the poosé is held. And since nowadays the Tukano language is becoming generalized, many times it will be in that idiom; just as the songs that we recorded are actually in Tukano, although performed by young women not only from the Tukano group of tribes, but even by a maiden of the Arwáke group, from the Kumɨdene tribe.

b) Amusements.

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The Indian leads a life in contact with the majestic and silent nature of the Amazon forest, cut by innumerable streams. This explains to us why he appears so strong, agile, cheerful, although reserved.

/403 cont./

481 He almost daily walks great distances through the forest, to his clearing, which not infrequently is located several kilometers away from the maloca, or to hunt or to search for fruits. The woman, besides the great movement inside the maloca, which is forced on her by the preparation of the food, will take a long walk through the forest almost every day /404/ to reach her clearing, where, in the sun, she will walk three or four hours without stopping. There is no mountain climbing, because the region, in general, is flat. [526] Gymnastic exercises or corporal contests, such as in other human groups, are not known (139).

139. We have seen children who, playing, seize one another as though it were for open wrestling, without, however, throwing the companion to the ground.

492 And horseback riding is known just as little. There are as yet no horses around these altitudes, even for use by the civilized.

481 515 The sports practiced daily are the aquatic ones, that is, swimming and rowing. In the morning, before daybreak, everyone, without exception, goes to the river, a short distance from the maloca or povoado, and takes his bath. Even the babes in arms are taken along by the mothers and bathed. This bath is quick, one immersing oneself in the water three or four times and passing the hand over the body. Sometimes they steady themselves by the arms on some canoe tied up, and kick the feet in the water. Later, at midday, that is, during the warm hours, when they come back perspiring from the forest or from the clearing, they take another bath. This frequency at the river makes everybody learn how to swim. They swim well, but without much endurance. They never cross great distances by swimming. Perhaps no one would even swim a hundred meters for mere exercise.

/404 cont./

481 524 *[192] One of the aquatic amusements of the children is the one called Wãx-tĩ[illegible]ax-kõ, the son of Wãx-tĩ, an obvious reference to the legend of Nhamacurú (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"). To wit: two children placed one in front of the other, with the arms toward the back, immerse themselves in the water simultaneously. Moments later, emerging at the same time, they embrace each other quickly. Then, again with the arms to the back, they immerse themselves, in order to emerge again, embrace each other, and sink into the water. This is done a certain number of times, until they become tired, and the entertainment ceases.

501 868 Another frequent exercise is that of rowing. From childhood on, from about three or four years of age perhaps, they learn how to row and have their small oars. Not infrequently a child alone or two go rowing and travel kilometers from their own home. [226] Many times it is the children who row, while the men attend to fishing from the canoe. This habit gives them surprising skill [147] and endurance. They are capable of rowing ten or more hours a day and for six or eight consecutive days on long trips.

501 The striking of the oar handle on the side of the canoe marks the rhythm, and, when there are several rowers, they take pride in the accuracy /405/ of the strokes, as if they were one single stroke. Three different rhythms are to be observed: 1st -- one faster, when they have need to reach some point, and in the currents; there are more or less three deep strokes in two seconds; 2nd -- when there is no current, they change to a slower rhythm: one measure yes and two no, so that one hears two sounds in the water (of two waves which form and strike against the canoe), having three strokes in five seconds; 3rd -- at times they take up another rhythm: two fast strokes and a slow and deeper one.

The following detail can be observed: the hand that holds the handle of the oar describes a perfect circle; and after they give a blow on the edge of the canoe, the oar remains for a moment lying over it, parallel to the water. In order to rest from the effort, they go to rowing from the other side of the canoe;

/405 cont./

501 it now falls to the hand that was holding the handle to pull the blade of the oar. When someone feels tired, he interrupts the exercise, letting his companions proceed with the work. On the calm stretches of the river, or when they go downstream with the current (it is what is called to go downstream floating), it might happen that all stop rowing and entertain themselves in animated conversation.

505 The continuous traveling by way of rivers with dangerous cachoeiras not only gives them extraordinary endurance, but makes them brave and turns them into highly skilled navigators. A superior and serene courage, of someone who relies on his knowledge of the dangerous places and of the process to use in each one of the currents or whirlpools, and, therefore, does not fear surprises. Of someone who relies on his own strength, tested so many times at the most difficult moments; of someone who knows that, in the worst of the possibilities, if the canoe capsizes with the shock of a wave, it will still continue to float, and he will [574] be able to catch it, swimming, a few meters farther on. If some cargo is lost in this accident, he will have beijú and smoked fish at the first maloca, until his wife can prepare beijú for him again and until he catches some fish or kills some game. It is the most excellent control of the nerves that can be imagined, in any danger that the navigation presents. With these qualities it is understandable that they are the indispensable navigators of these rivers, and infuse us with great tranquility when we have them as crewmen. Frequently in the vicinities of the cachoeiras there exist native dwellings or there are Indians engaged in fishing, always ready to give help if they are asked.

According to the level of the waters, they know whether the canoe must seek one channel in preference to another, whether a rock is sufficiently covered, whether one needs to use the pole. In some cases the Indian /406/ will jump quickly from the canoe to a rock (140)

140. Those who are already dressed sometimes

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> /footnote 140 cont./ take off the shirt and quickly leap into the water with their pants or trunks. Those who are still in a more primitive condition do not have any fear of wetting their own clothes...

that appears nearby and, with a push on the edge, makes it overcome the current, and then, in an agile jump, comes back again inside the canoe and grasps his oar. In other circumstances all the passengers must coast among the indentations of the bank, while the crew pushes the canoe upstream; or, by means of towropes, pulled strongly from the rocks, they force it to go up the small cachoeiras. Or further, they unload all the baggage, and both the load and the canoe will be transported across difficult shortcuts as far as the upper part of the cachoeiras, and from there they resume normal navigation.

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Chapter VIII

Social Organization

1. -- Family Group

594 The native family of the Uaupés, in the most strict and perfect sense, consists of husband, wife, and children. Indissoluble monogamy is in force among them, that is, each man will have his legitimate wife, and they are joined until death by an indissoluble bond, once the conditions prescribed by the law of the tribe are satisfied.

[592] Such will be the family, whether each one lives in its house, according to the modern tendency, or whether several families are united in the communitarian life of the maloca.

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592 Frequently, the mother who has been widowed, or some single or orphaned relative, might live as added to a family, or, better, incorporated into it, and therefore the family group becomes larger than the family. As we shall see (VIII -- 2), the local group was originally constituted by the family, therefore being identical with the family group. The need for defense and help with the work (construction of the maloca, fishing, etc.) is what favored the local or family group over the isolated family.

On the other hand, among the Uaupesina nations there are some factors that strengthen the family organization or group:

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428 1st. -- In first place there are the instinct and the right of ownership. There are, indeed, some goods (canoes, hut, pottery, etc.) that constitute family property and pass to the children as an inheritance.

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583 2nd. -- As among the primitive Romans, the Uaupesino fathers have an exaggerated power over the children. This pátria potéstas reserves exclusively for the father the matrimonial negotiations, through the exchange of the maidens, as wives, from one tribe to another, and, moreover, strengthens the family regime.

3rd. -- Besides the exchange of the daughters, there is also in force an offering of nuptial gifts to the father of the future wife. These gifts, in turn, consolidate the paternal power and the family regime.

593 /408/ 4th. -- The nonexistence of a strong and organized political power is, in turn, an effect and cause of the increase of the paternal powers and a factor of consolidation of the family group.

a) Marriage.

We have already pointed out that among all these tribes mar-
581 riage is a social institution that aims immediately (and it would
perhaps not be exaggerated to say exclusively) at the perpetuation
of the group. It is the group that is primarily interested in its
582 realization, not the individuals who marry, since their inclinations

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582 are not observed, their wishes are not consulted, and their age is not a matter of concern (1).

[797] 1. Not infrequently the Missionaries have to intervene, even among Christians, in order that the marriage of children who have not yet reached nubile age, according to Brazilian and canonical legislation, will not be performed.

Virginity is not required, since, as we shall say, it can not legally exist; and there are no other conditions, except the agreement of the parents of the ones marrying, once the laws of the tribe, which we shall present in the following, have been observed.

1) *The laws of marriage*.

[192] a) The first and inviolable law that is observed in native marriage on the Uaupés is that of tribal exogamy, *Axpé maxsĩ nõ'mõtise.*

We noted (IV -- 2, a (2)) that there are subdivisions in the tribes. However, at least in the present regime, there are no subdivisions for matrimonial purposes (2).

2. As far as the tradition goes, it can be affirmed that tribal exogamy has always been in force. And, according to the legends, it seems that it can be advanced that the obligation of exogamy goes back to the origin of the tribes, or at least to the establishment of these nations in their present *habitat*.

Those of one tribe must obligatorily look for wives in another tribe. We are not facing, for now, the question as to whether this law has been imposed as a political measure, in order to avoid wars and murders between the tribes. We know, indeed, that, in spite of the exchange of women between two tribes, the contentions between them are frequent.

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There are, as we have seen (IV -- 2), three groups of tribes, which we call Tukano /Tucano/, Arwake /Arawak/, and Makú /Macu/. The serious obligation is that of exogamy. Once the interdictions that we listed in the Classification of the tribes are observed, however, the woman may be from another tribe of the same group or from another group of tribes. Out of a question of pride, no tribe will marry a Makú, who is considered slave and inferior; /409/ he is not "people," they say (3).

> 3. We know of a few cases of marriage by men of other tribes (Tukano, Tuyuka, Desana, Ipeka) with a Makú woman. None of a Makú man with a woman from another tribe. Among these few cases, that of a young woman, although already orphaned in 1947, a resident of the Tuyuka maloca of the locality of S. Pedro, river Tiquié, whose father was Tukano and the mother, Makú. We were not able to verify whether her mother was a legitimate wife or simply a concubine; or, further, whether she had been born from a casual relationship. We do not know either, under the first hypothesis, for what reasons such a marriage had taken place. Perhaps a lack of women? Or due to a physical defect of the man (it is to be noted that the girl was cross-eyed)? Or because of living among the Makú of the Gí-paraná or Komé-ya (trib. of the Pirá-paraná)?

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If they nevertheless manage to catch some young Makú girl, they might have her as a concubine, along with the legitimate wife. They will avoid, however, having children with the Makú; and if, in spite of this, they do have them (for example, the grandmother of Maria Gama from Urubucuara), they are considered

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legitimate and belong to the father's tribe (4).

> 4. In Paraíba-poço, river Tiquié, a Tukano, upon presenting to be baptized a child he had had with a Makú, at first denied his paternity, saying that it "did not have a father."

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Marriages between Taryana and Desãna do not take place. We do not know the reasons, however; it does not seem to be because of pride, because the Tukano themselves, considered the most noble group, marry Desĩna, as well as Taryana. It is to be noted that the Taryana and Desĩna idioms, belonging to different linguistic families, make us think in terms of a great distance between these tribes. Nevertheless they tell us that there is no marriage between them because they are "brothers."

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Likewise, the Tukano do not marry the Bará. The Tukano explain that the Bará are their grandparents, Pax-kṍ-Ro. Nor the Pirá-tapuya the Wanana and Arapásu; or the Arapásu the Mirití, Wanana, and Desana; nor the Taryana the Ipeka-tapuya; nor, finally, the Desana the Taryana, Tuyuka, Pira-tapuya, and Arapásu.

It is among the Mirití-tapuya that the largest number of interdictions is in force, that is, they cannot marry the Desana, Tuyuka, Arapásu, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka-tapuya, and Taryana.

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b) The second law is that of the exchange of the women of one tribe for the women of another one. Or, with more accuracy, a father will give his daughter as a wife to the son of another family, in order to have a sister of the latter as a wife for his son. It is what is called Põáperi or põápeseri. And the young woman will call such a fellow bridegroom /Port. noivo/, that is, Mĩ-ra-pṍ nỹákhṍ (future husband) or even Pṍrã-kṍ nỹákhṍ (future genitor); and, vice versa, he calls her Nṍ'mõ nyĩkho (future wife) or Põrá-ko nỹákho (future genitress).

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000 Such a custom is imposed by the desire of the tribe to perpetuate itself.

591 614 /410/ The ambilian marriage is not known, that is, it is not the young man who comes to live in the house of the in-laws; but it is the young woman who, through marriage, leaves hers and comes to constitute a family in another tribe.

They desire, then, that a woman from another tribe come to their povoado in order to constitute a new family. The exchange, it seems to us, is not equivalent to a depreciation of the woman or reducing her to the condition of an article of trade. It is a measure of precaution, so that the group will not become extinct, but, on the contrary, the men always remain united, and the tribal traditions and the cordial relations among its components are kept alive.

From this concept and practice some consequences follow:

582 614 [611] [601] 1st. -- The first one is that in fact the so-called preferential marriage is in force among them. The exchanges not only establish social relations between two malocas, but, as we shall see later, they conceive kinship as bilateral. But not only the maternal cousins in the strict sense (that is, the nephews and nieces of the mother herself), but all those of their generation of the maternal Gens (IV -- 2, a (2)) are called brides and bridegrooms /Port. noivos/, Baxsú-kĩra (those who are destined for marriage with us).

Let us concretize an example: the Tukano from Parí-cachoeira customarily seek their wives among the Tuyuka of the headwaters of the Tiquié. Then, for the young people of Parí-cachoeira, brides and bridegrooms, or Baxsúkĩra, are all the Tuyuka of the [601] younger generation of the maternal povoado. Or, more exactly, all the young persons of the maternal Gens are their brides and bridegrooms, -- because to each povoado ordinarily corresponds a different Gens, -- and among themselves they call each other "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ (Mamí or Axkabí, see VIII -- 1, c).

As a rule, it is a boy or a girl among the Baxsúkĩra who will be the Mã-ra-põ nỹákhõ or the Nõ'mõ nỹakho.

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Those who belong to the generation of the parents of the Baxsúkãra (that is, all those who are considered "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ of the mother herself) are called "uncles," Mẽx-kã̄ (if a man) (5), or Mã̄-gõ (if a woman).

All the Baxsúkãra, in direct discourse, that is, talking among themselves (see Kinship Nomenclature below), are called "cousin," Méõ-kȭ (child of the aunt, contraction of Waméõ max-kȭ), and the female cousin, Méõ-kõ. It is to be pointed out that the girl may not take the liberty of saying abbreviately Méõ-kȭ, Méõ-kõ; she will always say Waméõ max-kȭ, Waméõ max-kõ, in full.

After an individual has been married, all the cousins or Baxsúkãra (6) naturally become his cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/, and he actually /411/ calls them this when he expresses himself in Portuguese. When he expresses himself in Tukano, he prefers to continue to call them Méõ-kȭ or Méõ-kõ; and the brothers-in-law in the strictest sense, that is, the blood brothers of his own wife, he will call Pẽ-ñã̄ (7).

5. Notice that the niece must be called Mẽx-kã̄-sa.

6. It is to be remembered that within the tribe the individuals who belong to the same generation are called "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/.

7. The woman will use the term Nihĩ-so pax-kȭ to the brothers-in-law older than her husband, and Buhĩ́-bakȭ to those younger than he.

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582 601 As an exception, the individual, instead of marrying a girl from the generation of the Baxsúkãra, perhaps will marry someone from the class of the "uncles" /Port. tios, uncles, uncles and aunts/, Mẽx-kã-sa or Mã-gõ. It is the components of this class who are now his brothers-in-law, Pẽ-ñã. In Tukano he may continue to call them "uncle," Mẽx-kã, or (if it is a matter of the niece) Mẽx-kã-sa, and in direct discourse he will use the name Pirĩ for the brothers-in-law in the strict sense.

584 2nd. -- A second one is that the negotiations and agreements are realized between the parents, without the ones to be married interfering or being consulted (8).

[797] 8. It has happened that the father has brought a wife for his son who is a student in the Mission school, forcing him to leave the school bench in order to marry.

It is highly reprehensible that, while the children enjoy enough freedom in the native family (it can be affirmed that those of the male sex enjoy absolute independence from the parents), on this subject, so serious because the marriage is indissoluble, they do not have any freedom at all (9)

9. "Slave marriage" was the expression of one Missionary, citing examples of the absolutism of the parental will against the manifest wishes of the young people.

and show the greatest docility toward the wishes of their parents.

581 [584] Neither marriage for love nor the practice of courtship is known among them. It even seems that they are indifferent to physical beauty; it is certain that in all human groups there are individuals who are more or less sympathetic. No doubt these personal reasons might have an influence in premarital and

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581 extramarital relations, but never in the marriage (10).

> [797] [177] [584] 10. Through the influence of the Missionary they have been freeing themselves from these ancestral prejudices, and already cases of marriage through the initiative of the ones getting married, alumni of the Missions, are known. Nevertheless it happens (narrator Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Papuri) that the young man asking for the intervention of the Padre in order to help him find a wife will prove to be indifferent concerning the person. He will say, for example: "Padre, please do me the favor of asking Joaquina, Amélia, or Maria whether one of them wants to marry me."

Marriage does not represent the satisfaction of the sexual instinct, as we had thought and wrote in the beginning, because we found out that this satisfaction has the fullest opportunity imaginable. Marriage, for the individual, is the solution of his economic problem: to have someone who will provide him with food. But it is especially the solution of the social problem: the continuation and propagation of the tribe.

/412/ It is surprising that, in spite of this, family life goes on normally enough. The only plausible explanation is the great respect for the traditional laws establishing the relations between the spouses, and their duties; laws which are faithfully observed.

584 3rd. A third one is that, in order to obtain a wife for an older son nowadays, perhaps a newborn child (11)

> 11. It does not seem that there are any agreements between the parents about children to be born, because it is contrary to the psychology of the Indian, who is a man of reality.

584 /*412 cont.*/
will be promised in marriage to another family. In practice, they
584 will be bride and bridegroom, with the right to relations between
836 them (with precautions, however, in order not to have children), perhaps for many years and with a great difference in age between the ones being married. And the child, once it has barely reached the age of reason, knows that it must marry such a person.

584 4th. A fourth one is that a widowed father will give up a
587 daughter in order to arrange for a second wife for himself, although with a great disproportion between their ages, before he procures one for his son.

5th. A fifth one is that a woman, becoming a widow, can
587 pass to her brother-in-law as a wife, if he is a widower or a bachelor and without a bride, from which his father has an obligation to give a woman to such a family, in exchange for the other one whom he obtained from there. Although the law of the *levirate* (12)

12. That is, the duty of an individual to marry the sister-in-law who was widowed without children, in order to resuscitate the lineage of his late brother, a custom that was in force among the Jews.

does not exist among our Indians, we thus have its practice.

582 6th. A sixth one is that, from this exchange of women of a
611 tribe *A* with those of tribe *B*, since the children are regarded as belonging to the father's tribe, cousins can marry each other. For example, of two pairs of brothers and sisters, *M* and *N* from tribe *A* and *P* and *Q* from tribe *B*, the woman *M* married *P*, whose sister *Q* was joined in matrimony to *N*. The children of these two couples are, obviously, "cousins-german" or "cousins in the first degree." Nevertheless the children of *P* belong to the tribe *B*, and those of *N*, to the tribe *A*. They consider themselves reciprocally *Baxsúkãra*, and they may marry each other.

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582 In conclusion, the preferential marriage of these tribes is between cousins in the first degree.

583 *[192] c) The lack of women might render the exchange, or Põáperi, impossible. As might also an excess of women over the number of male children. The acquisition of a wife will then be done with the donation of some material goods: this is what is called Nõ'mõ duusé (purchase of the wife).

/413/ It seems to us, however, that this is not a matter of a true purchase of the spouse, in spite of the term Duusé, which was given to us by a Tukano interpreter. One tribe was enriched by one family, while the other one lost an element: compensation is just. With the absence of the maiden daughter, the father, and above all the mother, has lost an element of value through her work for the domestic economy: there will be economic indemnification on the part of the future son-in-law.

There are two reasons for such a deduction. The first one is that even when there is Põáperi, or exchange of women, the young man will give some gift to the future father-in-law. The second reason is that there does not exist, as in other human groups, a fixed price of indemnification; or a table of prices according to the category of women. The young man will give according to his means and the wishes of the father-in-law. Always utilitarian objects: ornaments, canoe, machete, trousers, ax, tobacco, salt, etc. (13).

582 13. Wallace presents a detail for which we do not find any confirmation or reminiscence on the Uaupés. "In some tribes," he says, "such as that of the Uacarás, the young man must submit to a test, which consists of a demonstration of his ability to shoot the bow and arrow. If the young man doe[illegible]ot hit the target, the girl refuses him, because he thus proves to be incapable of shooting fish or of hunting for the sustenance of the family." We have

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582 /footnote 13 cont./ already said (II-6, b) that we were unable to locate any tribe under the name of Wakará, in order to investigate their customs. However, the affirmation by Wallace (who did not visit the Wakará either) is in absolute opposition to the Uaupesino customs. Actually marriage is a business between the two fathers, not between the ones getting married. In any case the diet does not depend on handling the bow well. Among the tribes of the Uaupés, on the contrary, hunting is light, and fish are more rarely caught with arrows. The basis of the diet is mandioca, and the one who supplies it is the woman, and not the husband. It can be affirmed that among these tribes it is the woman, and not the husband, who supports the family.

584 It is in these cases that one notes the greater freedom of the boy who is looking for a wife, and frequently the initiative in choosing the young woman and in the dealings with her father is his. At times the parents and brothers help him in obtaining the gifts that the father-in-law demands, but with the right to be indemnified later (one more proof of the instinct of ownership).

In general the girl's father will enter into an agreement. He always fears that the young man will take revenge with some malefice. And the youth will certainly do so; or at least he will spread it abroad that the girl has the dohasé (malefice) of sterility, and nobody will seek her as a wife. It is a dreadful revenge, because this cuts short the young woman's future and also sacrifices the economic interests of the father.

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581 It is natural that self-interest (innate and exaggerated in the Indian) takes advantage of these customs. For example, a father who might have more than one daughter perhaps will try to give one of them to some Tuyuka youth (in order to have a /414/ good canoe, because they are specialized canoe-makers), a second one to a Pirá-tapuya (skillful makers of nets and fishing baskets), demanding from them the products of their specialties.

[606] Moreover, these relations of affinity give him a chance to spend part of the year traveling: a sojourn in the house of each son-in-law. Because marriage creates close relations of affinity, all the more singular, since it is known that they are persons from different tribes and all of them with such a deeply racist mentality.

2) The Abduction -- Nũ'myó Ȳe'ēsé or Nũ'myó myāsé.

583 *[192] In spite of these precedents of negotiations, there is still preserved today a symbolic abduction of the girl, a survival, one might think, of ancient customs in which the young man had to give proof of courage, kidnapping his wife, after having fought against those who tried to protect her.

Or, who knows (it is most probable when one talks about other human groups; not, however, those of the Uaupés), they were clans of one and the same tribe, transformed into enemies because of the dissidences, and who, in this period, had to have recourse to abduction in order to maintain the ancient law of clan exogamy.

Among our Indians of the Uaupés, there is no fighting at all, although cases of disputes and possible excitation of animus are remembered. The young man's father, with a few more oarsmen, appears in the povoado of the girl. Perhaps the latter, already informed, will be in the vicinity of the landing place [115] and will then be carried to the canoe. Or the men ask permission from the father, who says nothing (so relates Dorotéia Brito), and seize the girl. The mother, on the other hand, will protest with loud screams and imprecations, recalling the tasks of the

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583 daughter (always the aspect of self-interest), that she is the one who takes care of the children, works in the clearing, makes beijú, etc. No one, however, will stop the abduction.

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3) The Act of marriage.

The abductors (14),

> 14. Some natives informed us of sexual relations which take place between the abductors and the maiden, and some of them added that such relations are always licit in the future. It might be that originally it was a matter of a privilege of the abductors. A privilege, however, that today has lost its justification, being leveled in practice in the great general freedom.

perhaps after several days of traveling by canoe, bring the young woman to the young man's maloca and hand her over with this formula and request (which was given to us by Dorotéia Brito): -- "We went looking for a girl for you; now take care of her; that she may be a good mother, that she does not run away." They do not perform any other rite on this occasion; this was the positive statement made by all of them.

/415/ Frequently for this circumstance a feast takes place in the maloca. It does not seem that such a feast is a religious rite of marriage. Not only does it not have a well-determined date, but perhaps the marriage is not realized either. And in the unfolding of the feast there are no allusions to the marriage. They greatly enjoy feasts, and the one on this occasion has the psychological aim of settling the girl's mind so that she will not greatly feel the distance from her family. All the more since she finds herself in a tribe different from her own, with whose language she is perhaps entirely unfamiliar.

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583 584 If the girl cannot take any initiative directly, by showing her preferences, she at least enjoys the "right of veto." That is, speaking in thesis: she will not marry someone she does not like. It is true that she will think carefully beforehand, because, rejecting this proposal, perhaps another will not come. And, besides, she will suffer bad treatment from her people, who, according to the compromises of the Põáperi, must give a wife to the other family.

Who knows even whether she will be a victim of malefice, dohasé? Nevertheless, if she absolutely does not want to marry such a youth, two courses are left to her: first, she does not let herself be abducted, and sometimes she flees to another maloca nearby, when she knows that they are coming to fetch her. Or to flee from the young man's house (15).

[115] 15. A Taryana woman, Teodora from Iauareté, informed us that the woman can not say anything. But, if she likes the young man, she lets herself be abducted; in the opposite case she will flee from the maloca of the young man.

4) Stability.

585 The existence of the marriage and its stability are not yet assured. The young woman will give proof of her good will and ability to be the lady of the house.

[591] [606] If they do not live in the regime of a maloca, perhaps later the young man might build his independent dwelling; for now he will remain in his parents' house, and the mother-in-law orders the girl to prepare the manicuera /fermented manioc-juice/ and the drinks for the nuptial feast.

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585 [241] Many times, principally in the modern regime of family habitations, the young man, as preparation for marriage, has already made a clearing with the help of friends. He will then take the girl to see the spot and will say: "I made the clearing, it is for you to do the planting" (16).

[115] [226] 16. These were the expressions of the Taryana Teodora from Iauareté. Whereas the Tukano Antonio Barreto stated that the father, when he gives the wife to the young man, says to him: "I brought you a woman. Go fish for her." And he added: "He goes, hands her the fish, she takes, which means that she accepts the young man." Might not one perhaps see in these different formulations an allusion to the fact that originally the Taryana Civilization was essentially agricultural, and the Tukano one, a fishing civilization?

/416/ During these first days the young wife will have not only the assistance of the mother-in-law, but the husband will try to ingratiate himself, offering her good fish or good game. If, however, she does not want to adjust to this new order of things, she will then resort to flight (17).

17. It will happen, the Tukano Dorotéia Brito informed us, that they will go looking for her a second time. It is understood that this is so on account of the agreements that preceded the marriage and its conveniences for both of the families. If, however, she flees a second time, she will not be sought any more. But in this case her father will return to the young man the gifts received.

In the environment in which they live and with their way of life, this is not difficult for her.

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585 If the flight does not take place, the marriage is considered realized.

[606] [431] A short time later they customarily take a nuptial trip, on which the young man, accompanied by his wife, goes to visit the father-in-law, taking him presents (smoked fish, fruit, etc.), and thus the friendly relations will be strengthened. These nuptial trips, moreover, appear in the legends.

*[192] The wife will take with her, for the new home, as dowry or property, her *pi'ĩkamõ*, that is, a small cipo basket, with her ornaments, utilitarian objects, and a cluster of leaves containing *õnõñá* powder (carajurú /carajura/).

Immediately in the first days of the marriage the husband will give the wife a beating. He will hit her, however, with the hands, so they assured us; and she cannot react. Although it is a matter of a custom that aims at finding out the good will of the girl and her capacity for suffering, it seems, nevertheless, that it is the circumstance of some misunderstanding between the spouses that will provide the opportunity for this beating.

a) /*sic*; 5)/ *Relations between the spouses.*

593 The relations between the spouses are normal enough. Perhaps they might be called friendly (18),

> [123] 18. We had the opportunity to travel with a Karapanã family from the headwaters of the Papurí and to see the wife in a long and cordial conversation with the husband.

although without caresses and other displays of affection, since it is certain that some familiarity will arise from their living together. [586] The husband will fear that bad treatment will drive away the wife (19),

> 19. Several episodes have been reported to us. In the beginning of 1954, during our stay in

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> /footnote 19 cont./ Pari-cachoeira, a Desana woman married to a Tuyuka from Cabari (a little above Pari-cachoeira), in view of the bad treatment by the husband, abandoned him and a little child a few months old and returned to her povoado on the lower Tiquié. Up to July of this year the Missionary had not yet managed to have her return to her husband.

especially if they do not yet have any children, because the marriage is not yet stabilized. And, finally, it is she who works for him in the clearing and in the house.

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/417/ Although there is no law that obstructs divorce or that makes it impossible for the divorced person to go on to other nuptials, both always have before their eyes the difficulty of a second marriage.

That will not keep them from having misunderstandings, or the husband, especially if he is drunk, from beating the wife. Of the many whom we questioned on this subject, all affirmed to us the bad treatment and even cruelties on the part of their husbands.

The woman, however, will never react, because this is what the tribal laws command (20).

> 20. We have had news, moreover, of some episodes of reaction on the part of the woman, especially when she perceives that the husband is weakened by drunkenness. It is one more blow that their customs and beliefs have started suffering.

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There is an original and somewhat strange custom, as follows from the report by the Taryana Indian Teodora from Iauareté, confirmed by natives of other tribes. During the day and in the early hours of the night the spouses maintain long conversations with each other in the maloca, each one, for example, lying in

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593 521 [784] his hammock; nevertheless, they will not talk to each other through the night inside. At night only conversations of man with man and woman with woman are permitted. If the husband has arrived from his fishing or hunting already late at night, he will hang up the fish or the game in the space between two poles or on the wall, or in some other place, without saying a word to his wife, to whom he will not make delivery of the fruit of his labor until morning.

6) Polygamy and Polyandry.

178 595 Whether we understand these terms as the possibility for an individual to have several wives simultaneously or successively, and, vice versa, a woman more than one husband, they are not in force nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

[622] In conversation, several among them affirmed that in the old days a man could have two or three wives, particularly the tuxaua (21),

21. In 1849 Wallace attested (o. c. 636): -- "The men as a rule, have only one wife. There is not, however, for this reason a special limit, because many of them have two or three. Some chiefs even have still more." It is what still happens in some tribes, for example, the Karútana of the Içana, the Káwa of the Aiarí, affirms the author of Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar [Sea River] /, (p. 19). The statement of the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza is in agreement, when he says (o. c. 486): -- "They are given to polygamy or plurality of wives, and there are chiefs among them with two or three wives, and sometimes sisters of one another."

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595 but a woman could never have several husbands. In the legends there are examples not only of polygamy, but also of polyandry.

It is true that, having procreation as its purpose, the marriage is not considered perfect until after the conception of the first child. From the time of the first signs of pregnancy the marriage was established.

595 842 If after two or three years of living together the woman has not given birth to a child, the husband will consider her the victim of the malefice of sterility (22) and will look for another wife.

Ordinarily, however, the woman considered sterile prefers to remain with her husband. All the interests of the latter lead him to keep her, even though he has already contracted a second marriage. We are thus confronted with a polygamy, not by right, but de facto. Nor does such an event seem to cause surprise (23).

611 The fact that they regard the children as belonging to the father's tribe seems to reveal, as in other nations, the concept that all the generative capacity belongs exclusively to the father. Nevertheless, the inability to procreate will always be attributed to the mother, never to the men.

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587 [115] 22. It seems that there is no possibility of rehabilitation for the woman, that is, marriage to another man, although a Tukano man, Mário Chaves by name, in answer to our question, affirmed the possibility of new nuptials for the woman regarded as sterile.

[178] 23. These events are known nowadays (1947) in Taracuá and Urubucuara.

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595 These licenses already existed in the historical period, as follows from the first explorers. The great revolt of the year 1757, during which the povoados of Moreira and Thomar were destroyed by the Indians, and that of Barcelos threatened, had its origin in the anger of the Indian Domingos Lamalonga, from whom the Missionary had made a concubine separate (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario /Diary/," n. 553). On the map of his activities, dated from Carurú-cachoeira the first of April of 1853, Frei Gregório de Bene states: -- "It will be very difficult for some time to unite in Holy Matrimony and even to convert these Indians because they live in polygamy and others in concubinage" (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 2, p. 32). Even at the beginning of
595 this century Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 178) testifies that polygamy
622 is a prerogative of the tuxaua and cites the example of José, Tukano tuxaua of Pari-cachoeira, with two wives, one Tuyuka and the other Taryana.

7) Domestic-social position of the woman.

562 During an early contact with the natives of the Uaupés, we were surprised at the position of the woman, seeming to us to be of evident inferiority.

551 /419/ Her name might not even be known (24).

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[797] 24. It frequently happens that the Indian man may bring a child to be baptized. When, in order to make the registration, the Padre starts to ask the names and asks what the child's mother is called, the husband will answer: -- "I do not know, ask her."

There is observed in some human groups, for example, those of the river Canaburi (not, however, those of the Uaupés, see below, VIII-1, b (4)) a prohibition against pronouncing the name of some persons. Some explain this taboo of the name by the "ontological mentality" of the primitives, that is, the name is not something secondary, external, but essential, and is

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551 /footnote 24 cont./ identified with such a person (or object). To pronounce this name is to render present that person or sacred object, which is not licit (religious taboo, properly speaking). Or to pronounce the name of a person (for example, that of one's own husband, among tribes of southern India -- cf. Gordon, o. c. 132) will make him die (it is the magic taboo).

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*[192] They will simply say to identify her: -- "The wife of such-and-such a person" or "The mother of such-and-such a person." The husband will use this expression: "Yõ põrá-kó," "the mother of my children," or "the one who gives me children," or "the mother of N" and says the name of the oldest child.

462 Her tasks are constant, heavy, and of great responsibility. Perhaps in a precarious state of health, for example, during gestation and the delivery, even so, she does them perfectly, without complaining, because they are tribal regulations, therefore they come from a superior will (25).

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[123] 25. If, in front of the husband, we purposely show surprise at her great tasks, the woman smiles and says nothing.

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[252] The planting and the cleaning of the clearing fall to her. She will spend whole hours in the sun amid the fire and the smoke, preparing the piles of branches to be burned, digging and burying the mandioca shoots, cleaning the clearing by the process of pulling out the weeds by hand, Taá kuresé. She is the one who pulls the mandioca, collects it in the aturás /carrying baskets/, and brings it home, where, afterwards, she peels it, grates it, squeezes it, and strains it, in order to make flour. It is she who prepares the foods and the caxiris, takes care of the house and of the rearing of the children. All this while the husband perhaps is idle in

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462 conversation with other men for long hours (26).

[517] 26. At other times she might be gaily conversing while the man is working.

611 736 She is a foreigner, without any right over her children. They belong to the husband, or rather to the tribe of the husband. If by chance she becomes a widow, she may continue to live in the maloca, and she will ordinarily do so, especially if she is aged and cannot expect another marriage. Or she will return to her tribe, without, however, taking the children with her. With the hypothesis that her husband had a separate house or one in the vicinity of another tribe, the relatives from the husband's tribe will come to take the orphans to their own maloca. If any of the orphans are still /420/ babies at the breast, perhaps they will await until the child can dispense with maternal care, and then they will irrevocably take them away.

587 When it was a matter of her marrying, an exchange or indemnification was negotiated, without her being consulted. Upon establishing her new home, she had the customary test of a beating, and perhaps, due to the bad character of the husband, many others might follow, against which she could never react. According to the tribal customs, she will never eat with the husband; she takes out her portion and it is only after he and his friends and guests are satisfied and leave the place that she will take her food. 264 593

462 All this causes surprise, especially if we observe the importance of her "atelier": that is, it is she who performs the tasks necessary for life: she plants the clearing, works with the mandioca, which constitutes the indispensable daily dish, weaves the hammocks for sleeping, makes the vessels for water, prepares the caxiris and the cooking.

593 We leave, Deo volente, for a monograph the study of the indications of a matriarchalist civilization among the Uaupesina tribes. For now we shall say, with the students who have

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593 passed through this region, that to the husband fall the honor and the responsibility of head of the family group. Concerning
462 the tasks, however, more attentive observation will attenuate the
593 impression of the woman's inferiority.

In reality there is a division of labor between the man and the woman, established by the customs. The concepts of importance and gravity, weight and responsibility of these tasks cannot be considered according to the criteria of our culture, but, indeed, of the native mentality.

As the ancient impositions that they are, perhaps they were easier to understand formerly than today, because of the change in the circumstances. At present they are still observed with great strictness, due to the spirit of attachment to the traditions, characteristic of the natives, although the present conditions might counsel a new revision of the customs and a different distribution of the tasks.

It is understandable that the husband, in more difficult times of fighting between the groups or against animals, should always have been in a physical condition to be able to do it and to have available the necessary time, without his family lacking anything because of it. Hence the convenience of having these urgent daily chores assigned to the woman. This also provides, besides the indispensable rest, the physical robustness of the male, who, at given times, would be subjected to difficult tests.

This observation makes us understand the division of labor better. Those tasks that require dexterity, courage, and, up to a certain /421/ point, physical strength belong to the husband. It is the men who select, cut, and transport trunks, beams, poles, and palms for the construction of the residence, as well as performing all the work of building the house of residence and other auxiliary huts. Moreover, the making of barriers in the rivers, with thick trunks, for the large-scale fishing falls to the man. To him, the hunting, exclusively, and in large part the fishing, to which the women are only admitted as helpers. Previously the

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462 593 man manufactured weapons and implements for one thing and another: canoe, baskets, nets, bows, arrows, traps, etc. In the clearing there fell to him the preliminary work of choosing the spot and felling the trees. The defense of the clearing against the harmful animals or other persons is also his duty. Of the domestic utensils he is the one who manufactures the tipití /manioc press/, hampers, and strainers for the treatment of the mandioca, as well as the little seats. As for the diet, he is the one who supplies the game, fish, and who brings the fruits from the forest for the caxirís. And he has prepared the ornaments and the musical instruments for the social and religious manifestations. Recognizing, then, the great weight of work that falls upon the woman for the maintenance of the family, we think that it alone does not demonstrate an inferior position for the woman.

593 [583] The Pöäperi, in itself, is not a depreciation of the woman, as we have already noted. The nuptial gifts, more than the dowry of the European customs, properly represent a valorization of the wife. She is really considered greatly useful, not only under the aspect of maternity, so desired and appreciated, since the Indian wishes to have children, but even in the economic one.

[551] As for not knowing the wife's name and the ways of referring to her, they do not seem to be indicators of inferiority. She came from another tribe and another language, perhaps a strange name. In any case they are not accustomed to calling anyone by name, as we shall see. In general, in referring to the wife, the husband uses the expression: -- "The mother of N" and says the name of the first-born child, and this seems to be an affectionate association. She will also say of the husband: "The father of N," which, on her lips, has a particular meaning, as affirmation that it is a legitimate child.

[611] As for the children, this affirmation is of value: the children belong to the tribe more than to the parents. Both the wife and the husband exert little authority over the children, since they are raised with great autonomy. Perhaps she has an ascendancy even greater than the husband, because, at least when they are small, they are exclusively in her care, and they go so far as to learn her idiom.

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593 [857] Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side, helping her in the tasks.

[611] [601] /422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband, although the children belong to his tribe (27),

27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] [178] [177] [439] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 562 756 [124] The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),

29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

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> /footnote 29 cont./ many of them have never in fact heard of any woman Tuxaua. Someone answered us precisely that she can be Tuxaua, but they had never heard of a woman Tuxaua. It is to be noted that in the Tukano language there is the feminine Wyógo, a term that is ordinarily applied to the wife of the Tuxaua (Wyogõ) and, in the Missionary centers, also to the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of the girls' school. The example of Caridade (p. 709) seems to authorize our affirmation above.

not, however, those of pajé. This exclusion perhaps expresses, not so much contempt, but the concept that she is not endowed with the magical power necessary for the exercise of the office of pajé.

593 [586] In marriage she seems to enjoy even greater freedom than the young man, being able to leave her husband. It must be concluded then that, although recognizing the primary of the husband (as also happens in our civilization), considered from the domestic-social point of view the wife is on a plane of equality with the husband (30).

> 30. We recently verified that this is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg, who, after prolonged contact with the Kubewana, was able to conclude that the woman is not the beast of burden, but the intelligent lady of the house (Z. I. 354).

8) Moral condition of the woman.

562 [115] We once heard from a maiden the expression: "the woman is not worth anything." We questioned many other women, single and married, and all confirmed the accuracy of this concept, without knowing how to give further /423/ explanations. Only one added: "the woman must leave her own tribe."

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562 It is not a matter of inferiority, it seems to us, resulting from her tasks, more constant than those of the men, or, under the political aspect, from not exercising a politico-social authority more in name than in fact, such as, at present, the tuxauaship.

We verified, it is true, a strong feeling of their own inferiority in the minds of the women. I would not know whether it is correct to apply to them an expression so much to the liking of Freudian psychoanalysis, saying that they are dominated by an "inferiority complex."

The obligation to work beside her own mother every day, as soon as she reached the age of reason, while her brothers spent the whole day in idleness and amusements, might have generated in her the envy of this privileged masculine situation.

562 591 Among peoples of an exaggeratedly racist mentality, as all of them are, she must leave her tribe. Who would be able to evaluate this sacrifice? She must live among strangers, whose language she perhaps does not know in the beginning, and maybe never will succeed in mastering. Hearing, because of this defect of hers, gibes and sneers against her tribe, who knows how many times. Frequently episodes of hostility take place between her relatives and those of her husband, and she suffers with the news of these episodes and with the exprobrations.

The feeling of the weakness of the feminine psyche itself is heightened by the knowledge that she is separated from her people, perhaps in an environment of frank hostility to her tribe (since there are no marriages for love, by the choice and arrangement of the ones getting married). Perhaps the bad treatment will be manifestations of the rude character of her husband and of these racial hostilities.

562 All this, well known and experienced by the married women, exaggerates in the feminine soul the concept of her own weakness. The girl who has not yet experienced it witnesses it, hears it, and anxiously awaits a like fate, and her spirit starts weakening and becoming more and more abject.

/423 cont./

534 At the great feast of Wāx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
778 instrument, under the penalty of death.
She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men
know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them,
of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and
women (31).

> 31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wāx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes.
831 Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she
feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate
their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for
this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom
they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose
on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these
relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

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562 This moral decadence is not likely to generate in the masculine mind respect (as in fact there is none) for the woman, be she his sister, his wife, or his mother. Any woman represents for them only a worker for the daily tasks and an instrument of very cheap and common pleasures.

The woman senses this real situation, and the more prodigal she is, out of intimate impulses, out of obedience to the customs, because of a desire to please, or out of fear of punishment, the more she is degraded in her own eyes.

The habit of considering situations, rare or none at all, the busy life of work and feasts that she leads, the knowledge that the situation of every woman is identical and that it is a matter of a fact not susceptible to change, because created by the inviolable laws of the tribe, somewhat mitigate her suffering, almost producing conformity and acceptance of this state of things.

When one of them comes into contact with the civilized, however, she gets an idea of a better situation for the woman, she perhaps hears appeals for virtue and her own improvement, she then starts to evaluate the state of decadence of the Indian woman, and she exclaims sorrowfully: "the woman is not worth anything."

9) Division of labor.

462 There is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés a strict division of labor, such that those of one sex will not do the tasks /425/ designated for those of the other one (32).

[177] 32. This statement holds, without any doubt, for the traditional tasks and for the natives with little or no contact with civilization. In the acculturation that is in process, this concept of division of occupations is beginning to evolve. With all naturalness nowadays a young man serves as cook for the civilized. It is very common, likewise, to see a man wash his own clothes, as well as to fit a carrying basket on his back, as the women do, in order to transport a load for the whites.

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462 It is likewise to be noted that, although one task might complement the other, they do not perform them together, but one sex will do its part before or after the other one.

1. It falls to the man: to build his own house and to provide all the material involved in the construction;

the choice of the terrain for the clearing, felling the trees and the burning;
the hunting and fishing;
the preparation of the weapons (bow, arrows, sarabatana /blowgun/);
the making of the tipití /manioc press/, hampers, and strainers for the preparation of the foods made out of mandioca;
the preparation of the grater (33);

> 33. We saw on the Içana that the preparation of the plank for the grater fell to the man, and the incrustation of the small stones to the woman.

the making of the dance ornaments and musical instruments;
the manufacturing of the fishing nets and baskets and the traps;
the making of the trocano /signal drum/ and of the caxirí tubs;
the collecting of arumã and the gathering of the splints for the making of the basketry, of the leaves for the extraction of the tucum fibers; as well as of the clay for pottery;
the collecting of the poisonous plants and their preparation for fishing.

2. It falls to the woman: to plant and clean the clearing and the harvesting of the mandioca;

the cleaning of the ground adjacent to the maloca;
to carry the aturá /carrying basket/ with the load;
to make and to fire the pottery;
to manufacture the hammocks for sleeping;
to perform the domestic services (to light the fire, to prepare the food, to bring the water, the firewood, to carry the children, to look for lice, etc.).

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858 b) The Children.

The natives want children, hence the general fact that all constitute regular families. The fertility of the marriage is an essential condition for its validity. The birth of the first child seals the implicit contract of marriage and stabilizes the marriage, changing wives no longer being possible.

[842] /426/ They desire, however, male and female children alternately; the former are the perpetuators of the group, the latter, besides the work that they will perform, facilitate the marriage of the male children by the exchange process. If three girls are born consecutively, the Indian will blame the wife, thinking that it is her fault (34).

[847] [797] 34. An example was mentioned to us in Teresita, river Papuri, Colombia. At the birth of the fourth child of the female sex, the mother buried it alive. The Missionary asked: "Why did you do that?" -- "Because my husband reviled me."

As to the number of children, due to the difficulties in raising them (especially because the whole burden falls on the mother), numerous progeny are not found. Six or seven children occur with some frequency (35).

[145] [841] 35. It is to be noted that the girl does not always marry young. And, on the other hand, the type of life ages her precociously, and perhaps her fertility ceases quite prematurely. It was not granted us to verify at which age the menses stop for the woman. We know, to be sure, that menstruation begins around 14 years of age and that they know and use plants for the regulation of the monthly courses.

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842 The interval, as we have already noted, is regularly two or three years between deliveries.

847 1) Abortion and infanticide.

In spite of the fact that they want children, they induce abortion and practice infanticide. When the sterilizing potions have not been enough, they resort to abortion; for this there are the Puçangas, which the woman herself or her mother-in-law prepares. When these are not successful either, the mechanical process is tried, in order to kill the fetus and abort it, going so far as stepping on the belly of the pregnant woman. And if, in spite of this, the unwanted child is born alive, it is eliminated, being buried alive (36).

[115] 36. The Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, with a tirociny of almost 40 years among the tribes of the Uaupés, stigmatizes "the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn children, suffocating them as if it were being done to any little animal" (ap. Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 26).

And as a rule it will be the mother herself who will do it. Perhaps the burial alive indicates a certain feeling, conceiving it as a pleasanter death. In fact they line the grave delicately with banana leaves (37).

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[732] 37. Among the most repugnant is the episode narrated by Pe. Afonso Kuipers, which happened in the povoado of Africa, left bank of the Papúri, Colombia. A child of about eight years of age, deformed with a huge head, was buried standing up; and since the grave was small, the mother stepped on the head, out of the ground, "in order to bury more and not continue crying."

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847 848 There are four regular cases of infanticide: 1st. -- That of the illegitimate child. Such are all those who are born outside of the legitimate conjugal union. The reason is the shame which it gives rise to (38).

> 38. /This footnote is on p. 427 in the original source./ It does not constitute, however, a matrimonial obstacle for the unwed mother. It is a sign that she does not have "malefice of sterility."

[829] The children can only come from a legitimate marriage. It is a grave insult to tell someone /427/ that he does not have a father. There is one exception: the children of the civilized are in general spared (39).

> 39. Cases are known in which the child's grandparents were proud because their grandchildren were "children of white."

Objects of the greatest shame are the incestuous children. With the utmost secrecy abortion will be induced or infanticide performed.

562 847 2nd. -- That of the fourth or fifth consecutive child of the same sex. Especially if they are females (40).

> 40. In March of 1957 a woman, still young, was taken to the hospital of Pari-cachoeira, river Tiquié, in serious condition as a consequence of an abortion. Further investigation showed that it was a matter of criminal abortion, with the expulsion of the fetus in two pieces, with an interval of two days. And the cause was the fear of having a child of female sex, like the two previous ones. We could not find

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/footnote 40 cont./ out whether some pajé, who foresaw the sex of the child to be born, might have intervened in the case.

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3rd. -- That of twin children. One of the two will be eliminated; usually the second one, unless another reason counsels the contrary. For example, they will preferably eliminate the defective one, or the girl. It seems that the reason for this crime is the difficulty, for the mother, of raising two children simultaneously, with all the work that falls to her; and no other reason of magical or superstitious character (41).

[797] 41. The Missionaries have managed to save and raise some twins, and, when grown, that is, after four or five years, the parents receive them willingly, or rather they demand them.

Patrícia Vasconcelos said that the husband beats the wife when she gives birth to twin children.

[736] Nevertheless this different way of acting causes surprise: when a child becomes orphaned by losing its mother, it will not be killed, but will pass into the care of another woman. When, on the other hand, it is a matter of twins, no woman will take on the burden of raising one of the newborn children, even when there is some newly lactating mother who has just lost her child (42).

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42. Pe. Antonio Giacone confirms this, saying that he saw new mothers emptying their breasts, or nursing some little dog, rather than feed someone else's child (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 53).

Even in these cases there does not appear to be any superstitious motive, but only the selfishness of the women and no friendship at all between them. If they take care of the orphan, it is due to

[736] the inviolable imposition of the irrevocable customs of the tribe.

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845 847 4th. -- That of the defective children. Any noticeable physical defect is fatal to the newborn child. And it can not be believed that it is a matter of a magical reason, but rather, on one hand, the great vanity of the parents, above all of the mother, and, on the other, the thought that it will be a burden to the tribe, which /428/ needs perfect and strong individuals and desires only those. The deaf-mutes escape more easily (as was confirmed) because it is not until much later that they manage to verify their defect.

2) The delivery.

844 The delivery is considered a physiological operation of the woman, like any other, and will not excite attention or care. In spite of the lack of hygiene and of preventive measures, these daughters of Eve seem to have the most normal delivery in the world. Many times they keep on working until that moment (43), and shortly afterwards they begin their normal working life again.

The men, however, will leave the maloca (or wherever the delivery takes place), perhaps leaving the parturient woman in pain, because it is ordered that they cannot witness it. For this reason, if there are guests in the maloca, the parturient woman will withdraw inside some apartment, if there is any, or they will prepare it in time for this purpose, or else she will leave the maloca in order to give birth in the forest. Just as she must also not have in the place any ax, machete, or any other object of iron or metal.

[797] 43. There was related to us by the Salesian lay Brother, the Agronomist Teotônio Ferreira, the case of an Indian woman in S. Gabriel, who worked in the clearing in the morning, bore a child in the afternoon, and on the following day came to resume her work. There are frequent cases in which the Missionaries order them to take a rest and they refuse.

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844 [608] Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõá (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koá (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

[852] [276] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the pajé or a Komũ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

846 *[192] 3) Nihĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).

The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

[115] 44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to take to the hammock during her discomfort. The narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

844 [178] As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the Pax-koá, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45).

[123] 45. The tuxaua of the Íde-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

/429 cont./

844 and takes the child to the river for the bath.

Except in rare cases of a difficult delivery (or very rarely
846 those of death), the mother soon takes up her household cares and tasks again. The husband, however, considers himself in a state
*[192] of pregnancy, Nihĩ-pkõ from Nihĩ, child, and pax-kõ, father. For this reason he must rest or be sheltered, Sihyogõ, for six days (46):

> [797] 46. We have seen some of the Indians who have attended the Mission schools subject themselves to such a custom. And they answer the words of the missionary who tries to show the uselessness of the custom: "The old ones want it this way."

he will not work, he will avoid leaving the house, taking the sun, he will spend the greater part of his time in the hammock and subject himself to a strict diet. "If the father works, the child will get sick, will cry day and night," so they explained to us.

593 It is the concept of the bond between the father and his child, as though the father himself were being reproduced. Everything, then, that happens to the father can not fail to affect the child. Since effort or a heavier diet would harm the child, the father must abstain from these things (47).

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> [115] 47. This belief in the intimate connection between the health and well-being of the father and of the son holds not only during the first days of the newborn child, but also during its whole life. D. José Domitrovitsch, when superior of the Mission of Pari-cachoeira, was able to witness the following episode: Julio, the local Tukano tuxaua, upon learning that his son Mandú (the present tuxaua, 1956) had been bitten by a jararaca, left work, went to his house, put

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> /footnote 47 cont./ himself in the hammock and on a diet, in order that his son's condition would not be aggravated; the latter was saved, thanks to the antiophidian injection that was immediately applied to him by the Missionary.

846 The wife, then, is the one who will carefully serve the husband.

For four days both the father and the mother will nourish themselves only with mingau, being forbidden the use of fish. This is the diet taboo.

[842] The newborn child is a reproduction of the father. The mother plays only the role of the ground in which the seed germinated; the one who produced the seed was the tree, whose nature the seed will reproduce. From this concept (48)

> 48. It is a concept evidently patriarchalist. It is to be noted that Pe. João Marchesi affirms that he has heard from the Tukano Tuxaua Julio, from Pari-cachoeira, expressions similar to those of the Jews (who were patriarchalists): "The children of my womb."

logically come two consequences: the first is the chôco or protection of the father, the second is that the child belongs to the paternal tribe and not to the one of its mother.

553 4) Giving the name.

Around three years of age, when the child already walks freely and begins to talk and to give the first indications of understanding, /430/ they proceed with the rite of giving the name, a rite which ends with a caxiri.

*[192] Until that moment the child is Oẽ, that is, "without name." This is how they translate it for us, not knowing how to give any other explanation for this term.

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553 It falls to the father, according to the report by the Taryana Teodora, to choose a name. Any circumstance of the moment or a certain peculiarity noticed in the child will inspire the name. It is seen that thus the names may be repeated, and, as a matter of fact, they are repeated with great frequency, although there is no obligation to give the name of the ancestors (49).

49. The obligation to give the newborn children the names of the ancestors is a custom of those who admit reincarnation, and those of these tribes are not such.

With the realistic mentality of the native, there can appear not only beautiful and poetic names, but also ridiculous and even indecorous ones.

At the invitation of the father, two older men, possibly the pajé and *Komũ*, or two *Komũá*, equipped with a cigar, and one of them also with a pot (as Dorotéia Brito said) with live coals and resin, at the place of the birth itself, blow the smoke and perfume the environment round about, as well as the child's mother, "in order for her not to get sick," they explain. For this reason it is called "Blown Name, *Baxséke Wamẽ*." It is a rite which gives value to the name given and has the magical power to conjure away from the child any malefice. *[192]

This function lasts an entire day from sun to sun (50).

[562] 50. In July of 1955 the seringalista Armando Sarmento was able to witness a similar ceremony among the *Kubẽwana* of the upper Uaupés. He then observed that between the cuias of caxirí and the smokings of the ritual cigar, the *Komũá* would narrate the story of the origins of the group, with the peculiarity that, if it is a matter of a child of the female sex, the narrators omit the passages referring to Wãx-tĩ.

/430 cont./
553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[302] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
[824] black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
the head and body of the baby. The Komũá and all those present
[273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
[178] that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native ceremonies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of
the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has
already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between
two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors
all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in
the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and
the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier,
have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has
in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the
ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar.
Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to
leave in the center, between the front door and the back door,
a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them
has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the
cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the
mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on
the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child
is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

/431 cont./

553 through life, as they have protected and accompanied his parents
and grandparents, who never failed to provide what is due the
782 mothers of things. The litany is not short, and they spend hours
[562] in the invocation, made in a loud voice, but without accompaniment
on the part of those attending, who, seated on the seats, in
the hammocks, on the ground, wherever they can, fill the house,
and drink cachiry, which is served abundantly by the women, who
are in the kitchen and come only for this service. When the sun
reaches the highest point, that is, at midday, the officiants, who
remained smoking and drinking silently since the first invocation
ended, start again. The third invocation begins about two hours
before sunset; but then there are already found in the house not
only the men, but also all the women and all the children, and
everyone repeats in loud voices the name of each mother of things
[821] that the three elders invoke. The child who is to receive the name
is left to play as it wishes in the middle of the room with the other
children, if there are any, and when the last ray of the sun is about
to disappear, the pagé, who with the child's father and the oldest
relative has come out of the little room where he spent the day,
holds it in his arms and, presenting it to the sun in such a way as
to make it receive the last rays, says the name, and this is then
repeated by everyone in loud voices. The name that the child
551 receives is often the name which one of the grandparents already
553 bore or some other name which might be pleasing at the moment,
and this especially if it is a matter of the chief's child. Many
times, however, the child's name is chosen and given to it in consideration
of the object that it was holding at the moment when
the pagé held it to present it to the sun, to the gesture that it made,
to the word that it said, because then it is as if the sun itself /432/
had given it the name. This, then, explains how in many cases,
when one looks for the meaning of the native names, one has the
surprise of finding the most foolish meanings."

[177] It is observed at present that, even before the baptism, besides
the Baxséke Wamẽ given by the pagé, it receives another Christian
name, or, better, a name which the civilized customarily use.
In general they are not called by name, except by this Christian
name.

/432 cont./

177 551 Many times they refuse to reveal to the civilized the "blown name." It is not probable that a superstitious fear (the taboo of the name) enters into this refusal (51), as if the name represented part of the personality and, for this reason, to reveal it would be harmful to the individual. As a matter of fact, they call each other by the Christian name, and they indicate their own "blown name" and those of their companions with relative ease. The children at school call their companions by the Baxséke Wamẽ in fun and mockery. They hide it in shame, be it indecent or not, in order to seem civilized.

One notices a tendency to abbreviate the names: Candí (for Cândido), Beré (Bernardo), Mandú (Manoel). And many of them, due to the difficulty of pronunciation, corrupt the names:

[171] 51. Pièrre Gordon (L'initiation sexuelle et l'évolution réligieuse /The sexual initiation and religious evolution/, p. 132) explains "teknonymy," that is, the custom (incidentally quite widespread: Asia, Africa, America, Oceania) of not uttering the father's name and designating him by the expression: "the father of So-and-So" (saying the child's name), by means of the taboo of the name. The omission of the name would be a sign of respect, just as among many tribes the name of the sacred objects and, among the Jews, that of Javé /Yahweh/ are omitted. And thus he points out that among the Gold there is an interdiction against mentioning the father's name, while being able to say that of one's own mother or wife, because they are in an inferior position. Likewise among the tribes of the Caburí the woman never pronounces the husband's name, she will always say "the father of N."

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177 Sabá (Sebastião), Putucho (Protásio), Burigúrio (Gregório), Duí
551 (Luiz), Inhú (João), Baria (Maria), etc.

They moreover like to give grotesque nicknames to their companions, especially in the schools.

551 Here are some of the names most commonly used among the tribes of the Uaupés:

Men's Names

Dyákoro
Dopino (a black bird)
Dö'no-sũ (foot flea)
Hakíto
Henã (a fish)
Köomãno
Ñáhuri
Ñamá saaró (deer horn)
Ñyĩgõ (black, Negro)
Omõsi

Women's Names

Anosáro
Bu'ú (the Tucunaré fish)
Dixsíro
Duhígo (seated)
Dumáha
Koõ
Ñamá paxkó (mother of the deer)
Ñyĩgõ (black, Negress)

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Õre-buru (athlete's foot)
Pahíro (large, stout)
Pírõ döhögö (seated snake)
Poá mãri (bald, without hair)
Sapó-ro (foam)
Seribi
Sibyá põrá (children of the sibyá)
Sonã toãmi
Umũpo
Ũ'ré (nightingale)
Ũ'ré-tõ (bunch of pupunha)

Wirõ (wind)
Yepá-sõnyá (legendary person)
Yuxkó-ro (a wood)
Yupúri

Órí pax-kó (mother of the flowers)
Pírõ döhöo (seated snake)

Semé (paca)
Somé
Supyá

Wexkoryó (a bird)

Yu'sío

Among the Tuyuka also:

Tunú (flute?)
Iñaíĩhĩ
Dẽpo (foot)

Among the Bará:

Bwénomyo
Kamoõ
Neñõ
Nomĩ
Yawíra
Yexpádwa

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5) Designation of the children according to age.

The nomenclature that they use to designate the child varies according to its development:

1st. -- Until the day of the giving of the name, it is called ȭe;

2nd. -- Maní, it seems, is a term used in some places, equivalent to baby;

3rd. -- During the first months, in view of the fact that the baby has a lighter and reddish skin, they call it Soã̄gȭákã̄, that is, little red one (Fem. Soã̄gȭákã̄; pl. Sȭará:kã̄);

4th. -- When its little body is already a little steadier, so that it can already remain seated on the lap, held in the arm, or leaned against the shoulder, they call it Duhigȭ (F. Duhigó, pl. Duhĩ̄rá) (which means "one who sits down") or Dȭxpó-peógȭ (F. Dȭxpó-peógo, pl. Dȭxpo-peȭra), that is, "leaning on the shoulder";

5th. -- It is called Bȭagȭ or Bũ̄agȭ (F. Bũ̄agó or Bȭagó, pl. Bũ̄ā̃rá or Bȭã̄rá), when it is already creeping (from bȭa, to creep); that is, "the one creeping";

6th. -- When it already begins to steady itself on its legs, they call it Nũ̄'kũ̄gȭ (F. nũ̄'kũ̄gȭ, pl. Nũ̄'kũ̄rá), that is, "the one who is standing up" (from nũ̄'kũ̄, to be standing up);

/434/ 7th. -- When it is already walking, they call it, for this very reason, Syagȭ or Sihyagȭ (F. Syagó or Sihyagó, pl. Saã̄rã̄ or Sihyã̄rá), that is, "the one walking" (from sihyá, to walk);

8th. -- Around two or three years old it is called Bũ̄xkȭákã̄ or Bȭxkȭákã̄ (F. Bũ̄xkȭoákã̄ or Bȭxkȭoakã̄, pl. Bũ̄xkȭrákã̄ or Bȭxkȭras kã̄), that is, "grown a little" (from bȭxkȭá, to grow), or Bũ̄xkȭ-pȭ, pl. Bũ̄xkȭrá-pȭ;

/434 cont./

*192 9th. -- After the giving of the name it is Buxtuyágõ or
858 Buxtuyégõ (F. Buxtuyágo, Buxtuyégo, pl. Buxtuyĩra, Buxtuyẽra);

10th. -- From six years of age more or less, until the initiation, it is Wi'mãgõ (F. Wi'mãgõ, pl. Wi'mãrá);

11th. -- From the time of the puberty initiation, the boy is called Ma'mã, and the maiden, Nõ'myó (this should not be confused with nũ'myó, woman);

12th. -- In order to indicate that it is already beginning to fill out in body, they use the expressions Nĩrí-bũxkõ or Nĩhí-bõxkõ for the young man, Nĩrí-bũxkõó for the maiden (pl. M. and F. nĩrí-bũxkõrá).

6) Education of the children.

854 Throughout early childhood the children of both sexes are in the mother's care. The baby will go from the hammock to the maternal arms, or of an older sister, and will sleep in the same hammock with its mother. The latter will give it her milk, later mingau of flour or of banana.

She takes her child to the bath in the morning, later to the clearing, where it will remain lying in a small hammock in the shade of a tree, or of some branch stuck in the ground, or under the eyes of some little sister, while the mother works.

Sun, rain, baths, insect bites, all will contribute toward enriching the delicate complexion and habituating that organism to resistance.

*[192] Returning home, with an aturá /carrying basket/ filled with mandioca roots on her back, the mother will carry her child against her chest, with the help of a wide embira hanging from her neck (it is the process that is called sĩ-wõá), or riding on her hip, sĩ-rẽá.

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855 191 Being always in the company of its own mother, the child will learn her language first (52),

> 52. It is true that the boys will soon follow the father and will forget the maternal tongue. The mother herself, after having been married for some time, will perhaps speak only the idiom of the inhabitants of the maloca. For this reason the children will rarely know the maternal idiom. We have verified that, at most, they know only some words of it.

if the mother has not yet learned the idiom of her husband. The
866 boys, as soon as they have grown to about five years of age, free themselves from maternal care and will preferably follow the father /435/ hunting or fishing, or remain playing in groups in the forest, in the search for fruits, or around the rivers, swimming and fishing.

The girls, on the contrary, continue at the side and under the vigilancy of the mother herself (53),

> [797] 53. One Missionary noted that for the girl, used to being at the side of her own mother all the time, the life of the student living in the Mission school is very difficult, whereas the boys adapt more easily, without thinking of returning home.

helping her, according to their capacity, in her tasks. They go with the mother to the clearing, pull mandioca roots, return with their load of mandioca or firewood, or carrying some younger brother or sister, take care of the children, and even help in the preparation of the food.

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858 The girl, although destined to leave the nation and, as a wife, to establish a family in another tribe, is, however, an element of great economic value for her parents. In some cases the parents hand her over to the civilized for domestic service, in exchange for suitable recompense; upon her reaching puberty, however, they will go fetch her for the initiation rite and later for marriage, according to the customs of the tribe (54). [648] [466]

[115] 54. Pe. Humberto Limpens mentioned to us a case that happened shortly before 1947. Until the time of the marriage the girl remained working with the whites. The father had permitted this as payment for a shotgun.

736 If, by chance, an individual dies, leaving children in another povoado or maloca, one of his "brothers" (it might be a close relative, the tuxaua, or someone else), undertaking a long trip, if necessary, will go to look for the orphans, whose support and education will be entrusted to him.

866 The spirit of freedom in which the children are raised is extraordinarily great. They go wherever they desire, without permission from the parents or even notice beforehand (55).

[115] [648] 55. Frei Laureano da Cruz narrates how an imprudence by the capitão João Palácios, in the so-called "Província dos Encabelados" /Province of the Hairy Ones/ (because the Indians wore very long hair), aroused the resentment of the natives, who killed the capitão and many civilized. And he explains: "They are such a noble people that they will not tolerate a snap of the fingers, even from their own parents" ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 99).

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866 They act as they please. They do not listen to the requests that the parents direct to them. They do not perform the tasks requested. The slightest whims of the child (56)

> 56. The child is the one who decides whether he is going to board in the school, whether he will not return the following year, whether he wants to leave during the course of the year, etc. The parents do or say nothing concerning these decisions.

are considered. From an early age they officially smoke and drink the fermented drinks at the caxirís. With such independence one might foresee the development of rebellious and quarrelsome types, which, in fact, does not happen. This is because, counterbalancing the spirit of autonomy, there is that of absolute adherence to the disciplinary laws of the tribe, a spirit that is developed with /436/ the beliefs and becomes firmly established through the example of the elders and the ceremonial practices.

Actually there is no school or official instruction, except for the "course of puberty initiation." The maloca, however, with its habitual life or the extraordinary one of the feasts, is a practical and social school in everything.

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The daughter takes a "course in the domestic profession" at the side of her mother, watching her work, helping her, receiving her corrections. Upon reaching nubile age, she will be perfectly prepared to organize and supervise the new home, whereas a contemporary of hers among the civilized would manage this with difficulty. At present, in the educational establishments of the Missions, they not only attend a real "course in home economics," but some even become skilled at tasks that are specialties of another tribe (57).

> 57. These tasks, however, which are outside the primitive pattern of the tribe, constitute knowledge that the mother either will not

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> /footnote 57 cont./ teach or perhaps the daughter does not want to learn. It is a fact that we verified many times: the daughters do not know everything that their mother knows and does.

By preparing their small bows and arrows for amusement or by watching the men work, and sometimes by helping them spontaneously, the boys also become skilled in the different masculine tasks (58).

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> 58. Never, however, in the feminine ones. They used to laugh in the beginning, Pe. João Marchesi told us, when they saw the Missionary light the fire and prepare his own food, because "it is woman's work." Nowadays one already sees a man of the younger generation, who went through the Mission schools, carrying one of his small children, while the wife is loaded with an aturá on her back or other great burdens.

It is all an intuitive process of apprenticeship, arousing the interest of the children, developing the capacity for imitation that they possess, deeply rooted, in an environment of freedom, happiness, and well-being. A conjunction, finally, of conditions in accord with the native psyche, and, for this reason, assurers of a happy result. Not infrequently the young men become more skilled than their own fathers.

476 There are many tasks that they perform collectively, or at least with the help of others, such as felling trees, cleaning the clearing, building houses, making the canoes. These are done with the display of a greater cheerfulness and emulation, which favor the growth of love of the work and of doing it nicely.

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868 It can be affirmed without fear that the parents are interested in the material education of the children. It is the father's ambition that his son will be a competent fisherman, boatman, or hunter (59).

[797] [829] 59. Today many parents are already interested in something more, and they bring their children to the Mission in order for them to be made "whites." A parent, bringing a girl of about eight years old to the school, recommended to the Directress that she "educate her, teach her Portuguese, in order that later she might be able to marry /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a white." After he has spent some years in school, the child considers himself superior, and is regarded as such by the others. He has become "white."

For this reason he will not deny him his advice and his experience.

/437/ 7) Puberty initiation.

881 By puberty initiation or "rite of passage" is understood the official entrance of the individual, who has reached puberty, into the social life of the tribe, coming to take responsibility for his actions. For this he will also receive the necessary instruction on the "customary law" of the group to which he belongs, the obligations and rights of the individuals. And also, only for the boys, the explanation of certain customs and the legends which constitute the historical and cultural patrimony of the group. [562] [869]

Both those of the male sex and those of the female sex must be subjected to the "puberty initiation rite" (60).

[797] 60. The Missionaries, with patient and prudent action, have managed to alter the native customs, although slowly, with the adoption of Christian

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881 [797] /footnote 60 cont./ customs and the extirpation of those which are contrary to the morality of the Gospel, retaining only those that do not harm this morality. For example, many of the young men are boarding in the Mission schools at the time of the puberty initiation. There are few cases in which the young men at such a time of life fail to return to the school, in order to go through the "rite of initiation." And some affirm that the youth can marry even without having been subjected to such a rite.

562 881 after a theoretico-practical course. It is a matter of a religious function, as if it were the consecration or sanctification of the individual, who is integrated into the group of the worshipers of Wĩx-tĩ.

*[192] a) Course of male initiation -- Mĩrĩ-mẽra, a'mõ-yesé (61).

[115] [171] 61. These data are based on descriptions made by natives of the Tukano, Wanana, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Tuyuka, Desana, Bará, Kumãdene, and Baré tribes. This last informant did it according to recollections of his initiation, more than thirty years before, in Tamanduá. It is, however, a general custom of all the tribes of the region, of the Tukano group as well as of the Arwáke and of the Makú, as the natives themselves affirmed.

According to the number of inhabitants of a maloca, the young men, upon reaching puberty (62)

[115] 62. The Baré Plácido from Melo informed us that at his initiation there were 20 young men in all, and about ten persons, between pajés and Komũá, instructed them. It was, however,

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> /footnote 62 cont./ tremendously boring. When one pajé had finished talking, another one would come, repeating the same things, some already drunk. They would listen in fear, believing everything. He recalled /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ an old pajé who knew many stories and told them, much to the delight of the children. In the smaller povoados there might be perhaps a single candidate for the initiation, as was the case for Felisberto from Urubucuara, and for the youth Graciliano Carvalho, Pirá-tapuya from Tatá-punha. The latter remained isolated for two months in a house, and the old men came there to give him the lessons and to tell him stories, which he would have to repeat on the following day.

(in practice whenever their voices start to change), are gathered together in groups, in a distant spot, for the initiation course, which is called Mĩrĩã-mẽra a'mõ-yesé, that is, "initiation rite with the sacred instruments or Mĩrĩã." In many cases huts are improvised in the interior of the forest for this.

/438/ The course, which lasts several weeks or even two and three months, according to the progress of the students, is directed by one or more pajés and Komũá simultaneously. There is an assemblage of painful tests (63)

> 63. It seems that there is opportunity for the inventive faculty in the application of the tests. In a Tiquié povoado we came across two young men who bore on each arm a wound around the wrist, as if it had been produced by handcuffs.

in order to verify the spirit of sacrifice and endurance of the youths. Deprived of clothes, they remain exposed to bad weather, they

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881 562 are flogged on the back with reeds four times by the Komũã́, keeping their arms crossed on the chest, and they can not cry (64).

[183] 64. We were told of a young man who could not stand the blows and, feeling humiliated and scorned by those of the tribe, had to leave and place himself at the service of the whites in S. Gabriel.

Some child may hide in order to dry his tears, said an informant.

*[192] Handfuls of pepper are put in their mouths, and they are ordered to chew them. When there are several, they are arranged in a line, and with a stick they dig a hole, into which they are later going to spit. Not hitting the hole will be a reason for punishment. At dawn they take a bath in the river; upon returning, they drink a little Kaxpí.

They are obligated for the great fast, be'tisé, and their obligatory food is the larvae of the wasps.

562 869 881 They spend whole hours sitting on the ground, listening to the pajés narrating the traditions, telling the legends, teaching the obligations as members of the tribe, husbands, and fathers, giving advice, fixing the relations with the neighboring tribes. These instructions are intermingled with caxiri and with the apprenticeship in the fabrication of the baskets, fishing nets, and other tasks of the men.

[534] [778] While narrating the stories of the Mĩrĩã́, they place one of the mysterious instruments beside each boy, so that he can observe it well (65).

*[192] 65. The instrument is an essential element for the male initiation. Besides the positive information obtained, it says the very name of the rite: "Na porá-ré mĩrĩã-mẽra a'mo-yẽrá," as the natives express themselves, that is, initiation of the sons with the mĩrĩã́. This is also the opinion of Koch G. (Z. I. 220).

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881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise they are beaten by the Komũá. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũá, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
835 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public
881 sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it
secretly.

b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).

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881 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced,
*[192] and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo
[171] descendants of the Coianá Indians in the interior
[126] of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair.
[115] Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

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562 881 [115] /footnote 67 cont./ Bará, and Makú) we were able to verify that the process is the same. Whatever was peculiar in one narration became harmonized in the whole, and perhaps had happened with all, although some might have forgotten to narrate that detail. Moreover, they assured us that in all the tribes the mō-yōāse was performed in a similar way.

In a similar way the girl, "when she becomes a young woman," according to the native expression, that is, when she reaches the age of the menses (68)

*[192] [145] [841] 68. They call it "sickness of the moon, Mūhī-pū dux"ti." It is one more proof, among the many that we have had, of how the intimate life of each one is known perfectly by the entire community. The first menstruation takes place around 12 years of age, although the child, from her physical development, looks only about ten. For children of both sexes, it is not until some years after the age of puberty that their bodies fill out, that is, it is only after 14 or 15 years of age that the development of the body takes place, and in an almost perceptible way "they become young men and women." With the onset of menstruation, as in the critical age of the woman and puberty for the man, one does not notice abnormal physiological disturbances. Menstruation, like conception, comes regularly throughout the year. Ordinarily the monthly courses are not very abundant and do not last more than one day.

and the first menstruation, a mõsé, comes, must go through the puberty initiation rite.

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Naturally one can not mark the date for this beforehand. It is likewise understandable that it is practically impossible to perform this rite with an entire group, as in the male initiation, if we consider that they are small povoades or only a maloca.

*[192] /440/ The first menstruation is a dangerous event for the young woman; she may be a victim of Bisíu (VII -- 4, d (5 c)), *Bisíu a'mõsé-re baásamĩ*, they say, that is, Bisíu eats the menstruation. As they explain, *to eat* means that he will come to fecundate her (69).

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69. A singular phenomenon of acculturation or adaptation has been taking place. A girl, for example, is in school at the time of the first menstruation. She will perform the rite perhaps many months later, when she returns to her povoado. She does not wait, according to information from the young women themselves, until the next menstruation comes to perform the rite. As for the rest, she follows exactly what the customs dictate.

[756] (See *Lendas do Uaupés* /Legends of the [illegible].) The maiden then will be the first to announce the fact and to request the intervention of the pajé or *Komũ* (70).

[829] 70. One of the young informants asserted that the maiden will be happier if she does this rite with a stronger pajé. Another added that she will be still more so if it has been with a white.

Besides, the rite is desired by the girl, not only because it gives her freedom for the public sexual relations, but also because, according to her convictions, this rite is going to assure her happy deliveries, as various young women testified. For this reason no maiden would dare to marry without the puberty rite and the *mõ-yoãsé* (coitus of initiation). Some nubile maiden, especially

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those educated in the schools, might perhaps say, out of shyness (71).

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71. The young Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos, an orphan raised in the Mission of Iauareté, and who, until she was 25 years of age (1956), spent the greater part of her life in the schools of the Salesian Missions, has always denied having submitted to the puberty rite. Although in a conversation on March 9, 1956, apart from any subject, she came out with the statement: "Now the rite of initiation is not done any longer," on many occasions she has affirmed that the natives "all, even people of confession and communion, continue to do all these ancient practices, even the alumni and alumnae of the Mission." In September of 1955 in Taracuá, apropos of the puberty initiation rite, she said literally: -- "Even the Christians do this." Around the fourth or fifth of March of 1956, she related an episode that had happened to her the last time she had been with her relatives in S. Luzia, from September of 1955 to February of 1956, an episode which documents how even from the Christian natives one only slowly manages to eradicate the primitive beliefs. One day she felt somewhat ill (the common discomforts of women). Her uncle Marco, who, although Christian, continues, as pajé, to practice the "blowing" and the other Xamã /shaman/ rites, asked her whether she had already performed the puberty rite. Answering that she had not as yet, her uncle went on: "That is it, my daughter (sic), that is because you have not undergone the rite. Shall we do it now?" She did not accept (she told us). Then the uncle gave her the explanation about the discomfort and about the usefulness of the puberty rite, which we transcribe.

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562 that she has not performed the rite. Nevertheless, she herself
881 will affirm, in agreement with the others, that a woman can not
marry without having submitted to these practices.

[115] Patrícia Vasconcelos gave the following explanation of the
necessity for the rite, according to the instruction obtained from
*[192] her uncle Marco from S. Luzia, river Papuri. /441/ "The maiden
has the nihĩ-koró (vagina?) inverted, and for this reason the child
cannot come out. /The final quotation marks are missing./ The
pajé or Ko-mũ is going to put it "in the proper position" by means
*[192] of the rite and the coitus. The rite, besides this, makes "the
nihĩ-su'ti-ro, uterus, not grow very much, because in this case
she would have two children at a time and this is a disgrace for
the woman."

This rite is essentially equivalent to the "religious defloration" that other human groups practice. However, due to the previous liberties, although without an official character (rather they must be hidden), which take place even between children and adults, the girl, upon reaching menstruation, already has the hymen ruptured. This, then, is of no importance in the rite. An official coitus, mõ-yoãsé, however, takes place on the first day (and in some povoados also on the following days) with a young man chosen by the girl or by her father (72).

72. The choice of the young man is made by
the girl herself in some places, and in others,
povoados and malocas, by her father. A young
Tukano from Pari-cachoeira declared that she
did not like the young man whom her father had
chosen. It seems that where there are more
Komũá the choice of the executor of the rite is
[835] always by the father of the maiden. If the father
is Komũá, he himself will execute the rite with
his daughter. We do not know whether this is also
an obligation of his. From a Komũá of Juquira,
river Uaupés, we found out that he personally did
it with his three daughters, as one of them informed

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562 881 [835] /footnote 72 cont./ us. The services of the pajé or Komũ are always remunerated, as well as those of the mõ-paxkoá; not, however, those of the young man. He is not the future husband, who must belong to another tribe, and the young man of the a"mõsé regularly is of the same tribe as the maiden. A young Makú added that the young man was her obligatory partner at dances, as we were later able to verify. [115] [648]

and, on the last day of the rite, with the Komũ or pajé (73).

73. It is to be noted that, according to the descriptions that we obtained, the first coitus is not with the pajé or Komũ, as one might expect, but with the young man.

The concept that the one chosen should be the hero of the group, recognized after a fight with others, as is done among some tribes, has declined. Among the Uaupesinos there is no test to determine the choice; there is only one quality in favor of the chosen one, his youth. Some maidens affirmed that he was a "strong young man." [829] On the rivers visited by the civilized, the latter may be chosen for such a function, and they have done it. For such a choice, we think that not only does the native's instinct of self-interest enter in, but also the white is supposed to have a special nature (74).

74. Many times and under different circumstances the native has manifested the opinion that the civilized person is endowed with a nature different from that of the Indian. This was the answer that the tuxaua from Pari-cachoeira, Julio, gave to Pe. João Marchesi, who assured him that he should not fear the

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> /footnote 74 cont./ Dohasé (malefice), just as the Missionary did not fear it. "The white is of a different nature," he answered, "for this reason he does not catch our dohasé."

a connection with which might bring benefits for the girl. This opinion was expressed by several young women.

/442/ The girl must then be separated from the inhabitants of the maloca. The maidens do not know (and this seems to us the most probable hypothesis) or did not want to give the reason for this segregation. It is that in these circumstances she is considered dangerous (75),

> 75. It is to be pointed out that she is dangerous not only during the days of the menstruation, but until the rite has been completed. As a matter of fact, the seclusion might take place outside the menstrual period and might last for an entire moon. It seems that only the first three monthly courses are considered dangerous and thus subject to a special rite. If one is to believe the information, during the subsequent menstruations the woman is not obliged to abstain from sexual relations, as the Jews observed.

for the others, once she has been sought by Bisíu.

*[192] In the regime of the maloca, an enclosure for the young woman, called a'mõ tuxkũ, is made inside of it. In the regime of the povoado, she might perhaps be isolated inside a hut (76).

> 76. In October of 1947 a young Makú from Iauareté retreated to the hut of the pajé himself for the initiation.

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881 During this time, which runs from three days to four weeks,
562 according to the tribe, the young girl will always be shut in, she
cannot take a bath, she will go out only when necessary and
quickly, trying not to meet anyone.

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881 There, while the girl is kept seated on a stool, her hair will
be cut by a woman who is called mõ-paxkoá, that is, godmother
302 of initiation (77).
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> 77. This godmother will call the girl Yõ-se:ko, my hair-cut; and the maiden will call her Yõõ-ré se:ko, the one who cut me (my hair).

"It is in order to exchange for new hair" was the only explanation. According to information obtained by Koch G. (Z. I. 357), the girl's hair was used for making the masks of Wãx-tĩ. Thus one more element of connection between the puberty rite and the cult of Wãx-tĩ appears.

*[192] The face and especially the body are liberally painted with black dyá-wé dye by another woman, who is likewise considered Paxkoá. Both of the godmothers will receive some gift from the girl and also have a right to her services. The body painting is done as usual, by means of the molongó cylinder (VII-3, b(2)).

For the haircut they used the sharp teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmo of different species) and other animals. For this reason, wrote Stradelli, the tribes of the Rio Negro, who spoke Nheengatú, when the use of scissors was introduced, called them Piranha. The artifact for the cutting of the hair among the Tukano is called Dõxpóse:ró.

*[192] The Mõ-paxkoá or the mother herself in some tribes pours water with pepper through her nose, using a funnel of the leaf of /443/ õhoá pũrĩ or yõxsõ-pũri, "in order to become illuminated" (78).

> 78. "To have the face or skin become illuminated" is an expression that we have heard frequently among the young female informants. It seems

562 /443 cont./

881 /footnote 78 cont./ to mean a healthy coloring of the face, and in some cases it seems to us to

[302] have the meaning of "illuminátio vultus" /vultus,

[608] "look, appearance"/ of the Jews.

"the fat to go from the face, and to remain always young."

When the cutting of the hair and the painting of the face have been done, no person may enter the place of seclusion except the pajé or Ko-mũ, the young man, and the girl's mother (and, lacking the latter, the grandmother or woman on whom the young

[262] woman depends), and the Mõ-paxkoá herself. She will fast a

*[192] great deal; the only foods permitted are beijú, small fish (jacundá, pirámirim), ant, mexkĩ (manivara /termite queen/), and sirákaro (beijú of tapioca). She uses the manivara (explained Patricia Vasconcelos) "because it does not have fat and the pajé has broken its stinger."

She will, moreover, be subjected to painful tests: she will spend long hours seated on the floor and all of the last night in vigil. The pajé or the Ko-mũ, bending over the fire, covers her with a strainer, and he will "blow" over her, while she remains seated, with her head bowed upon her crossed arms.

During this ceremony he brings her a cuia with pepper and gives it to her to smell, "in order for the face to remain always smooth," that is, not to be left early with a wrinkled face. Simultaneously he instructs her concerning the duties of a wife and mother.

[756] Some of these instructions by the pajé, as the informants related to us, are: "to have good behavior toward her own

[867] mother -- to work hard -- not to do as the others do (?) -- when young to work harder -- to be kind toward the elders, to stay away from the piraboto /bouto/ -- to avoid the great snake because it swallows (that is, fecundates) the woman -- she must prepare food for the man -- work in the clearing -- not to get much sun, because otherwise she will quickly grow old -- to

562 /443 cont./

881 work rapidly -- to return home at once" (79).

[756] [867] [177]

79. These recommendations against the piraboto, the great snake, and the peculiar interdiction against eating paraíba fish are indications of a penetration of the Tupi legends in the Uaupesina civilization. As proof and for a better understanding of these recommendations, some legends should be recalled, especially those of Tincuam and those of the Juruparí of the Baré versions, the Taryana of Izi ("Lendas do Uaupés" of the author).

[756] [869] [833] Nevertheless, he will not tell her anything about the origin of the tribe. After having blown over her with the smoke of his cigar, pronouncing at the same time a long and unintelligible exorcism, the copulation takes place (80).

80. Among the Tukano, according to what the pajé Marco of S. Luzia, river Papuri, revealed, the purpose of the copulation is to place in position the nihĩ-koró, which is inverted. But ordinarily, in similar rites, it has the symbolism of a union of forces and properties preserving the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ evils that the rite is aimed at conjuring away. Perhaps because of that, both the pajé, or Komũ, and the young man practice copulation on this occasion not only with the girl, but also with her mother and her paxkoá, as the several informants of the Uaupés stated.

562 /444/
881 The rite ends with a bath of the dawn, Wáwa-'kãsé, which
783 makes us think of the bath of the dawn of the men at the feast of
*[192] Wãx-tĩ (VII-4, e (2 b); cf. Legend of the seizure of the mĩrĩã́
instruments). A procession of these women who have been asso-
ciated with the rite, perhaps also other close relatives of the
*[192] maiden, is organized. In front goes the pajé, smoking the path
with a piece of cooking pot, Ki-pu-tõ koró, with hot coals, pitch
[776] /Port. breu, a kind of resin/, and pepper, and he will exorcise
the river, throwing in it the contents of the pot, in order to "chase
away the beast that is in the river" (81).

> 81. They explained that this beast was the piraboto /bouto/. Now such a mammal does not exist in the upper Uaupés, much less in the small igarapés. We are thus confronted with a transplanting of beliefs and legends.

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881 The mother pushes the daughter into the water, and everyone will
785 take a bath (82).

> 82. Wallace (o. c.) further brings in here a detail which was not confirmed to us. It is the following: "When this time has passed (one month), the relatives and friends of the parents, who are invited for this, gather there on the designated day, each one of them bringing a piece of cipo (flexible climber). The girl is then taken outside the house, completely naked, to the center of the group, which is in the yard in front of the dwelling. Each one of those present on this occasion is obliged to give her five or six strong lashes with the cipo on the chest and on the back, crosswise, until she falls prostrate, unconscious, this sometimes resulting in her death; if,

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785 /444 cont./

/footnote 82 cont./ however, she recovers her spirits, the operation is further repeated some four or five times with an interval of six hours. It is considered a great offense to the parents if the blows are not given with much force. During this test, all kinds of meats and fish are prepared in huge pots. Following that, those present dip into these the cipos, which immediately afterwards are given to the girl to lick. From then on she will be able to eat everything she wishes. And from this moment on she is considered a woman. She is thus ready for marriage" (o. c. 634).

[184] [584] There perhaps is confusion with what happens among the tribes of the Içana and among the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés on the occasion of the dabacuris. According to what the Kubewana of the Ambaíba maloca, mouth of the Querari, told us, when the father of a youth decides to look for a wife for his son, he takes advantage of the dabacuri and applies to the chosen girl three lashes with the adabi (VII-4, e (2b)). If she stoutly endures the blows, it is an indication that she is already mature for dealing with the responsibilities of a home.

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*[192] In some Arwake tribes a caxiri is held later; it is the feast called Karyamĩ (83),

83. Karyamĩ is the name of the type of beijú prescribed for this circumstance.

which may last as long as four days (it seems that it is the same number of days as the seclusion of the girl). Then she will dance with everyone, including the pajé, and will smoke with them on the cigar made of banana leaves and tobacco. It seems that on

562 /444 cont./

881 527 this /445/ occasion there are games and entertainments among the young individuals of the maloca (84).

> 171 84. One of the informants spoke to us about the "game of the lemon" for this circumstance. We heard about a Makú girl, Teresa by name, who on this occasion ran away with the youth, with whom she spent a few days. It seems that this is a matter of a conventional flight, because in reality they withdrew to a hut about 20 or 30 meters from the maloca.

562 881 784 [115] Abstention from work for some days is verified; for example, she will not light the fire, "in order not to be burned." Then the young woman resumes her normal life; she will work in the clearing and in the house with her mother. For another month, according to information by Dorotéia Brito, she may not taste salt or eat either piraîba or the flesh of large animals, "in order not to ruin the teeth" (85).

> 85. Concerning a young Bará, sister-in-law of a Karapanã, in whose maloca, on the headwaters of the Áua, she submitted to the puberty rite, we were able to observe that she did in fact subject herself to a severe alimental diet, not accepting our salted foods, nourishing herself with beijú, tapioca, and fruits. We saw her, however, approach the fire, stir it up, and put some green bananas on to roast for herself.

881 562 *[192] During the following menstruation the rite of the seclusion of the young woman is renewed. This second stage of the puberty initiation is called Mahĩ-mĩ-nõsé. It is identical to the first one,

562 /445 cont./

881 without the cutting of the hair, however. At the following menstruation, Məhẽka-nĩsé, the practices of the puberty initiation are done again. This time, however, there is no segregation of the young woman, and all the acts take place with more solemnity, in view of everybody.
*[192]

c) Nomenclature of kinship and of affinity.

1) Kinship.

611 [601] Among the tribes of the Uaupés it is generation /Port. geração, generation, procreation, descent/ that establishes true kinship. They recognize it not only between ancestors (ñõx-kãkõra, grandparents) and descendants (marĩ-bero-maxsã), but also in the collateral line. And kinship imposes two very grave obligations, that is, that of defense (vengeance) and that of matrimonial interdiction.

602 619 [601] [178] The components of the same tribe, although born and living in different malocas or povoados, are considered axkawerẽra (86),

> 86. The term axkawerẽra is beginning to be extended also to the individuals of another tribe connected by ties of affinity and of blood.

a term translated by those who speak Portuguese by "parentes" /relatives/ and sometimes also by "irmãos" /brothers/. For this reason we are of the opinion (VIII-2, a) that initially the local group coincided with the family.

*192 609 Those of another tribe, even those connected by some degree of affinity, or consanguinity, and also the civilized are all axpẽra (87),

> 87. Axpẽra, properly speaking, is the plural of the pronoun and adjective axpĩ (masculine) and axpego, feminine, other.

that is strangers, foreigners.

602 /446/

619 True kinship, therefore, exists only between the individuals of the same tribe, and with all of them.

2) Affinity.

582 Although strict tribal exogamy is in force, marriage establishes between the children and the relatives of both their father and their mother relations of affinity, similar to those of kinship (not, however, the obligations of vengeance and of matrimonial interdiction) and with a special nomenclature, although not as rich in terms as that of kinship.

582 Since "preferential marriage" is in force (usually with the
first cousins of another tribe), that is, with the first cousins on
601 the mother's side, or baxsú-kãra (Masc. sing. baxsukõ, Fem. sing.
602 baxsuko), they admit the relation of affinity of the baxsukãra
among themselves, as well as between the parents and the class
of the "possible spouses" of the children. There are appropriate
terms for these "possible spouses," "possible parents-in-law," and
"possible children-in-law."

601 There might perhaps not even exist a term to express the
relation of affinity: then they use a term for the relation of kin-
602 ship. For example, the native idioms of the Uaupés do not have terms corresponding to stepfather, stepmother, stepson, stepdaughter. In indirect discourse they describe the relation that exists, that is, one is called: "husband of my mother" (stepfather), "wife of my father" (stepmother), "son or daughter of my husband, or of my wife" (stepson, stepdaughter). And in direct discourse one is called by the name of the relation (uncle, grandfather, etc.), and they will call the stepchildren "children."

601 There are indeed terms, although also classificatory, that is, applicable to a whole class of individuals, corresponding to son-in-law and brother-in-law, but used almost solely for indirect discourse. For direct discourse they prefer the terms of social kinship; of these terms we shall indicate only the most common

/446 cont./

one, that is, the one that occurs in the generality of the cases. For example, ordinarily the father-in-law, "ma-ñĩx-kã̄," belongs to the class of the "maternal uncles" and will be called mẽx-kã̄. As an exception he might be in the class of the "cousins" (meõ-kȭ or tẽ-nõ) or of the grandparents (ñȭx-kã̄) and would then be called by these terms, and not by mẽx-kã̄.

Likewise the "son-in-law," buhí, in direct discourse is called pa:khȭ by the father-in-law, and para-maxkȭ by the mother-in-law, because ordinarily he is one of the nephews (whose mother is "sister" of the father-in-law, and the father, brother of the mother-in-law).

In the same way the "brother-in-law," pẽ-ñã̄, as a rule is one of the baxsukāra or cousins, and thus in direct discourse will be called a cousin, meō-kȭ (or tẽ-ñõ, bridegroom). As an exception he might belong to the class of the "uncles," mẽx-kã̄, or of the "grandparents," ñȭx-kã̄. We shall not /447/ indicate, for reasons of brevity, those other terms which are already listed among those of kinship.

N.B. The wife in indirect discourse uses a special term, nihĩ-so-paxkõ, to designate the brothers-in-law who are mamí of the "Gens" of her husband. Whereas the term nihĩ-so-paxko (pl. nihĩ-so-paxko-nĩ'mya) is the equivalent of "concunhada" /co-sister-in-law," wife of husband's brother/.

3) Classificatory nomenclature.

The kinship nomenclature used not only by the Tukano, but also by the other tribes of the Uaupés, is essentially a classificatory nomenclature. With more accuracy, it is a matter of kinship which could be qualified as social or tribal, rather than as personal relations (88).

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88. We began by verifying several times that a youth would call some individual of his tribe his "uncle," "mẽẽ," when, through later questioning, the latter proved not to be a brother of his father.

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601 The only terms actually individualizing seem to be those which correspond to father, "pax-kȭ," and mother, "paxkó" (89), which are applied to one's own genitors in the strict sense. All the other kinship terms, such as brother, uncle, brother-in-law, etc., are applied to a class of individuals, whether they might be connected to one another by a bond of consanguinity or affinity, or not. It is enough that they are of the same tribe and of the same generation (even though with a great difference in age) as one who is really a brother, uncle, brother-in-law, etc.

For example, within the tribe, all the individuals of the male sex in one's own generation are called mamí or axkabí (they translated them into Portuguese as "irmão" /brother/). They call "mẽẽ," uncle, those of their father's generation, that is, the brothers of their own father (that is, all the mamí or axkabí of

89. That means, then, that "pai" /father/ and "mãe" /mother/ are the only kinship terms in the Portuguese language that have perfect equivalents in Tukano and in the other native languages of the Uaupés. All the rest, whether of consanguinity (such as grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, uncle, cousin, nephew, etc.) or of affinity (father-in-law, son-in-law, brother-in-law, etc.), do not have a precise translation in these native idioms. To the wife, for example, "ma-ñĩ-kȭ," which we have translated as "sogro" /father-in-law/, is not only the father of her husband; it is all the men of the tribe of the husband who make up the category of those whom the latter calls "mẽẽ" (uncle). The very terms corresponding to "son," "max-kȭ," "daughter," "max-kõ," are also applied to a whole class of persons.

/447 cont./

601 their own father) and are called by them "mē-kõ," nephew. And those of their grandparents' generation they call grandfather, "pax-kõ-ro," and are called by them "paramí," grandchildren, or max-kõ-kõ, "child-of-my-child."

/448/ As for the "brothers," if they are such in the strict sense (that is, children of the same father and the same mother), the older one is called mamí (they translate it "bigger brother") and the younger, axkabí ("smaller brother").

When it is a matter of "tribal brother," that is, of the individuals of the tribe who make up one and the same generation or layer, the terms mamí and axkabí are independent of age; they are, instead, a function of the group. That is, all those of the more important "Gens" (see VIII-3, c /see VIII-3, d/) (we use the Latin term "gens" in order to designate the subdivisions of the tribe or sib of the American Ethnologists), whatever their ages might be, are mamí; all those of the inferior "Gens" are axkabí. That is, an entire "Gens" (without taking into account the ages of its members) is called mamí or axkabí of another.

Let us imagine the case of the individual X, who has five children, successively A, B, C, D, E; of which B, C, D are of the male sex, and A, E of the female sex. It is to be observed: 1st, that five is actually the average number of children, according to our "anthropometric file cards"; 2nd, that they wish to have children of both sexes, and that an older daughter is a valuable helper of the mother in raising the younger children. The older daughter A will be mamyó of all the brothers and sisters; the younger daughter E will likewise be axkabyó of all. If we consider the son C, he will be mamí of D and E and axkabí of A and B.

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Let us further suppose that the brothers B, C, D marry (90)

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90. A and E will obligatorily marry husbands, baxsukõ, from another tribe; their children, however, do not belong to tribe X (grandfather), but to that of the father himself. The children of A and E

/448 cont./

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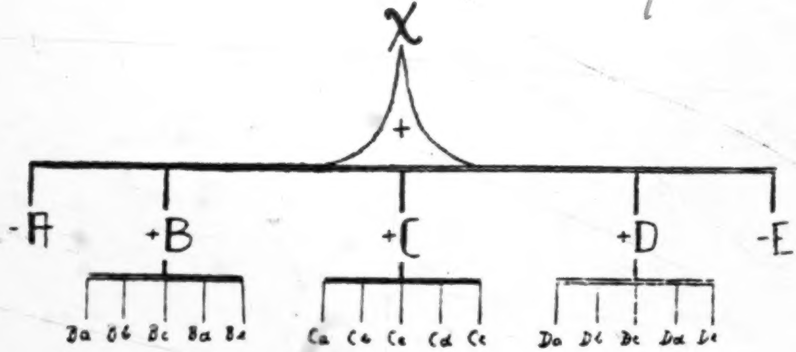
> /footnote 90 cont./ (and all the young people of their tribe and layer) make up in turn the class of the baxsukãra or "possible brides and bridegrooms" (that is, of those who can be taken as spouses) of the children of B, C, and D.

and likewise come to have five children each; the children of B: Ba, Bb, Bc, Bd, Be, those of C: Ca, Cb, Cc, Cd, Ce, those of D: Da, Db, Dc, Dd, De.

We would have the following tree:



Genealogical Tree

/449/ a) X in this tree, in relation to the first generation, is pax-kõ, father; in relation to those of the second generation he is pax-kõ-Ro (literally old-father, that is, grandfather).

b) The first generation A, B, C, D, E among themselves are mamí, mamyó, axkabí, axkabyó, as we saw above.

In relation to X, they will be: "max-kȭ," son, or "max-kõ," daughter (in the plural "põra," sons, daughters).

Relative to the second generation, they are "pax-kõ," father, or "mẽẽ," uncle; that is, B, for example, is "pax-kõ" for those of the series B, and "mẽẽ" for those of the series C and D; these

/449 cont./

will call B "mẽ̄ẽ̄," and B will call them "mekȭ," nephew (N.B. He will call the niece "max-kõ," daughter, and the niece will call him "mã̄-gã̄," because "mẽ̄ẽ̄" is a term used by the men, and "mã̄-gã̄" only by the women).

c) In the second generation (Ba, Bb, Bc, Bd, Be, Ca, Cb, Cc, Cd, Ce, Da, Db, Dc, Dd, De), they distinguish one another among themselves with mamí, mamyó, axkabí, axkabyó, according to their ages, within the same series. Independently of the ages, however, those of series B are all mamí (or mamyó if a woman) for those of the series C and D, because B is mamí of C and D. Those of the series D are all axkabí (or axkabyó, being a woman) for those of the series B and C, without taking into account the ages of the individuals, because D is axkabí of B and C. Those of the series C, also independently of their ages, are mamí for those of the series D, and axkabí for those of the series B.

In relation to X, all are called "paramẽra," grandchildren (paramẽra is plural; Masc. sing. paramaĩ; F. sing. paramỹõ). It is to be noted that all the men of the generation of X (his mamí or axkabí) are considered pax-kõ-Ro, grandparents, of the second generation.

4) Variations in the nomenclature.

d) /sic/ The nomenclature of kinship and affinity, as will be seen later, varies according to:

1st. -- The relationships of consanguinity or affinity between the persons named and naming;

2nd. -- The hierarchical position of the "Gens" to which the persons named and naming belong;

/449 cont./

601 3rd. -- The sex of the persons naming and named (the letter m indicates that the term is used exclusively by persons of the male sex; f, only by persons of the female sex; m, f, when by both sexes).

4th. -- The social age, or, better, the generation of the one who names.

/450/ 5th. -- There are, in some cases, different terms for direct discourse (appelative or vocative), that is, between the two relatives; or for indirect discourse (designative or nominative), that is, between the relative who speaks, referring to his relative, and a third person. For example, "axkabí" is the term that means "smaller brother" (younger); nevertheless, in direct discourse, that is, in calling the younger brother, the older one will say: "a'tyá nĩhỹã" (come here, nĩhỹa, dear brother /Port. mano/). Likewise axkabyó means "smaller sister" (younger); nevertheless, the older one calls her: "a'tyá nũmyó" (come here, nũmyó, dear sister /Port. mana/).

6th. -- In many cases, speaking with someone about some relative (indirect discourse), the relation of consanguinity or of affinity is described; for this reason we also record the descriptive nomenclature.

When there is no proper term to indicate the relation of kinship and especially of affinity, one has recourse to the descriptive term. Many individuals, either out of ignorance or for facilitation, have recourse to the descriptive terms even when there are proper or adequate terms.

From these concepts arose a nomenclature that is quite complex and richer in terms than that of the Portuguese language (or of the European customs), although it does not attain perfect logical rigor.

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601 5) The terms of kinship and affinity

(according to the Tukano customs)

Prior observations:

1st. -- According to the native pronunciation, the terms seem to us to be compound (cf. Observações Gramaticais, da língua Daxseyé ou Tukano /Gramatical Observations of the Daxseyé or Tucano language/); for this reason we separate with a hyphen (-) the various elements that make up the words.

2nd. -- Besides the descriptive (or explicative) term, we shall give the nominative (indirect or designative), that is, when in conversation with a third person one wants to indicate the relative (ex. "N. is my cousin"), and the vocative term (direct or appelative), that is, when one calls the relative (ex. "O cousin, come here").

3rd. -- The Tukano tribe (like all those of the Uaupés in general) is divided into groups (cf. IV -- 2, a (2 b)); it is these that we denoncinate with the Latin term "Gens."

4th. -- They did not know how to explain to us why they call the "cousin" of the same tribe mamí max-kȭ or axkabí max-kȭ, that is, "son of the brother." They only answered that it is the custom. There are confused, then, the /451/ descriptive terms of "cousin" and "nephew." It is true that in practice they never use the term described for the "cousins."

5th. -- The nomenclature below is in force in the Tukano tribe and does not always correspond to the similar term (with regard to the radical) in another tribe of sister language.

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6th. -- The spouses call each other mā̃ā̃-ba (you) when they do not have any children. After the birth of the first son (or daughter) and until the death of this one, they call each other, respectively: "N (name of the child) pax-kȭ or N. pax-ko, that is, "Father (or mother) of N." When the first child dies, they say the name of the next one. If they no longer have any children, they go back to calling each other mā̃ā̃-ba.

Kinship	Descriptive Term	Descriptive Term	Descriptive Term	
Father		Pax-kő (pl. pax-kő-s'ömőa)	yöő pax-kő (my father)	m,f
Mother		pax-ko (pl. pax-ko-sa-nũmya)	yöő pax-ko	m,f
Paternal grandfather	yöő pax-kő paxkő (father of my father)	pax-kő-Ro (pl. pax-kő-Rokőra) (old-father)	yöő pax-kő-Ro	m,f
Old men of the tribe		pax-kő-Ro	yöő pax-kő-Ro	m,f
Maternal grandfather	yöő pax-ko pax-kő (father of my mother)	ñőx-kå (pl. ñőx-kåkőra) or ñőx-kå-Ro (ñő-kå-Rokőra)	yöő ñőxkå yöő ñőx-kå-Ro	m,f m,f
Paternal grandmother	yöő pax-kő pax-ko (mother of my father)	ma:-ko (maa-ko) (pl. ma:kokőra)	yöő ma:-ko	m,f
Old women of the tribe		wa-meő-ko (pl. wa-meő-kokőra) (old-aunt)	yöő wa-meő-ko	m,f
Maternal grandmother	yöő pax-kó pax-kő (mother of my mother)	wa-meő-ko (if from the tribe) ma:-ko (if from another tribe)	yöő wa-meő-ko yöő ma:-ko	m,f m,f
Son		max-kő (pl. pőra)	yöő max-kő	m,f
Daughter		max-kő (pl. pőra nũ'mya)	yöő max-kő	m,f
Bigger brother	(of the more important Gens)	Mami (pl. mami-s'őmőa) or (mami-kőra)	yöő mami	m,f
Bigger sister	(of the more important Gens)	Mamyo (pl. mamyokőra)	yöő mamyo	m,f
Smaller brother	(of the less important Gens)	nihỹã (pl. nihỹãkőra) or axkabi (pl. axkabĩra)	yöő nihỹã yöő kabi	m,f m,f
Smaller sister	(of the less important Gens)	axkabyo (pl. axkabĩra nũ"mya) nũmyo (pl. nũmyokőra).	yöő pana-mő yöő nũmyo	f m
Bigger or smaller brother		pana-mő (pl. pana-mőa)	yöő kabyo	f
Paternal male cousin	yöő mami max-kő (son of my mami)	mami	yöő mami	m.f
	yöő kabi max-kő (son of my axkabi)	nihỹã axkabi	yöő nihỹã yöő kabi	m,f m,f
Paternal female cousin	yöő mamí max-kő (daughter of my mamí)	mamyo	yöő mamyo	m,f
	yöő kabi max-kő (daughter of my axkabí)	nũmyo axkabyo	yöő nũmyo yöő kabyo	m m,f

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4: Silva--691 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

Kinship	Descriptive Term	Descriptive Term	Nominative Term	
Maternal male cousin	yöõ wa-meõ max-kõ (son of my aunt)	meõ-kõ (pl. meõ-kõkõra) wa-meõ max-kõ (pl. wameõ max-kõkõra).	yöõ meõ-kõ yöõ wa-meõ maxkõ	m *f*
Maternal female cousin	yöõ wa-meõ max-kõ (daughter of my aunt)	meõ-kõ (pl. meõ-kõkõra) wa-meõ max-kõ (pl. wameõ maxkõ-kõra)	yöõ mẽ-kõ yöõ wa-meõ maxkõ	m *f*
Paternal uncle	yöõ pax-kõ mamí (or axkabí) (mamí or axkabí of my father)	mẽẽ (pl. mẽẽkõra) må-gå (pl. må-gåkõra)	yöõ mẽẽ yöõ må-gå	m *f*
Paternal aunt	yöõ pax-kõ mamyo (axkabyo) (mamyó or axkabyó of my father)	wa-meõ (pl. wa-meõkõra)	yöõ wa-meõ	m,*f*
Maternal uncle	yöõ pax-ko mami (or axkabí) (mami or axkabí of my mother)	mẽx-kå (pl. mẽx-kåkõra) mẽx-kå-sa (pl. mẽxkå-sakõra)	yöõ mẽx-kå yöõ mẽx-kå-sa	m *f*
Maternal aunt	yöõ pax-ko mamyo (axkabyo) (mamyó or axkabyó of my mother)	må-gó (pl. må-gókõra)	yöõ må-gõ	m,*f*
Nephew (brother's son)	yöõ mami (or kabi) max-kõ (son of my mamí or axkabí)	mẽ-kõ (pl. mẽ-kõkõra) para-maxkõ (pl. para-maxkõkõra)	yöõ *mẽ-kõ* yöõ para-maxkõ	m *f*
Niece (brother's daughter)	yöõ mami (or kabi) max-kó (daughter of my mamí or axkabí)	max-kó (daughter) para-maxkó (pl. para-maxkókõra)	yöõ max-kõ yöõ para-maxkõ	m *f*
Nephew (sister's son)	yöõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ (son of my mamyó or axkabyó)	paa-khõ (pl. paa-khõkõra) yöõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kõ	yöõ paa-khõ yöõ max-kõ	m *f*
Niece (sister's daughter)	yöõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kó (daughter of my mamyó or axkabyó)	paa-khó pl. paa-khõkõra) yöõ mamyo (kabyo) max-kó	yöõ paa-khõ yöõ max-kõ	m *f*
Grandson	yöõ max-kõ max-kõ (son of my son)	para-mĩ (pl. para-mẽra)	yöõ para-mĩ or yöõ max-kõ-kõ (pl. maxkõ-kõkõra)	m,*f* m
Granddaughter	yöõ max-kõ max-kó (daughter of my son)	para-myó (pl. para-mẽra nũmya)	yöõ parã-myõ or yöõ max-kõ-kõ	m m
Grandson	yöõ max-kó max-kõ (son of my daughter)	para-mĩ	yöõ para-mĩ or yöõ max-kõ-kõ	m,*f* m
Granddaughter	yöõ max-kó mãx-kó (daughter of my daughter)	parã-mỹó	yöõ para-mỹõ or yöõ max-kõ-kõ	m,*f* m
Spouse	yöõ põra pax-kõ (father of my children)	må-ra-põ (pl. må-ra-põ-s'ömöa)	mãå-ba or N. pax-kõ (you, or Father of N.)	*f*

4: Silva--693 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

Kinship	Nominative Term	Nominative Term	Nominative Term	
Wife	yöö põra pax-ko (mother of my children)	nö'mó (pl. nö'mó-sa-nu'mya)	mââ-ba or N. pax-ko (you, or Mother of N.)	m
Stepfather	yöö pax-ko mă-ra-pö (husband of my mother)			
	a) from the 1st husband's tribe	mẽẽ (paternal uncle)	yöö mẽẽ	m
		mâ-gâ (paternal uncle)	yöö mâ-gâ	f
	b) from another tribe	mẽx-kâ(maternal uncle)	yöö mẽ-kâ	m
		mẽx-kâ-sa (maternal uncle)	yöö mẽ-kâ-sa	f
Stepmother	yöö pax-kő nö'mó (wife of my father)			
	a) from the 1st wife's tribe	mâ-gó (maternal aunt)	yöö mâ-gó	m,f
	b) from another tribe	mâ-gó	yöö mâ-gó	m,f
Stepson	yöö nö'mó max-kő (son of my wife)	yöö nö'mó max-kő	yöö max-kő	m
	yöö mă-ra-pö max-kő (son of my husband)	yöö mă-ra-pö max-kő	yöö max-kő	f
Stepdaughter	yöö nö'mó max-kó (daughter of my wife)	yöö nö'mó max-kó	yöö max-kó	m
	yöö mă-ra-pö max-kó (daughter of my husband)	yöö mă-ra-pö max-kó	yöö max-kó	f
Father-in-law	yöö nö'mó pax-kő (father of my wife)	ma-ñĩx-kâ (pl. ma-ñĩx-kâ-s'ömőa)	yöö mẽx-kâ(uncle)	m
	yöö mă-ra-pö pax-kő (father of my husband)	ma-ñĩx-kâ	yöö mẽx-kâ-sa	f
Mother-in-law	yöö nö'mó pax-ko (mother of my wife)			
	a) from son-in-law's tribe	ma-ñĩx-kó (pl. ma-ñĩx-kó-sa-nũ'mya)	yöö wamẽõ (pat. aunt)	m
	b) from another tribe	ma-ñĩx-kó	yöö mâ-gó (mat. aunt)	m
	yöö mă-ra-pö pax-ko (mother of my husband)			
	a) from daughter-in-law's tribe	ma-ñĩx-kó	yöö wa-mẽõ	f
	b) from another tribe	ma-ñĩx-kó	yöö mâ-gó	f

Kinship	Vocative Term	Vocative Term	Nominative Term	
Son-in-law	yöõ max-kõ mã-ra-põ (husband of my daughter)			
	a) whose mother is from the father-in-law's tribe	buhi (pl. buhi-s'õmõa or buhikõra)	yöõ pa:-kõ (nephew) yöõ para-maxkõ	m f
	b) whose mother is not from the father-in-law's tribe	buhi	yöõ ti-khã (pl. ti-khãkõra) yöõ mamyo (kabyo) maxkõ	m f
Daughter-in-law	yöõ max-kõ nö'mó (wife of my son)	ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra) para-maxkõ	yöõ ti-khó yöõ para-maxkó	m f
Possible bridegroom	a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking	baxsukõ (pl. baxsukãra)	yöõ meõ-kõ (cousin) yöõ wameõ-maxkõ	m f
	b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking	baxsukõ	yöõ tẽ-ñõ (pl. tẽ-ñõkõra) yöõ maó-pa-maxkõ (pl. maó-pa-maxkõköra)	m f
Possible bride	a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking	baxsuko (pl. baxsukãra nũ'mya)	yöõ meõ-kõ (cousin) yöõ wameõ-maxkõ	m f
	b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking	baxsuko	yöõ tẽ-ñó (pl. tẽ-ñókõra) yöõ maó-pa-maxkó (pl. maó-pa-makókõra) (= nephew of my mother)	m f
Possible father-in-law	yöõ baxsukãra pax-kõ (father of my brides or grooms)	yöõ baxsukãra pax-kõ	yöõ mẽx-kã (uncle) yöõ mẽx-kã-sa	m f
Possible mother-in-law	yöõ baxsukãra pax-ko (mother of my brides or grooms)			
	a) from tribe of the one speaking	yöõ baxsukãra pax-ko	yöõ wa-meõ(pat.aunt)	m,f
	b) from another tribe	yöõ baxsukãra pax-kõ	yöõ mã-gó(mat.aunt)	m,f
Possible son-in-law	yöõ põra baxsukõ (bride or groom of my children)			
	a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking	yöõ põra baxsukõ	yöõ pa:-kõ (nephew)	m
	whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking	yöõ põra baxsukõ	yöõ mami (kabi) max--kõ	f

Kinship	Vocative Term	Vocative Term	Nominative Term	
	b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking	yõõ põra baxsukõ	yõõ ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra)	m
	whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking	yõõ põra baxsukõ	yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ	f
Possible daughter-in-law	yõõ põra baxsuko (bride of my sons)			
	a) whose mother is from the tribe of the one speaking	yõõ põra baxsuko	yõõ pá:-khõ (niece) (pl. pá:khõ kõra)	m
	whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking	yõõ põra baxsuko	yõõ mami (kabi) max-kõ	f
	b) whose mother is not from the tribe of the one speaking	yõõ põra baxsuko	yõõ ti-khõ (pl. ti-khõkõra)	m
	whose father is from the tribe of the one speaking	yõõ põra baxsuko	yõõ mami (kabi) ma.-kõ	f
Brother-in-law	yõõ nõ'mã mami (axkabi) (brother of my wife)			
	a) married to meõ-kõ	pẽ-ñã (pl. pẽ-ñã-s'õmõa) or pẽ-ñãkõra)	yõõ meõ-kõ(cousin)	m
	b) married to tẽ-ñõ	pẽ-ñã	yõõ tẽ-ñõ (bridegroom)	m
	c) married into a tribe different from that of the brides and bridegrooms	pẽ-ñã	yõõ piri (91) (pl. pirikõra)	m

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91.- According to the information obtained, the term piri is recent and used in all the native languages of the Brazilian Uaupés. It seems to us that it is a corruption of the Portuguese term "primo" /cousin/, which, due to faulty pronunciation, they customarily distort into "pirimo." The following are the arguments that authorize this opinion: 1st, some of the informants do not know the term piri; still more numerous are those who do not know piri-mo or piri-mõ and piri-ma; 2nd, of those who have indicated these terms, no one was able to indicate the plural of piri-mo and of piri-ma, and rare were those who presented that of piri; 3rd, according to the spirit of the Tukano language, piri-mo should be the feminine form.

This acceptance of terms from another language is easy. For example, António Barreto (Tukano) informed us that one of his maternal aunts (mĩ-gõ), who in her first marriage had a Tukano (mẽẽ of the informant) for a husband, married a man from the Yebá-maxsĩ tribe in her second marriage. Not being able to call him "mẽẽ," of course, he called his new uncle "yõ-ti," a term unknown to the other informants and which in all probability is a corruption of the Portuguese "tio" /uncle/ (yõ-ti would be an abbreviation of yõõ tio, my uncle).

Kinship	Vocative Term	Vocative Term	Vocative Term	
			or yöö sẽi-mõ (92)	m
	yöö mã-ra-pö mami (brother of my husband)			
	a) married to wameõ-maxkõ	nihį-so-paxkö (pl. + s'ömõa) (only the mami of the "Gens")	yöö wameõ-maxkõ	f
		buhi-bakö (pl. buhi-baköra)	yöö wameõ-maxkõ	f
	b) married to maõ-pa-maxkõ	buhi-bakö	yöö maõ-pa-maxkõ	f
	c) married into a tribe different from that of the"brides and grooms"	buhi-bakö	yöö piri-mõ	f
Sister-in-law	yöö nö'mõ mamyo (kabyo) (sister of my wife)			
	a) married to meõ-kõ	buhi-bako (pl. buhi-bakokõra)	yöö meõ-kõ (cousin)	m
	b) married to tẽ-ñõ	buhi-bako	yöö tẽ-ñõ (bridegroom)	m
	c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms"	buhi-bako	yöö p ri-ma	m
	yöö mã-rapö mamyo (kabyo) (sister of my husband)			
	a) married to wameõ-maxkõ	syõ (pl. syõköra or better, syõrį-nũ'mya)	yöö wameõ-maxkõ	f
	b) married to maõ-pa-maxkõ	syõ or buhi-bako (pl. buhi-bakokõra)	yöö maõ-pa-maxkõ	f
	c) married into a tribe different from that of the "brides and grooms"	syõ or buhi-bako	yöö piri-ma	f
Co-brother-in-law	yöö nö'mõ pẽ-ñã (my wife's brother-in-law)	pesu (pe'su) (pl. pesu-s'ömõa)		m
	yöö mã-ra-pö buhi-bakö (my husband's brother-in-law)			f
Co-sister-in-law	yöö nö'mõ buhi-bako (my wife's sister-in-law)			m
	yöö mã-ra-pö syõ (my husband's sister-in-law)	nihį-so-paxko (pl. + sa-nũ'mya)		f

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92. Some mentioned the term "sẽi-mõ (F. sea-mõ) as equivalent to brother-in-law from a tribe different from that of the baxsukĩra. They do not know, however, what the plural form would be. According to another informant, "sẽi-mõ" would be a term taken from the Nheengatu language and equivalent to "compatriot," i.e., member of the same tribe or nation.

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2) Local or Territorial Group.

a) Local group.

The natives of the Uaupés demonstrate a great spirit of sociability. Tribes differing in origin and in language live a short distance from each other, connected by the ties of exogamous marriage, the cordiality (93) in their social relations, inviting each other reciprocally for the great feasts and maintaining the tradition of generous hospitality. Moreover, there are found today in one and the same povoado individuals or families from another tribe, almost always in order to facilitate the application of exogamy. One and the same tribe, as was seen (Ch. III), is found scattered along the rivers in a vast territory, subdivided into groups that are alternated with those of another tribe.

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Originally each group or Gens lived in a community, in a large dwelling called maloca, Wi'í pahiríwi, which means great house, collective dwelling. Besides the advantages of an economic nature, this would facilitate defense against animals and human beings.

[177]
[178]
With the advance of civilization, security has grown and increased, and, on the other hand, likewise the demands for comfort. For this reason, the primitive malocas have been disappearing and are succeeded by the povoados or groupings of family residences.

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93. It seems that we can advance this statement, even though knowing that not only individuals bear resentment and harbor desires for vengeance against other individuals, even of their own tribe, but recalling besides that there are groups hostile toward other groups of the same tribe. The vengeances and fights, especially on the occasions of the caxiri, reveal these enmities and aversions that the natives know how to hide under the mask of an external cordiality.

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621 592 614 Not rarely the dissension within a group provokes schisms, bringing as a result the departure of the dissidents, who go to build a new maloca or povoado farther away.

It is probable that originally each maloca was, in a strict sense, a family, in which the sons remained beside the father, and under his direction, even after they were married. We thus conceive the local group as being originally an agnatic community. There is, as a matter of fact, an expression current among the natives: "I am a person of N," and he says the name of the tuxaua himself.

[178] At present the two forms of local grouping are found: either everyone lives under one and the same roof, the maloca; or each family has its own residence, the povoados resulting. It is to be noted, however, that there are povoados only on the banks of the large rivers and through the influence and under the protection of the catechesis.

[594] /459/ In one form or another, however, the families constitute distinct groups and, what is even more remarkable in the regime of the maloca, autonomous ones. One understands the reason for this autonomy: there is in the tribes of the Uaupés a fusion of the two "ateliers," the masculine one (of fishing) and the feminine one (tiller), which complement each other and are sufficient for the maintenance of the family.

b) The social organization.

The gregarious life that the forest dwellers live demands the observance of certain norms establishing the relations among the individuals, or a certain social organization is necessary.

These relationships are, besides, quite natural, due to the very simplicity of the life they lead; and, on the other hand, are religiously observed. They are all customary, that is, practiced by custom, and it can not be learned whether they were given by a legislator, Wãx-tĩ, as the legends teach; or whether, on the contrary, they were customs introduced naturally and which experience approved, established, and made inviolable. Or whether

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621 592 614 perhaps one should distinguish between the different relations, some of which, for example, that of exogamous marriage, might have had a positive origin, and the others might be of consuetudinary origin.

Even in small groups, although perfectly and smoothly harmonized, the distinction of social assemblages, with their duties, their characteristic attributes, their peculiar directives, is easily perceptible. In each local group we can distinguish four categories of individuals: 1st, the tuxáua; 2nd, the Komũá (elders); 3rd, the men (more or less scaled by their ages and experience); 4th, the women and children.

These different categories, however, are closely connected to one another by unifying and stabilizing principles: 1st, a common house, the regime of the maloca, which, at least in the beginning, was in force as a general norm and without exception; 2nd, the provisions in common: a custom that is maintained in the maloca regime and, in a more attenuated way, also in the povoado system; 3rd, the common inheritance of the maloca, of zones for fishing and hunting, and of everything that is the property of the group; 4th, the fear of the spirits, with great unitive power, corresponding to the native mentality; 5th, vengeance, which the group will exercise against the one suspected of having caused the death of one of its members.

A further word about the first two categories of individuals is advisable.

c) "Bũxkõrá-kurá" -- (Council of elders).

622 623 Watching over the observance of the customs and the feasts is a Council of elders, the Bũxkõrá-kurá (called Moacaretá in Nheengatú). It is made up of the Tuxaua, who is its hereditary president and also speaker and executor of its decisions, the Pajé, and two or three more /460/ men of greater ascendancy. These men are the Komũá (pl. of Komũ), as the natives express themselves, whom we saw appear (VII - 2, e (3)) as "initiates" and, up to a certain point, helping the pajé.

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623 "The elders desire it this way" is an expression that is frequently
heard when one asks the native the reason for some practice
that causes us surprise. This expression is the manifestation
of an *impersonal will* (the name of some of the components, as
responsible for the decision, is never revealed), which is always
*[192] respected. This term "elder," "*Bũxkõ*," applied to the *Komũá*,
is indicative of authority rather than of age, because one sees
individuals of perhaps 30 years of age or a little more making up
part of the Council.

*[192] The Council acts as electoral college of the Tuxaua, *Wyõra bexsesé*, and as a tribunal which passes judgment on the omissions and transgressions of the customs.

[115] Vice versa, as follows from the Tukano narrator Antônio Barreto, the choice of the members of the Council falls to the Tuxaua. The zeal of someone from the maloca with regard to the interests of the group, his love for the traditions, his facility in remembering them, are, it seems, the qualities required to be admitted among the *Komũá*. It is nevertheless necessary for him to be presented by some member of the council, perhaps the candidate's father himself. His admission, however, depends on the favorable opinion of the Council, after the candidate has given proofs of his aptitude, for example, repeating the legends of the tribe, or the songs of the dances, or showing the efficacy of his "blowings." For this a prolonged course at the school of the old *Komũá* has been necessary, as we saw above (VII - 2, e (3)).

The title of *Komũá* is a lifelong one and procures for them the
[756] respect of their contributors. The *Komũá*, moreover, practice their
activities as "blowers," especially at the delivery and at the giving
[755] of the names, as instructors at the puberty rites, and as helpers
of the Pajé in treating the sick. The meetings are frequent. The
[115] Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos assured us that sometimes they meet
almost every night.

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622 d) "*Wyógõ*" or *Tuxáua* (local chief).

*[192] In each maloca or povoado there is a chief or Tuxaua, in Tukano *Wyógõ* (or *Vyógõ*), a term that is probably derived from *Wi'ĩ*, house (94).

[648] 94. The title of *Capitão* was granted, at the time of the Capitanias, by the provincial Government to the Tuxauas, as a stimulus for attracting them toward contact with the civilized and to take advantage of their influence in order to obtain Indians for the services of public utility. At certain times it went so far as to give them a military uniform, sword, and a monthly salary.

/*461*/ Originally he would be the head of the family, continuing his paternal power or domestic authority. His is an authority directive and as guardian over the local group of families.

Besides his power and his obligations, as *husband* and *father* of his family (and he will do all the tasks, like any other head of a family), it is incumbent upon him to watch over the execution of the traditional laws, to preside and direct the social functions. It falls to him, then, to supervise the construction of the maloca, the cleaning of the adjacent grounds, of the landing place, and of the roads giving access to it (tasks sometimes performed by the women of the maloca under the supervision of the chief's wife), the general and collective fishing, as well as the religious and profane feasts and the periodic dances.

He is the representative of the local group in its relations with other groups, with other tribes, or with the civilized. He stipulates the conditions and, afterwards, chooses and sends the men requested for the services of the whites. He is always obeyed, and, perhaps for this reason, he never uses an imperious, threatening tone.

/461 cont./

622 [595] Nevertheless he does not acquire from his position exemption from work or the right to demand tribute or payment in kind or in work from the other components (cf. Note 102 below /see p. 710 /) or to have more wives (95).

> 95. We have already noted the polygamy of other times (VIII-1, a (6)). Still more recently there have been cited cases (information by Pe. João Marchesi) in which, besides their wife, they kept as a concubine some woman who had become widowed. As well as taking a second wife, because "his wife was sick, and he wanted to have children." There is also recalled the case of one, with a healthy wife and two daughters, who took another wife, impelled by the desire to have a male child, "so that his family will not decay with him." As a matter of fact, after the birth of a male child, he sent back its mother. We could not find out whether this attitude was spontaneous or not.

The power of the Wyógõ depends not so much on custom as on his personal influence, and this can come to him from several qualities: oratorical resources, prudence, technical skill, intelligence, knowledge of several languages (Portuguese, Nheengátú, etc.).

[178] [175] [648] Formerly they were invested with greater power (96).

> 96. It seems that the same can be said of a more distant past. The reports of the eighteenth century (Pe. Noronha, Ribeiro Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira) show them as principals moving large groups, founding new places at the invitation of the civilized, organizing among themselves defensive and offensive alliances. Hence the interest of the Governadores in having them as allies, granting them the title

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622 /footnote 96 cont./ of Capitão. Caboquena, Ajuricaba,
175 Camanaus, Comandre, Carunamá, Cabacabari, etc.
became famous. During the first years, as well as in the
648 middle of the last century, the Governador, /this footnote
is continued on the next page in the original source/ as well
as the Diretores Gerais dos Indios /General Directors of the
Indians/, proceeded with the official appointment of several Principals on the river Uaupés itself, and they took advantage of their authority over the Indians. We found, for example, in the "Archivo do Amazonas," Vol. 1, n. 2, p. 29, the Diretores Gerais dos Indios do Gram-Pará, Brigadeiro Honorário /Honorary Brigadier/ João Henrique de Mattos and the Tenente Coronel Graduado /Graduate Lieutenant-Colonel/ Albino dos Santos Pereira, as well as the Encarregado dos Indios do Rio Uaupés /Agent for the Indians of the Uaupés River/ Capitão Francisco Gonçalves Pinheiro, appointing Tuxauas on the Uaupés River:

1848 -- 1. Alexandre, Principal of Carurú-cachoeira, from the Wanana tribe.
2. Domingos Dias dos Santos, Tukano, Principal of Carurú-rapecuma.
3. João de Mattos (son of the late Excellent Tuxaua Raymundo José), Tukano, Principal of S. Joaquim.
4. Calisto Antonio, Taryana, Principal of Iauareté.

1850 -- 5. Manuel Calisto, Wanana, son of the late Tuxaua Alexandre, Principal of Carurú-cachoeira.

District of Marabitanas:

6. The Indian Mathias Antonio, Principal of S. Francisco.
7. The Indian João Bernardo, Principal of Tucurimachi.
8. The Indian Angelo José, principal of Cuyiari.

/461 cont./

622 /Footnote 96 cont./
175 Principals of the river Içana:
648 9. The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.
1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas
having a large population and being more isolated than they are
[138] today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to
us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend
[177] several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary
course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade,
and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are
advancing and who many times have direct relations with the
Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority
of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção
[829] aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary
are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian
has of the white.

622 The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and
592 authority among the other women, and at times they call her
*[192] Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

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[574] 97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

592 /462 cont./
622 and directs the collective work of the women, especially the
574 preparations for the caxiris and dabacuris. It is incumbent on her to greet and to thank, in the name of the women, the guests /463/ who came to the feast in the maloca. In certain dances
[535] she has the distinctive role of soloist, Yõhõgó or Nõ'mõ-Bayá
*[192] (VII - 4, e (2 a 2)). /Footnote 98 apparently belongs here, although the index number is missing./

[123] 98. At a great feast which we had the opportunity to attend among the Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, we saw the wife of the Tuxaua in one of the intervals of the dances approach the group of women who were seated and rebuke them. We suppose that it might have been due to the women's indecision in appearing for the preceding dance number.

797 On the occasion of the death of the Tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira,
622 the Tukano Júlio, on July 5, 1954, we had the opportunity to see some documents carefully kept by the deceased and his family, that is, a manuscript with the appointment successively of his great-grandfather, João Silgueira, and grandfather, Manoel Silgueira, for the position of Capitão of Parí-cachoeira, appointment made by the Capuchin Missionary Frei Venâncio Zilocchi, on December 5, 1882, with the visa, dated August 7, 1923, of Padre João Bálzola, Salesian. Another letter of appointment with printed heading, signed by the Capuchin Frei Gesualdo Marchetti, on May 30, 1885, also with the visa of Padre João Bálzola, of August 7, 1923. The following are the contents of these documents:

> I, below signed, Frei Venancio Zilocchi, Apostolic Franciscan Missionary of the Rio Tiquih., tributary of the Rio Uaupés, and Director of the Missions established on it, appoint Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara the Senhor principal of the said Mission, João Silgueira, and in his absence the Older

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son, Manoel Silgueira, imposing on him the following conditions:

1st. -- To care for the Chapel and the Missionary's house.

2nd. -- To oblige the residents of the said Mission to finish making the houses started, even to make those which they have not had made.

3rd. -- To divide the Mission into streets, during the building of the houses.

4th. -- Every three months, to send (if the Missionary P. is not present) a resident from here to where the Padre is, in order to report the deaths, births, and the usual news during the said three months.

5th. -- To oblige everyone to make their clearings for their own maintenance, and in order to provide for their necessities.

[567] 6th. -- To forbid absolutely the sale of the Macú natives, as well as to impede, in any way possible, the so-called pega-pega /Port. pega, fetters for fugitive slaves/.

/464/ 7th. -- Finally, in case of necessity, to provide people for public service, that is to say, when the Missionary arrives, he must give the people whom he wants for his passage.

In the firm conviction that the said Sr. Principal will fulfill the conditions indicated above, I pass to him this document, in the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara on the fifth day of the month of December of 1882.

Sgd. Frei Venancio Zilocchi
Miss. Ap. Fno.

To Capitão João Silgueira, Sr. Principal of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara (a lapis).

Visa P. João Bálzola Salesian
August 7, 1923

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(printed)

FRIAR GESUALDO MARCHETTI

of the order of the Minor Observantists of St. Francis, Prefect of the Missions, etc. Considering the good qualities and good behavior of the neophyte João Silgueira -- we appoint him Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara, having to fulfill the orders of the respective Rendo Missionário or of the nearest one.

This appointment will last one year, when the year is finished the above-mentioned Missionary will again confirm it, not having any reasons to the contrary.

Hospice of the Propaganda Fide in Manaus May 30, 1885 (Prefecture of the Missions. Provincia do Amazonas, Fr. Gesualdo Marchetti)

(Manuscript) The below signed, in view of the death of Capitão João Paicana Silgueira of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara, passes the above-mentioned patent to the Indian Manoel Iépassonia, legitimate son of the above-mentioned Capitão.

With faith in what I sign

Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara of Pary Cachoeira January 29, 1886

Frei Matheus Canioni
Miss. Apost. Franc.

(a lapis) Visa Pe. João Bálzola August 7, 1923

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e) The succession.

The tuxauaship has always been a lifelong position and title, and the deposition of one and election of another has never been reported. The latter happened only after the death (perhaps caused) of the former tuxáua. In case of recognized /465/ disability, he still continues to retain the title, and his oldest son will exercise the functions in the meantime.

/465 cont./

622 [115] Rules establishing the succession of the tuxaua or his choice are not known. The only strict norm would perhaps be the observance of the hierarchy of the subdivisions in the povoados in which there are families belonging to various subtribes (IV 2, a (2)), according to the information by Patrícia Vasconcelos and Antônio Barreto. The democratic-aristocratic spirit of these small groups demands this. A very natural process, with such a spirit, is the succession of the father by the son, especially the first-born, a process which is verified in the greater frequency of the cases. This event was determined by the ascendancy, perhaps great, of the father, as well as the circumstance that the son, while the father was alive, often helped him or replaced him on many occasions.

The recognized ascendancy, the personal qualities, and among them regard for the traditions and respect for the authorities, are what point to the son as a candidate. Or, in the absence or the lack of aptitude of the latter, anyone else, preferably from the family of the deceased Tuxaua.

Violation of the old customs and disobedience toward the father have not infrequently been the cause of passing over some young man, otherwise well qualified, to succeed his own father in the office of tuxaua.

[623] Such a choice is one of the principal functions of the council of Elders, the Bũxkȭrá-Kurá (99), according to the information obtained from some tuxauas (Júlio, Tukano of Pari-cachoeira; Henrique Resende, Tuyuka of the Iaísa igarapé; Fernando, Yurupari of S. Ana on the river Içana; Mandú, Kumãdene of Urubucuara; José, Huhúdeni of Uapuim-cachoeira on the river Aiarí).

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[115] 99. On the occasion of the death of the Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, Julio Silgueira, on July 5, 1954, the Council of elders remained for three days deliberating on the qualities and merits of Mandu, the eldest son of the deceased chief, before recognizing him as the successor.

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The social power of the tuxaua being thus attenuated and with this native democratic mentality, it is to be inferred that there would be no repugnance toward a female Tuxaua. There is mentioned the example of Caridade (or Carí, according to the common designation) from the Tukano tribe, who exercised the tuxauaship in Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), recognized by all and in very singular circumstances, because she succeeded her brother Estevão, who, upon his death, left two sons (100).

100. Carí previously had been a prostitute in S. Gabriel on the Rio Negro and never married. It was not possible to verify whether her ascendancy had an origin of such an order. It would be a problem similar to that of the Hetaerae. Or whether, on the contrary, as seems more probable, it was due to her intelligence, by being a very shrewd woman with the advantage of knowing Portuguese well.

/466/ The situation of Cari can perhaps be explained by her having lived for a long time with the civilized in such a way that she was considered such, being, on the other hand, the daughter of the old and esteemed tuxaua (101).

[648]

101. In Piracuara there were some misunderstandings between Colombians and natives. The Colombian authorities ordered the maloca destroyed, and Cari was manacled, as well as the local pajé. Some time later Pe. João Marchesi, who furnished us this information, was called in order religiously to assist Cari, who appeared in good spirits, in her hour of death.

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622 f) Government and justice.

Even in olden times the tuxaua's power was tempered by the power of the heads of each family, which, as we said, is autonomous regarding its normal life, its trading, its clearing, etc.

622 623 It was, likewise, moderated by the ascendancy of the Komũá, the "Elders," who still today preside over the dances, take part in the giving of the name to the child, in the initiation of the young men, practice the "blowing," etc. The "Elders" constituted a true Council or Senate of the Tuxaua, the Bũxkõrá-kurá; and even today continue with such function and choose the new tuxaua.

622 The absolute chiefs have always been an exception, which sometimes provoked reaction by his subordinates (102).

[159] [648] 102. José, Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, died poisoned by those of his maloca; properly speaking, by his second wife, a Tuyuka, with the connivance of the other inhabitants of the maloca. During the time of the encarregado dos Índios /Indian Agent/ Higino Albuquerque, of the SPI, José exercised in truth a despotic power: he forced the Indians to work for some of the civilized, thrashed the women so that they would make the flour more quickly, etc.

797 622 648 Among all the tribes of the Uaupés a democratic regime has always been in force. It is remembered, however, that some tuxauas, in contracting for service with the whites, -- one of the functions of the tuxauaship, -- demanded payment without work, or even keeping almost everything for themselves and distributing little to the others, so that the natives came to ask the Missionary to make the distribution of the payment to them himself.

627 The administration of justice, in the strict sense, does not fall to the tuxaua. There is not even a judiciary or customary penal Law. The questions that arise among the components of the group are resolved among them under the dictates of reciprocal vengeance

627 /466 cont./
or fear. The tuxaua, nevertheless, frequently acted as an arbiter,
[623] reprimanding the guilty ones, threatening them, imposing on them
restitution of the object stolen or an indemnity, and, as maximum
punishment, expelling the undesirables from the maloca; always,
however, in accordance with the Komũã components of the
[681] Bũxkõrá-kurá. They have never known the penalty of prison /467/
or corporal punishment. It should be kept in mind that with their
type of life, and with the native mentality, innumerable cases that
fill our penal codes do not arise.

g) Associations.

797 In the Mission schools it is observed that, although the various
tribes with representatives among the school children live together
857 in friendly fashion, the groups of each tribe readily separate in
order to play among themselves. A Religious Superior of the Filhas
de Maria Auxiliadora (Salesian Sisters), with more than 25 years
(103) of residence among those tribes, informed us that there was always
a girl with ascendancy over the rest, a true "tuxaua," whose orders
the others obeyed promptly, although transgressing school regulations and the orders of the Irmãs Superioras /Superior Sisters/;
and they brought to this classmate the gifts received. Such
deference, however, did not seem to be the fruit of friendship, but
of fear. The Indian girl, who hardly cries, did it when admonished

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103. A similar statement was given by the Superior of the newly founded Salesian Mission of Assunção among the Arwake of the Içana, located in the place known as Carará-poço, in August of 1957, therefore after only five months of the functioning of the local girls' boarding school.

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797 857 by this companion, whose rebuke (104)

> 104. Among the reciprocal insults, someone said: -- "You do not have a father, " and another answered her: -- "Your mother is a thief. "

she feared more than that of the Religious Superiors.

575 We have already mentioned the great sociability of these tribes, but nevertheless there do not seem to exist among the Uaupesinos secret Societies or more or less public ones of the various kinds that proliferate among the North American tribes, especially among the matriarchalists. The causes might be several: 1st, they ordinarily live in small human groups; whereas it is the large groupings that favor the subdivisions into smaller societies; 2nd, they live the common life of a maloca, each one being observed in all his acts; 3rd, the family life is quite autonomous, even when several families live in the same maloca, without partitions of any kind; 4th, the almost nonexistence of a taboo separating the men from the women.

562 796 1) We have an indication of a great separation of the sexes, and of a society that gathers together few times and quickly today, in the feasts of WĨx-tĨ. The men congregate for the phallic procession, as we have described (VII - 4, e (2 a 1) and the women remain outside the maloca, with the prohibition, under the penalty of death, against looking at the instrument.

623 2) We have noticed in the malocas and povoados the existence of a Senate, the Bũxkõrákurá, which meets frequently, enjoying /468/ great ascendancy, imposing and demanding the observance of the ancestral customs, with the competence to choose the chief.

756 3) Another existing society, it seems, is that of the Xamãs /shamans/ or Pajés. The training process of the pajé always is attending the school of another pajé, even by class of student-xamãs. Even after graduating and in the exercise of their profession, they meet periodically, invited to resolve the most difficult

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756 cases. It is not known, however, whether there are more frequent
meetings, at certain times, whether there are rites, or which acts
[622] they practice then. It is known, indeed, that the pajé often con-
venes the Komũá, in order to resolve the sanitary problems of the
maloca or povoado (see VII - 2, e (3)).

562 4) A Tukano informant, Dorotéia Brito, spoke of womens' meet-
ings inside the maloca, during which they reveal among themselves
578 the bad treatment that they receive from the men. We were not
[115] able, however, to verify whether it is a matter of true meetings
of a secret society, as defense of class. Or instead, as seems more
likely, casual, although frequent meetings of women, during which
they open their hearts, revealing their own complaints. It is cer-
tain that at times, by the law of exogamy, all the women are from
a certain tribe, to which they go to relate anything bad their hus-
bands say against it, from which arise disputes and vengeance.
This happens in a very regular way, and with a previous understand-
*[192] ing of the women among themselves. These tales by the women
are called ukhá.

h) Social classes.

565 Among these Indians there is no true social stratification or
social Classes, in the sense that there are privileged positions, per-
haps lifelong and hereditary, with differentiation of tasks, diversity
of rights and even of peculiar customs (in the dwelling, clothing,
badges, emblems, etc.), as happens in more complex cultural
forms. Within the maloca there are no lords and nobles, just
565 as there are no slaves (105);
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> 105. In practice the Makú serve as slaves. It is a matter, however, of another tribe, racially, linguistically, and culturally different. Perhaps one can not even truly say slaves, since in exchange for work they receive protection and food. Once the tasks are finished (clearing, aturás /carrying baskets/, etc.) the Makú may leave, just as they may also constitute their maloca with their tuxaua.

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565 567 but an admirable equality of rights and duties, as well as of property and of work.

Various circumstances justify such inexistence of classes: 1st, it is a matter of numerically small groups; 2nd, the warm and humid climate, if it facilitates a supply of the necessary food at all /469/ times of the year, it does not allow an abundant pro-
[578] visioning and the development of riches. Now, where there are no rich people, there are no classes, neither masters nor slaves;
[692] 3rd, the life in common, which the conditions introduced and tradition established; 4th, the fear of the envy that the well-being of one might cause in the others, and that so many times is manifested even in connection with the small inequalities (see V - 14); 5th, the lack of a tribunal to restore rights and indemnify damages.

3) Linguistic group.

a) Linguistic group.

619 Above the local Group, among the populations of the Amazonian Northwest, there is only the linguistic group. It is made up of several local groups, forming at times a total of thousands of individuals, with the following elements in common: 1st, they claim to be from one and the same tribe or nation and, therefore, consider themselves "brothers"; 2nd, they speak the same language; 3rd, marriage between them is definitely forbidden.

It is, then, a matter of an ethnic unit only. The groups that constitute it never gather together, they do not own property that might be said to be in common: house, land, fishing waters of such a tribe, etc. Because of the distances the relations between groups from different tribes are more frequent than between groups of the same tribe.

There is, then, no social or political organization of an entire tribe; and the elders do not recall of ever having heard of such an
[622] organization. There has indeed been some tuxaua with greater ascendancy and whom other tuxauas consulted and whose advice

/469 cont./

619 they followed in the more serious questions that involved relations
622 with other tribes or with the whites. Each one, however, judging himself perfectly independent and even with very little power over the other men of his own maloca.

701 It consists, indeed, of the temporary union of several groups
622 for an aggressive or defensive military expedition under the orders of a single chief (106).

> 175 106. Thus the renowned Ajuricaba of the Manao
> 721 nation, with his two thousand bows, navigating
> 648 true fleets under the flag of Holland, hunted Indians
> 701 of other tribes in order to sell them as slaves to the Hollanders of Guiana (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario," n. 336). In 1858 Pe. Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 7, p. 86), narrating the episode of the "Cristo de Juquira" (cf. VII-4, b), estimates that a thousand persons from various localities and tribes gathered in Juquira in declared hostility to the civilized. Alexandre R. Ferreira ("Diário" of 1785), apropos of the legendary city of Manoa, vast captial of the Mamao, explains to us that on the river Urubaxi where the Manao formerly were: "the reported aldeia /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ (irananauoca) did not have the qualities and greatnesses that the city of Manoa paraded, because, notwithstanding that all these were confederated, their aldeias were nevertheless independent of one another and many of them as populous as Irananauoca."

622 /470/ There has never been a true authority, but only the
797 ascendancy of one tuxaua over the others. This is more or less the present situation of a Missionary, and, with certain reservations, we can speak of a hypertuxauaship.

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b) Tribe or Nation?

619 Three elements, that is, a certain degree of political cohesion, a concentration of powers in the hands of the chiefs, and an identity of culture, are included and associated under the concept of Tribe, as commonly understood. Now the first two elements are not found among the human groups in the Amazonian Northwest. One can not, then, speak in terms of Tribe. Perhaps it would have been better to call them Nation. We have, in reality, various national groups, each one with its language, presenting characteristic somatic features, in spite of the regime or exogamy in force among them.

All of them, however, constitute a single cultural group. As a matter of fact, they possess common traditions and practices, that is, a similar pattern of life and assemblage of observances that, strange to us, are common to all, such as the rules of marriage, of exogamy, of puberty initiation, etc.

c) Linguistic Families.

197 We await the decision of the specialists on various linguistic questions: 1st, do those that are generally listed as languages deserve to be called this? or might some of them perhaps be merely dialectical variations? 2nd, what is the relationship between them, perhaps one derived from another? which ones would be the derived ones? 3rd, would the present idioms be sister languages, originating from ancient idioms that have already disappeared? which ones would these be? 4th, and, with this last hypothesis, which of the present idioms of the Uaupés comes closest to the original mother tongue?

Attributing a "Language" to each of the "Tribes," as a temporary and hypothetical assumption, we can say (as we have done passim in the present study) that the tribes of the Brazilian Uaupesina area are divided into three distinct and irreducible Families of Languages: the Tukano family, the Arwake family, and the Makú family.

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197 Concerning the components of these linguistic families and their location, as well as their comparative vocabularies, see our work Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia.

/471/ d) Kurá or Gens.

614 We have indicated in a previous chapter (IV - 2-a(2)) the divisions of the tribes, divisions that are called Kurá in the Tukano language. According to native ideas, these divisions date back to the time of the origin of the tribe, by the will of Wãx-tĩ himself. [115] We shall give in another place (cf. the work by the author, "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/") the legend of the origins according to the account of the old Komũ Gabriel Costa of Parí-cachoeira.

614 121 So many questions awaiting solution arise: When did these subdivisions take place? For what reason? What was their basis or foundation? We have verified for today a phenomenon of dispersion of a nation in small groups; would there have been a fusion in the past, or can we foresee a future one? The two first questions are of historic nature, and we lack the data to answer them. We might be able to add elucidative elements to the last two.

1) From the time that a human group settles in a locale that will provide it with the necessary or even abundant means of subsistence, it will naturally become prolific. It is nomadism, at the same time cause and effect of a deficient diet, that lowers the birth rate: 1st, by the organic depauperation of the parents; 2nd, by forcing a prolonged nursing of the children (up to four or more years); 3rd, favoring certain criminal practices (abortion, infanticide, cannibalism of the children).

The human groups, growing in number, cannot remain in the same maloca. Besides the difficulties of nourishment, which we have already mentioned, the real technical difficulty of enlarging the existing maloca or the building of new and larger ones demands

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614 121 the division of the original group (107).

> 107. It is possible that other reasons might have intervened, such as the misunderstandings that are still verified today.

While the first-born son, with his family, would remain beside the old couple, the other sons of the founder would become, in turn, founders of new malocas, which would grow with the natural fecundity of the native woman. This hypothesis, more in agreement with the nature of things, is confirmed, it seems, by the customs.

614 601 1st. -- A first one is the denomination of "brother" for all the individuals of the same nation (that is, who are recognized as from such-and-such a tribe and speak the same language), a denomination corresponding, besides, to their feelings (they can not marry each other, mutual aid and understanding, lamentation for a death, and vengeance for the brother who has been a victim of another tribe).

All of them are brothers, but there is a distinction between Mamí (bigger brother) and Axkabí (smaller brother). Among the brothers-german, that is, /472/ children of the same father, the terms mamí and axkabí correspond to the ages. Outside of this case, they no longer correspond. For example, one hears an adult characterize a child as mami. It is, therefore, a matter of a hierarchic classification.

614 554 [115] *[192] [601] An I'ra-pé Tukano said that he regarded the Waú-ro and Oyẽ as Mamí; in relation to the Waú-ro we heard the expression "Tukano of the head," Dexseá ná dõxpoá," as equivalent to the principal branch, as was soon explained to us by Patrícia Vasconcelos. We have here, then, indications of an aristocracy (108),

> [175] 108. The existence of this aristocracy was already known in 1755 by Pe. Noronha. Xavier de Sampaio

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/footnote 108 cont./ in his "Diario" /Diary/ of 1774 (n. 381) says: "The most famous one (of the nations of the Uaupés River) is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it hanging at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of the common people much smaller. The Uaupés also wear the ears and lower lips pierced." [304]

[115] the principal consequence of which at present seems to be precedence, whether in the dances, whether in the preference for the tuxauaship, in the case of the coexistence of various subdivisions in the same maloca or povoado. On the basis of such a custom, one can arrange a classificatory chart, which, for the Tukano tribe, for example, would be made up as was seen in IV - 2-a(2), according to the enumeration given in December of 1953 by the octogenarian Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (belonging to the eleventh division of the Ba'ti-tõrõ), an order which, besides, corresponds to information that we obtained from other sources and in different places (109).

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109. When one talks about the last subdivisions with individuals from the first ones, one frequently hears this expression: "They are our slaves." Would they perhaps be groups of different origin which were dominated and absorbed? In some cases this seems to us admissible. For example, the Juruá display quite noticeable somatic differences from the other Tukano. According to the legends they would not have come out of Tômpa-duri, but

614 /472 cont./

554 /footnote 109 cont./ out of another hole at the
829 mouth of a nearby igarapé. The rivers with dark waters, like the Uaupés, form characteristic and abundant foam when they beat against the stones of the cachoeiras. Upon asking a certain individual why there were these inferior divisions, he answered that it is because they did not come out of the water, but from the foam, as if it were from the dregs of depuration.

2nd. -- A second one is that they attribute to themselves a juridical superiority, deriving from the priority in time, something corresponding to the proverb: "qui prior est tempore potior est jure" /one who is first with regard to time is better with regard to
*[192] rights/. Whoever has settled more recently in a povoado is in a certain inferior position; he is a "transient, Sihyári-maxsã," as they say.

/473/ The two customs indicated harmonize perfectly; we
173 might think that the second one is a derivation from the first. Upon
554 asking a Tukano Indian from a povoado on the lower Tiquié as to
614 the inhabitants of which povoado he considered Mamí, he answered those of S. José. Further inquiries made among other Indians came to clarify this answer. One of them said he had heard his own grandfather narrating that the Tukano formerly did not live there, but resided on the Papurí. They were expelled from this river by the Taryana, still being a child, therefore, about 100 or 120 years ago, and came to settle in S. José. This information makes S. José the first Tukano nucleus on the river Tiquié.

[103] One more argument in favor of the probability is given to us by the Tukano name of the locality, which is Maxkã, the town, as if it were the urbs par excellence of these Tukano. All the more probable, since such a designation, besides not being attributed to any other locality, escapes the custom of the names according to the geographical accidents (point, igarapé, stone, cachoeira, hole, etc.), or other circumstances. In the vicinity of S. José,

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173 554 614 there is a place that in Tukano is called Bũxkõrá bathá, literally "swimming of the elders," that is, where the elders crossed the river by swimming, fleeing from their enemies. In the vicinity of this spot, about 30 years ago, the elders showed Pe. João Marchesi a section of less dense forest as being the place through which passed the first Tukano coming from the Tiquié on their expeditions of war.

In conclusion, we give the opinion:

174 554 614 1st. -- The natural multiplication of the Indians imposed a division into groups which have established themselves in closer or more distant places, according to the circumstances; for this reason we today find groups of one and the same nation dispersed along the three rivers (Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí).

2nd. -- The denominations (110) that characterize each group (Waũ-ro, Oyẽ, etc., cf. IV-2-a (2)) are names or nicknames by which the respective stipites, or some late more famous descendant who provoked the separation or built the new maloca or performed any other deed, were known.

[628] 3rd. -- The relations between the malocas, and the social situation of those who /474/ inhabit them today, are the same as those that existed among the founders, hence the present hierarchy that is in force among the Indians.

[829] 110. The distance between these groups has more and more accentuated the separation. If it is true that each individual, even the children, knows the name of his own and of the neighboring subdivisions (and even of other tribes), few of them know how to make a more complete list of the Gentes that make up their tribe.

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554 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some
614 are earlier and others later, having originated perhaps from some
schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always
[601] respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them Mamí.

554 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear,
however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical
614 doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say
829 who would have precedence.

797 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the
division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for
177 such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its
614 valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the
religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are, that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?

619 Just as the Tribe, better called Nation, does not have a chief, neither do its subdivisions, or Subtribes (111),

111. Obviously the term Subtribe is improper; just as that of Tribe does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only ethnic ones.

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614 If by Phratry we understand any subdivision of the tribe (even if it does not constitute a true community, because it does not have a chief), these Subtribes or Kurá could be called Phratries (or Sibs, as some modern ethnologists prefer). They correspond to the Phratries of ancient Greece, while, like those, they are also exogamous and of paternal descent. It is to be noted, however, that marriage between one phratry and another of the same tribe is not permitted.

/475/ The Phratry or Kurá, which at first is identified with the maloca, with the passing of time unfolds into several local groups. In these, however, there is no trace that this might be a matter of a totemic clan; they are only territorial family groups or agnatic kinship groups, which we could call, using the Latin term, Gens.

f) Totemism?

There are different indications that make one think of the operation of totemism with its totemic clans and customs.

1st. -- The groups (tribes and subtribes) bear names of animals (Tucano /toucan/, arapaço /Dendro colaptidae/ or pica-pau /woodpecker/, jurití /dove/, jibóia, etc.) or of plants (miriti, cunuri /Cunuria/, etc.), as is the custom of totemic clans.

[237] [301] [535] 2nd. -- There appear in the dance ornaments feathers of the garça /heron/, arara, tucano /toucan/, gavião /hawk/; fur of the macaco and onça /jaguar/, teeth of the onça or of other animals; snake vertebrae, etc. These ornaments recall to memory the place in which the animal was wounded, as if it were an exaltation of the animal sacrificed and an identification between the individual and the animal formerly sacrificed by God or (?) to God.

[535] [532] 3rd. -- In the dances there are personages and masks (where they wear them, that is, among the Kubewãna of the Uaupés and the Arwake of the Içana), which represent the borboleta /butterfly/, the cotia /agouti/, etc., and these personages try to imitate the movements of these animals and there are also corresponding chirps or songs.

[825] 4th. -- The tucano /toucan/, due to the disproportionate weight and volume of its beak, does not have great autonomy of

/475 cont./

614 825 flight, which tends to become lower and lower. When it wants to cross a river, it goes up one of the highest trees on the bank, so they assure us, and from there starts its flight, which little by little loses height, and sometimes, on the rivers that are too wide, they do not manage to reach the other bank. It was observed that the Tukano Indians, seeing a tucano /toucan/ fly over the river Uaupés at one of the widest points, uttered cries, as though of apprehension, in fear that the bird might not succeed in reaching the opposite bank.

They are only traces that at most might lead one to infer an earlier social form of totemic clan, if they are not elements acquired by borrowing (the instinct of imitation of the Indians is so remarkable) from other groups. [824] One does not note, however, any attention (respect, fear, pleasure) toward the animal or plant whose name they bear; names, besides, without economic importance (except the Baniva or another one), contrary to what happens as a rule in connection with the totemic names.

It has not been noted that they avoid killing it or, on the contrary, try to eat it in some special circumstances. If they find it dead, /476/ no sign of surprise. It is certain that at times they kill it in order to use its feathers in the dance ornaments. But, at least in the present form (112), the ornaments are the same for the various tribes, be they called Tukano, Arara, Tuyuka, Pirá-tapuya, etc. It can even be asserted that their attitude is one of perfect indifference before the animal with their own name, more or less just as before any other animal.

[178] 112. We so often insist on the idea that these are present customs. This is because it becomes difficult or impossible to verify how they proceeded in other times. And the Indians respond to our questions: -- "It has always been this way."

614 619 There are no tucano /toucan/, pica-pau /woodpecker/, jurití /dove/, etc. clans, either. They are and they are considered nations or different tribes, each one with its own language and peculiar somatic features. It is true that one and the same tribe is subdivided into groups with names that might seem clanlike (cf. IV-2-a(2) /see a(3)/). But they indeed are not the animals that appear

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614 in the dance ornaments. Besides, such groups, or Gentes, are far
619 from the classic type of clan. For example, marriage is not permitted between the Gentes, but only between one and another Nation.

The ornaments with feathers of the tucano /toucan/, arara, garça /heron/, or monkey fur are bound up with the legend of Wĩxtĩ, which, due to the mutual relationship between the tribes, has figured in the history of each tribe. The ornaments, however, are
[438] not distinctive for family or clan. They are essentially the same for all the tribes, being an object of trade of one tribe with another. This circumstance alone already speaks against a clan interpretation.

[532] It is absolutely not noted that any tribe or group has any picto-
[825] rial representation by incision or sculpture of any animal whatsoever, and even less of its titular.

As for the dance masks and personages, it is to be observed first
[53] that there is the one of the borboleta /butterfly/, and nevertheless there is no human group with this denomination, and nothing reveals its having existed. In the second place there are mask, dance, and song of the cutia /agouti/, and a subdivision among the Tukano, the Bwá-põrá, children of the cutia, and an Arwake tribe of the Içana, Awadzuranai or cutia-tapuya, are known under this name; and nevertheless there is no such mask among the Tukano, but there is among the Arwake.

It seems that the same personage now does the borboleta /butterfly/, now the cutia, etc. Now one, now another will do such a role; within the same maloca there are the various personages, and it is not a matter of a function inherited from father to son either. All this testifies against the hypothesis of the existence of clan subdivisions.

/477/ As for the episode of the concern for the tucano
[825] /toucan/ that was crossing the river, it could be a manifestation of simple curiosity, which among the Indians comes so many times accompanied by exclamatory noises. The elders relate nothing that might prove to be a matter of a clan totem. At least by what we know up to now.

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Just as there is no indication of clan totemism, there is none of individual or personal totemism either. The objects that they make do not represent animals; they are of simple workmanship, according to the purpose. In some quite rare cases the paintings of the walls are anthropomorphic; they seem, however, to have only a sportive character. /Page 478 is blank./

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Chapter IX

The Life of the Indian

1) Daily cycle.

512 The type and the standard of life of the Indian seem patterned. Even in distinct tribes we find the Indians doing the same things in the same way, and even with a very close timetable. It is indeed a very methodical life, not, however, monotonous. On the contrary, quite varied, in a perfect nature in which daily rest, work, meals, baths, physical exercises succeed one another.

[592] "The Tukano lives in the maloca, which serves him as bedroom, kitchen, dining room in the morning and in the afternoon. The maloca is, in succession, laboratory for the domestic chores, meeting place at times of rain, and ballroom during the great feasts. It is the place where the Tukano lives, dies, and is buried. For the Tukano the maloca is the world" (Report by the First Superior of the Salesian Missions of the Rio Negro, Mons. Lourenço Giordano -- Boletim Salesiano -- Feb. 1918, p. 31).

The ordinary family life can be summarized in this way: the Indian sleeps little, eats much, talks a great deal, works when it is necessary.

From three o'clock in the morning, the maloca still closed, one hears inside quite an animated conversation, noisy and frequent laughs. And many times the noise of the graters at work: it is the women who are preparing the mandioca for the beijú. Before five o'clock, with rain or without it, always dark in those latitudes, the women leave through the back door, individually

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512 or in small groups of two or three, ordinarily a child riding on her
[515] hip and with a vessel on her head, in the direction of the river.
[854] Or, more precisely, that point of the river called Pextá, landing
place, with suitably prepared access, where the canoes are tied.
*[192] There they take their quick morning bath, Wa-wa'kãse, of immersion, rubbing the hand quickly over the body, face, and hair.
The same is done by the smaller children who accompany them;
and they take the opportunity, moreover, to bathe the suckling
infants, whom they have left on the bank. Afterwards they fill
[312] the vessels with water and, putting them on their heads, go up
with the water to the maloca. Then they prepare the morning
meal.

/480/ The men and the boys continue to lie down for an hour
[521] more or less, conversing from hammock to hammock and, still
[515] before six o'clock, go for their bath. Then the mats that closed
the two doors of the maloca are lifted.

*[192] The pots of Byá-tõ (it is the quinhapira or sauce of fish broth
with pepper) or of Yumũ-ku (mingau) of tapioca, and the baskets
[264] in the shape of sieves, heaped high with Ahũ-a (beijú), are put
on small mats on the floor. -- "Baĩra a'tyá," come to eat, is the
invitation by the woman. Those of the male sex place themselves
in a circle, squatting, and, starting with the chief, eat heartily,
amidst conversation and noisy laughter.

The rule of civility is to serve oneself slowly and to eat without voracity. This, besides, is greatly in agreement with the whole attitude of the Indian, normally calm and serene. The women are in charge of the serving, bringing whatever there is, as it becomes necessary. There are no eating implements: one breaks off a piece of beijú with the hand, dips it in the quinhapira, and carries it to the mouth. The mingau is drunk (1)

*[192] 1. To drink is the expression that they use, although this is not very appropriate, because it is more or less thick. -- "Yumũ-ku sĩrỹáti? Did you drink mingau?"

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512 with the beijú or in small cuias, like a spoon. At the end, the
*[192] [264] woman presents a large cuia with Ñõxká (manicuera /drink made out of manioc juice/) or the Po'ká peosé (the chibé /manioc flour and water/ of generalized use on the Amazon). Like our coffee, they thus ordinarily end their meals with the indispensable chibé, of which as much as is wanted is taken, the cuia then being passed to the neighbor on the right. Finally the women and children simultaneously take their food.

The noisy exodus for work starts: it might perhaps be seven or eight o'clock. The men and women leave in groups. The former for the forest, for hunting, to procure textile fibers, wood for building, or to search for fruits, or for the river, with the proper equipment for fishing or in order to prepare the traps.

*[192] [241] The women with the older daughters and the children (small ones) go to the clearing, taking the Pi'í (aturá), hanging from the forehead on the back, in order to carry mandioca and firewood. In order to reach the field they almost always have to take the canoe, and for this reason they leave with oars of different sizes, some quite small for the children. Some old or sick person (many times nobody) will stay as guard of the deserted and silent maloca.

[462] [854] The work will last until after eleven o'clock. Around one o'clock the maloca starts to become animated again. The women arrive with their aturás filled with mandioca and, on top, bundles of firewood; the smaller children on their hips or held in front of the chest, and others holding on to their skirt. They are perspiring, with the face flushed, if they did not /481/ touch it with carajurú /carajura/, as a precaution, in order not to suffer so much from the heat of the sun. Little by little the men also begin to arrive with the results of their labor: fruits, fish, game, or fibers and timber.

Another bath will come, with its freshness, to renew their well-being. The woman will grill the fish or the game, will prepare fresh, tasty beijú, the quinhapira, the mingau, some insect,
*[192] and the chibé. Soon will come the "Baãra a'tyá" and the afternoon meal.

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412 There are still a few hours of daylight: the man goes to prepare his arrows, to separate the tucum for the fishing nets or to work on his little seat or on his sieve. The woman will weave a new hammock or will attend to the preparation of the mandioca for the following day. Each one at his task.

[177] [296] Among the individuals of the new generation, the man will perhaps mend or wash his own clothes, as the woman does hers. All tasks done with tranquillity, in the intimacy of family life, to the rhythm of an animated conversation, with noisy laughter.

*[192] When the sun goes down, the wood is already piled up inside the house and the vessels are filled with water. Men and children settle down in their hammocks, while the woman is busy boiling the Ñõxká, with some wild fruit, and all help themselves with their cuias, like evening tea.

The conversation continues more briskly, the episodes of the day are picturesquely narrated, the visitors who appeared, the launches they passed, the news of other malocas. When the night is further advanced, it will perhaps be nine o'clock, the doors of the maloca are lowered. Sleep first conquers the children, later the older ones. Around 11 o'clock or later, however, one will hear a question that comes from a hammock, an ãã and an answer from another hammock. Afterwards the silence is interrupted only by the crackling of so many small fires in each apartment of the large dwelling. The fire never goes out inside the maloca; at any time of the night one may see some figure jump out of a hammock in order to stir up the fire, indispensable for the cooler hours of the dawn, and to scare away snakes or other animals.

\ 178 412 With the advance of civilization the phenomenon of acculturation takes place, new tasks occupying the time and the attention of the Indians. The rhythm of daily life, however, is always the same, in the maloca as well [illegible] in the povoado, for the Indians who have always lived there as well as for those who have spent long years in the boarding schools and have returned to their homes.

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2) Annual cycle.

132 221 The climate of those regions does not seem to offer marked changes in order for the rhythm of the daily life of the Indian to be altered. As /482/ a matter of fact, the thermometer, the barometer, and the hygrometer will show the same average throughout the year. Owing to the rains of the headwaters of the rivers, however, a season of high waters and another of low ones are distinguished. And the annual cycle is perhaps more varied for the Indian than it customarily is among the civilized.

476 621 Besides the labor that is incumbent upon every individual for his home life, there are others that concern the entire community and that for this reason are performed collectively under the direction of the tuxaua. They might perhaps be the repairs of the maloca or the building of a new one, in the same place or perhaps quite far away from the old one. Or again it might be the cleaning of the areas adjacent to the maloca, of the common paths or of the landing place. It might be a matter of some clearing for some Indian, who will obtain the help of his tribal brothers, although for his private use. The individuals are advised in advance, in order to make their arrangements. If it is a matter of work for the collectivity, everyone is obliged to participate in it. If, instead, it is help for some brother, one can reasonably excuse oneself; one would not do it, however. And in either case there is only one conventional, sufficient, and agreeable payment: a caxiri, which has also been prepared beforehand. The collective work is done without even any need for a technical director, because it is always done according to the traditions, under the simple directions of the tuxaua or of the individual concerned. It is noisy and cheerful work, true competitions of strength and activity, as well as of good humor and cheerfulness. It is what is called Dará-serẽsé, in Nheengatú ajurí or mutirão (2). [192]

2. Ajurí would properly be the invitation, and putirum (from which the term made into Portuguese, mutirão), the collective work. Stradelli, in his

*192 /482 cont./

621 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese
476 vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the
same as what is called mutyrum on the lower
Amazon."

527 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of
221 fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish
of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods
226 the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task,
a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated
(VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 At different times of the year great quantities of insects
222 appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the
527 daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

797 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the
527 Indians of the different povoados, move to

/483 cont./

797 527 /footnote 3 cont./ the seats of the Salesian Missions, not infrequently several days by canoe, in order to attend there the great religious celebrations (Christmas, Easter, etc.). They spend happy days and weeks in contact with civilization, being instructed in the religious truths and amusing themselves, as if they were school children, with collective games. Processions, songs, luminous projections, theatrical representations, even the food, sweets, presents which they receive on these occasions, everything agrees with their psychology and makes these feasts acceptable and indispensable to them.

484 Anyone who navigates those rivers invariably meets canoes, up river and down river, of tourist Indians. Some spend months visiting acquaintances and relatives in the various povoados.

3) Life cycle.

145 We know the rites that accompany the birth of the children. Under the care and attention of their mother, in contact with nature, they start growing and becoming strong. Upon reaching the use of their muscles, they will try to walk and are put down on the ground to crawl. They will then suffer the attacks of [164] verminosis. They become pale, swollen, big-bellied, and many die. Those who manage to conquer the sickness and reach adolescence are saved.

Lacking positive statistical data about the organic development of the native child, one has the impression that this proceeds by more characteristic jumps than among the civilized of the south of the country.

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The girl must get used to work and, with the mother's training, will learn the several skills that someday will make her a good mother of a family. The boys will run loose in the forest, looking for fruits, will wander along the rivers, entertained by swimming or fishing, practicing at shooting arrows at fish or birds, and thus they will become able to provide the subsistence of the /484/ family. In the ajurís, in the traditional tasks, they will acquire beside the father that skill which will make them great oarsmen or expert basketmakers.

881 Children of both sexes start being conscious of themselves as members of the tribe, of which they will learn to be proud. They will eagerly desire to become a member integrated into its life and traditions, that is, they dream of the "initiation."

581 Once the instincts are developed, they understand that it falls to them to perpetuate the existence of the group, and they aspire to marriage. The national customs indicate to them the means of realizing it: for that step they will not lack the intervention and help of the father.

593 He has naturally experienced up to now the love and the attention of his parents and the camaraderie of his contemporaries. Now he is joined to a companion for his entire life. Unknown perhaps and a foreigner, but their cares, their spirit of work, their long life together, vicissitudes, shared joys and sadness, everything ends by making uniform the spirits of the spouses, connected especially by the bond of love for their children in common. Under more difficult conditions, because she is forced to leave the paternal home and go to another nation as a wife, the woman will still feel very actively connected to her tribe of origin, as well as to the new maloca in which she is a wife and mother.

621 With the years the ties that join the Indian to the group in which he was born, which educated him, which gave him assistance and support, for which he has also worked cheerfully on the collective enterprises, are strengthened. The group that provided him with frequent joys with its traditional feasts and, with its mysterious legends, gave satisfaction to his intimate aspirations toward something that he does not understand, but feels will exist beyond the grave.

/484 cont./

888 The old Indian will become a zealous continuer of the ancestral traditions, and he will find himself surrounded by the young men, who will listen with pleasure (4) to his words describing the olden times, his feats, the life and history of the maloca, of the povoado, or of the tribe. And, with the respect of the new generation, he will preside over the births, warding off from the tribe, which is reborn in the children, misfortunes and sicknesses with the smoke of his cigar; he will instruct the young people in the duties and mysteries of the life of the group; he will be an outstanding figure in the sacred dances.

With age, his stout fibers break, and old age comes, with its train of sorrows, more pronounced for the Indian than /485/ for the civilized. He becomes useless to the group and a burden for the family. He then retreats to a dark corner of the maloca, lying in his hammock, perhaps without the strength to get up and sit on a seat. There, in silence, he will take his meal and spend long hours, remote from the noisy cheerfulness of the maloca, which perhaps is burning with life in the orgies of the Poosés.

A sole companion, which has never abandoned him since he saw the light of life, will still be at his side, giving warmth and comfort to his limbs, which are getting cold; it is the fire that burns near his hammock.

When his strength is insufficient for him to take his food by himself, forgotten, abandoned, with no one being concerned about him, he will waste away by starvation, resigned, without a word of complaint, without a moan of pain, until death comes to open for him the mysterious doors beyond the grave, where

4. The Irmã Diretora /Sister Directress/ of one of the Missionary schools revealed to us with what surprising attention her young girl students drank in the words of some old Indian woman when she appeared at the school, being immediately surrounded by the school girls.

/485 cont./
888 he will face Wĩx-tĩ, the great Idea, the great Spirit, in which he has always believed, whom he has respected and feared and tried to propitiate, as his ancestors taught him.

764 When they become aware of the quiet and solitary catastrophe, the maloca will be agitated by the clamorous wailing of the nation for the member who has just passed away.

121 This, however, does not complete the cycle of native life. 797 All of those tribes of the Caiarí are nowadays in direct or indirect relation with the "Civilização de Cristo" /Civilization of Christ/. The parents, under the impulse of paternal love, dream of making their child a civilized person, child of Brazil and of the Church. This sacred fire is kindled deep inside each youth, and for this reason he enrolls in the Catholic schools. They spend long and happy years there, without dissociating themselves, however, from their nation. And they return to their "brothers" with their minds more enlightened, greater material comfort, a belief in the Creator God of heaven and earth, Lord, Judge and Father, and a hope of a less sad old age, nourished by the hopes of a happy future life without end.

And the elders, to whom such a chance was not presented, will perhaps have assistance in the hospitals that the charity of Jesus Christ has erected in each Missionary center, and the maternal care of a Religious who tries to alleviate the physical pain and to comfort the soul. And, above all, they will have the hope of the assistance of a Missionary who, in the last moments of life, through the infinite efficacy of the Sacraments, will make him a child of God, will enrich his soul with grace and will open for him the doors of eternal blessedness. /Page 486 is blank./

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For the proper reading of the words from the Tukano language, one should keep in mind the following convention:

1. Vowels: a, e, i, o, u, -- open as in Portuguese and Latin
   ä -- like the English o in word
   ō, ū -- respectively like the corresponding ones in German, that is, more or less like the French eu in peu, and u in lune
   y, w -- respectively like short i and u
2. Consonants: like the corresponding ones in Latin or Portuguese, with the following exceptions:
   x -- velar aspirate, before a consonant
   h -- surd glottal fricative, before a vowel
   bh, kh, gh, ph, th -- after the ordinary sound of these consonants, a slight aspiration follows
3. Symbols: (') the glottal stop (interruption of the pronunciation)
   (-) hyphen, separation of the elements in the compound word
   ( ) indicates the nasal sound /a tilde seems to be missing between the parentheses in the original source/

GLOSSARY

ahũ-wõ -- rhythm tube or stick (musical instrument)
a'mõ tuxhũ -- enclosure within the maloca for a girl undergoing the puberty rite
a'mõ-yesé -- initiation rite for boys
axkabí -- "brothers" - address to persons belonging to same gens
axkawerẽra -- components of the same tribe although born or living in different malocas
axpẽra -- people of another tribe, even when connected by some degree of affinity
Baári-maxsã-ré -- alleged cannibal tribes
baxséke wamẽ -- name-giving rite
baksúkãra -- "those who are destined for marriage with us" (all maternal cousins)
bayá -- master of ceremonies at various kinds of feasts
baxsasé -- dance and soup at a feast
beijú -- manioc bread
be'tise -- fast during initiation rite
boraró curupira -- spirit of the woods
bũxkõrá-kurá -- council of elders
bwá -- flute or small fife

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cowá -- fermented drink
cachoeira -- turbulent place in the river with rapids and sometimes waterfalls
cariços -- panpipes
caxirí -- celebration with drinking; the drinks themselves
descimentos -- voluntary migrations of the Indians
igarapés -- smaller streams that empty into the rivers
japurutús -- long flutes
karyamã -- entertainment feast at girl's puberty initiation rite
komũ -- men of greater ascendancy who belong to community council
kurá -- gens or sib
lingua geral -- the Tupi language of Amazonia
lugares -- place, village, town
mã-gõ -- term of address for female of parental generation of gens with whom bride-exchange is practiced
mahã-mĩ-nõsé -- 2d stage of girl's puberty initiation rite
maloca -- communal house
mamí -- "brother" - address to persons belonging to same gens
macupiára -- lucky in fishing or hunting
mã-ra-põ-nỹákho -- "future husband" "future genitor" - address to young man of marriage exchange group

māxsā -- "people" - actually spirit people
mēx-ká -- term of address to male parental generation of gens with whom bride-exchange is practiced
mīrīa -- sacred flute
mīrī-mēra -- initiation rite for boys
mō-paxkoá -- godmother of girl's initiation
mō'sīgō -- lucky in fishing and hunting
mō-yōāsé -- puberty initiation rite for girls
montarias -- canoes made largely by fitting planks along the sides
nāxkā̃-wax-tī -- spirit
Nheengatú -- the Tupi language of Amazonia
nihi-korō -- vagina
nõ' mō duusé -- purchase of wife by bride price
nõ' mō nyākho -- "future wife" "future genitrix" (address by young man to girl of marriage exchange group)
o'a-kõ -- god, supreme being
o'mõaro wax'ti -- spirit
onça -- jaguar
oxkó -- magic potion
õxsó -- two-headed snake spirit

pajé -- curer-sorcerer

pax-koá -- godmother

pêru -- fermented drink

pi'îkamō -- small basket for a girl's or woman's ornaments

piraboto -- "beast of the river" - apparently a spirit

píti-yároa -- alleged cannibal tribe

ponta -- usually in proper names, indicates a geographic accident

poóse -- feast of offerings

po'rá-ko nỹákho -- "future genitrix" (address by a young man to a girl of the marriage exchange group)

pōrã-kõ nỹákhõ -- "future genitor" (address by girl to young man of marriage exchange group)

povoado -- populated place

principal -- chief of a tribe or subdivision of a tribe, or of a povoado

pupunha -- fermented drink

quinhapira -- a fish dish

tropas de resgate -- bands of men who searched the country for Indians to enslave, and for natural products

tuxáua -- chief of a tribe or subdivision of a tribe, or of a povoado

uxtá-seri -- leg bands as dance decorations

uxtisé -- ritual wailing at death

varadoiros -- passages opened in the forest along unnavigable stretches of rivers, or as shortcuts between bends in a river

verões -- periods of dry weather permitting burning
vila -- town
wá:kõ -- god
wã'sõ-rĩ -- instrument for flagellation at bacchanal feast
wãx-tĩ -- soul, incorporeal element
wé-boxátise -- evil that can come from an event, action, person, animal, or thing
wyógõ -- local chief
yai-peri maxsã -- alleged cannibal tribe
yõũrwá -- alleged cannibal tribe
yaxkẽ waxsó-ro -- women's festive loincloth embroidered with beads
yaxsã -- large maracá (musical instrument)
yuxkõ -- rhythm stick
yu-yú -- dance rhythm stick

4: Silva SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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[For data on ethnic identification, see category 116, passim, pp. 5-191.]

4: Silva

SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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[For information on vocabulary see category 116, passim, especially pp. 32, 47, 89-112, 125-128, 194-231, and 242-392.]